Ingo Gildenhard

Virgil, *Aeneid* 4

with Study Questions, Vocabulary, and Commentary

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations ix

Preface xxi

Acknowledgements and Dedication xxiii

Citation Style and List of Abbreviations xxv

Introduction 1

Text and Study Questions 37

COMMENTARY 197

1–30: Sister Act I 201

31–53: Sister Act II: Anna's Reply 229

54–89: 'Crazy Little Thing Called Love' (Queen) 245

90–128: A Match Made in Heaven 273

129–172: The Hunting Party 295

173–197: The News Goes Viral 325

198–218: In Dad I Tru$t(ed) 339

219–237: Jupiter's Wake-up Call 349

238–278: The Mercourier Express 357

279–295: Back to the Future 379

296–330: Caught in a One-Sided Good-Bye 387

331–361: Mandatory Logout 411

362–392: You Brute, I am through 427

393–449: The Last Ditch 449

450–521: Dido's Witch Project 471

522–583: The Great Escape 497

584–629: Lady Vengeance 521

630–705: The End (Protracted) 543

Vocabulary 575

Bibliography 643

For Alessandro

Ingo Gildenhard is Professor of Classics and the Classical Tradition at the University of Cambridge. His research interests range from Latin literature (with a special emphasis on the archaic period, Cicero, Virgil, and Ovid) to Roman culture (especially the political culture of the Roman republic) to the Classical Tradition and literary and social theory. He has published several titles with OBP: *Teaching Dido: Critical Perspectives on Aeneid 4*, 2026; *Virgil, Aeneid 11* (*Pallas & Camilla*), 2018 (with John Henderson); *Cicero, Philippic 2* (*40–50, 78–92, 100–119*), 2018; *Ovid, Metamorphoses, 3.511-733. Latin Text with Commentary*, 2016 (with Andrew Zissos); *Cicero, On Pompey's Command* (*De Imperio*), *27-49. Latin Text, Study Aids with Vocabulary, Commentary, and Translation*, 2014 (with Louise Hodgson, et al.); *Tacitus, Annals, 15.20–23, 33–45. Latin Text, Study Aids with Vocabulary, and Commentary*, 2013 (with Mathew Owen); *Virgil, Aeneid 4.1–299: Latin Text, Study Questions, Commentary and Interpretive Essays*, 2012; *Cicero, Against Verres, 2.1.53–86: Latin Text with Introduction, Study Questions, Commentary and English Translation*, 2011.

List of Illustrations

1	Giacomo Lauro, *The Temple of Honor and Virtue* (1641). Gift of Max Falk. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum. Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, M24967.31, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/174130	p. 39
2	Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774–1833), *Aeneas Relating to Dido the Fall of Troy* [*Énée racontant à Didon les malheurs de la ville de Troie*] (1815). Louvre, Paris. Photography by Wilfredor. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C3%89n%C3%A9e_et_Didon,_Gu%C3%A9rin.jpg	p. 41
3	Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677), *Aeneas and Dido in the Underworld*. Public domain, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Wenceslas_Hollar_-_Aeneas_and_Dido_in_the_underworld_(State_2).jpg	p. 43
4	Segment XX of the *Fāstī Triumphālēs*, recording triumphs during the First Punic War. Photography by Rossignol Benoît. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CILI(2)p47fgtXXFastitriumphales.jpg	p. 45
5	Johannes Hevelius (1611–1687), *Prodromus Astronomia*, vol. III: *Firmamentum Sobiescianum*, *sive Uranographia* (1690), table QQ – Orion (published posthumously). Colourization of another work by Johannes Hevelius, CC BY-SA 4.0. via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Johannes_Hevelius_--_Orion.jpg	p. 47

6	Illustration of *Aeneid* 4.80, from *The Works of Virgil* (1709), translated by John Dryden. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Virgil_translated_by_Dryden_(1709)-volume_2-sheet_258.png	p. 49
7	Illustration of *Aeneid* 4.69–73 (created using Copilot). Inspired by Frida Kahlo, *The Wounded Deer* (1946), https://www.fridakahlo.org/the-wounded-deer.jsp	p. 51
8	Dido shows Aeneas the plans for the fortifications of Carthage. Tapestry, designed by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, woven by Michael Wauters (1679). Public domain, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1915.79.4	p. 53
9	J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851), *Dido Building Carthage, or The Rise of the Carthaginian Empire* (1815). The National Gallery. Photography by The Athenaeum. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turner_Dido_Building_Carthage.jpg	p. 55
10	Francesco Bartolozzi (1728–1815), *Title page: Depicting Cupid, Venus, and Juno* (1782). Line engraving and stipple engraving. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.19807. Public domain, https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:38208	p. 57
11	'Master of the Aeneid', Venus and Juno provoke Dido's love for Aeneas. Painted Limoges enamel plaque (ca. 1530), based upon woodcut illustration by Sebastian Brant in the 1502 Strasbourg edition of Virgil edited and printed by Johann Grüninger. Photography by Marie-Lan Nguyen. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venus_Juno_Aeneas_Louvre_OA6596.jpg	p. 59
12	Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550), *Fortuna*. Private collection, Scan by Yellow Lion 2006. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fortuna_or_Fortune.jpg	p. 61
13	Impression of Juno cosplaying as Jupiter (created using Copilot).	p. 63

14	Antoine-Augustin Préault (1809–1879), *Venus and the Sphinx* (1868). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venus_and_the_Sphinx_by_Antoine-Augustin_Pr%C3%A9ault_at_the_Metropolitan_Museum_of_Art.jpg	p. 65
15	Jean-Bernard Restout (1732–1797), *The Departure of Dido and Aeneas for the Hunt* (1772–1774). Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Departure_of_Dido_and_Aeneas_for_the_Hunt_LACMA_M.2000.179.22.jpg	p. 67
16	Regions of ancient Greece and western Anatolia. Edited by the author. CC BY 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Regions_Greece_and_Asia-en.svg	p. 69
17	Thomas Campbell (1790–1858), *The Young Ascanius* (1822). Scottish National Gallery. Photography by Stephencdickson. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Young_Ascanius_by_Thomas_Campbell_1822.jpg	p. 71
18	*Publij Virgilij Maronis Opera* (1502), woodcut illustrations by Sebastian Brant. Digital image from Heidelberg University Library, public domain, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2443#0445	p. 73
19	Dido and her Trojan Hero (with his dashing Phrygian cap). Roman Mosaic part, found at Low Ham, Somerset. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Low_ham_mosaic.jpg	p. 75
20	Francis Cleyn (1582–1658), *Dido and Aeneas sheltering in a Cave* (with *Fāma* in the background). Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, public domain, https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:8049	p. 77
21	Digital Demonology: A *Fāma* from Franken-code (created using Copilot).	p. 79

22	Jan Collaert (c. 1561 – c. 1620), *Roem* (*Fāma*). Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200473658	p. 81
23	Impression of Iarbas praying to Jupiter (created using Copilot).	p. 83
24	Dido purchases land for the foundation of Carthage. Detail from Gottfried, Johann Ludwig (1630), *Historische Chronica oder Beschreibung der führnembsten Geschichten so sich von Anfang der Welt biß auff unsere zeitten zugetragen* [Historical Chronicle, or description of the most prominent stories how they happened from the beginning of the world until our own times], Frankfurt. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.	p. 85
25	*The Reign of Jupiter* (ca. 1550–1570). Purchase, The Annenberg Foundation Gift (1997). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/208568	p. 87
26	Jan van Orley (1665–1735), *The Battle of Diomedes and Aeneas* (from the story of Achilles) (ca. 1720–1730). Purchase, Daniel Ergmann Gift (2014). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/428634	p. 89
27	Jan Collaert (II) (c. 1561 – c. 1620), *Mercury*. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200175606	p. 91
28	Johann Wilhelm Baur, *Perseus and Atlas* (1641). Etching. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2AA-a-31-44	p. 93
29	*Publij Virgilij Maronis Opera* (1502), woodcut illustrations by Sebastian Brant. Digital image from Heidelberg University Library, public domain, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2443#0450	p. 95

30	Anthony Rich (1849), *The illustrated companion to the Latin dictionary, and Greek lexicon: forming a glossary of all the words representing visible objects connected with the arts, manufactures, and everyday life of the Greeks and Romans*, London (p. 402, 'māgālia'). Screenshot from Internet Archive, public domain, https://archive.org/details/illustratedcompa00richuoft	p. 97
31	*The works of Virgil: containing his Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis. Tr. into English verse; by Mr. Dryden; Adorn'd with above a hundred sculptures v.2* (1709), Plate 52. Screenshot from the digital edition, public domain, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31175035195869	p. 99
32	Gerard Valck, *Hermes Orders Calypso to Release Odysseus* (1670). After design by Gerard de Lairesse. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200214703	p. 101
33	Impression of Aeneas' reaction to Mercury's theophany (created using Copilot). Based on Edvard Munch (1863–1944), *The Scream* (1893).	p. 103
34	Nicolas-René Jollain (1732–1804), *Aeneas Leaving Dido*. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:En%C3%A9e_Leaving_Didon_by_Nicolas-Ren%C3%A9_Jollain.jpg	p. 105
35	Relief with a satyr and a maenad, terracotta plaque (27 BCE–68 CE). Rogers Fund (1912). 12.232.8b. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248707	p. 107
36	Jean-Michel Moreau le jeune (French, 1741 - 1814) Dido Excoriates Aeneas, from Book IV of the "Aeneid", 1803 Pen and brown ink and brown wash Unframed: 22.2 × 15.6 cm (8 3/4 × 6 1/8 in.) The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 99.GA.28. Public Domain. https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108F5X	p. 109

37	Andrea Schiavone (c. 1510/1515–1563), *Aeneas Takes Leave of Dido* (1555). Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Andrea_Meldolla,_gen._Schiavone_-_Aeneas_nimmt_Abschied_von_Dido_-_GG_5818_-_Kunsthistorisches_Museum.jpg	p. 111
38	*Adorned Statue of the Goddess Tanit* (5th–3rd centuries BCE), from the necropolis of Puig des Molins, Ibiza, Spain. Archaeology Museum of Catalonia, Barcelona. Photography by Ophelia2. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Representaci%C3%B3_guarnida_de_la_deessa_T%C3%A0nit.JPG	p. 113
39	Detail from *Sarcophagus of the Brothers* (mid 3rd-century CE). Naples National Archaeological Museum (Inv. 6603) Farnese Collection. Photography by Marie-Lan Nguyen (2011). CC BY 2.5, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sarcophagus_of_the_brother_MAN_Napoli_Inv6603_n02.jpg	p. 115
40	Jacques Callot (1592–1635), *Envy* (probably after 1621). The National Gallery of Art, R.L. Baumfeld Collection, public domain, https://www.nga.gov/artworks/51550-envy	p. 117
41	*Aeneas Flees Troy with his Family*, after print by Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio (c. 1500/1505–1565), based on a design by Raphael, *Fire in the Borgo* [*Stanza dell'Incendio del Borgo*], Vatican. Purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200168943	p. 119
42	The Caucasus Mountain Range and Hyrcania. Edited by the author. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hyrcania-area-map-borders.svg	p. 121
43	Impression of Epicurean divinities chilling in the *intermundia* 'spaces between worlds' (created using Copilot).	p. 123
44	Schelte Adamsz, Bolswert, illustration of *Aeneid* 3.194–97* (the storm that hit Aeneas fleet after leaving Crete). After painting by Peter Paul Rubens. Rijksmuseum, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200395242	p. 125

45	*Departure of Aeneas from Carthage* (c. 1530). Painted enamel plaque from a set of seventy-four scenes, following Grüninger's 1502 edition of Virgil. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_WB-20	p. 127
46	Impression of ants on the march (created using Copilot).	p. 129
47	Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), *The Death of Dido* (c. 1592). Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Annibale_Carracci_-Morte_di_Didone.jpg	p. 131
48	Jean Jacques François Monanteuil (1785–1860), *Portrait of Anna*. After painting by Pierre Narcisse Guérin. Rijksmusem, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200234745	p. 133
49	Émile Lassalle, *Furious Medea.* (1859). After painting by Eugène Delacroix. Rijksmuseum, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200398710	p. 135
50	Yggdrasil, *The World Tree of the Vikings*, from a plate included in the English translation of the *Prose Edda* by Oluf Olufsen Bagge (1847). Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yggdrasil.jpg	p. 137
51	Impression of omens (created using Copilot).	p. 139
52	Impression of Dido conducting a sacrifice (created using Copilot).	p. 139
53	Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michael Wauters, *Dido and Aeneas seek shelter from a storm* (1679). Arrow added. Cleveland Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1915.79.5	p. 141
54	William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825–1905), *Orestes Pursued by the Furies* (1862). Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Orestes_Pursued_by_the_Furies_by_William-Adolphe_Bouguereau_(1862)_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg	p. 143

55	The world according to Herodotus. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Herodotus_world_map-en.svg	p. 145
56	Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), *Hercules steals the Apples of the Hesperides* (after 1537). Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum Braunschweig. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lucas_Cranach_d.%C3%84._-_Herkules_raubt_die_%C3%84pfel_der_Hesperiden_(Herzog_Anton_Ulrich-Museum).jpg	p. 147
57	*The Works of Virgil* (1709), translated by John Dryden, Plate 53. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Virgil_translated_by_Dryden_(1709)-volume_2-sheet_288.png	p. 149
58	Relief of triplicate Hekate. Three female figures framed in *aedicula*, with high *poloi* on their heads, dressed in chiton and peplos, holding torches in their hands. Marble (small), Hadrian classicism. NG Prague, Kinský Palace, NM-H10 4742. Photography by Zde. CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Relief_triplicate_Hekate_marble,_Hadrian_clasicism,_Prague_Kinsky,_NM-H10_4742,_140995.jpg	p. 151
59	Hippomanes of a cow. Photography by Cécile GK (2014), CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hippomane_face_1.jpg	p. 153
60	Evelyn De Morgan (1855–1919), *Night and Sleep* (1878). Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton, England. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Night_%26_Sleep.jpg	p. 155
61	Robert Strange, *Laomedon, King of Troy, detected by Neptune and Apollo* (1775). After painting by Salvator Rosa. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200260204	p. 157
62	Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807), *Diana and her nymphs bathing* (c. 1778). Art Gallery of South Australia. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Angelica_Kauffmann_-_Diana_and_her_nymphs_bathing_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg	p. 159

63	William Blake, *Aeneas aroused by Mercury*, from 'The Aeneid', iv, 554; Aeneas naked and reclining while Mercury swoops down from above (c. 1790–1795). Red chalk, over charcoal, on buff paper. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1874-1212-111	p. 161
64	Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–1780), *The Roman Fleet Victorious over the Carthaginians at the Battle of Cape Ecnomus* (c. 1763). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2006.23, public domain, https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109915	p. 163
65	Illustration of Aeneas' outlook at line 361 (created using Copilot).	p. 165
66	Illustration of Aeneas' outlook at line 576 (created using Copilot).	p. 165
67	*Dido, in Despair* (6 February 1801). Hand-coloured etching. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/456933001	p. 167
68	Detail from René Boyvin, *Medea kills her brother Absyrtus and throws his body parts into the sea* (1563). After drawing by Léonard Thiry. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200165419	p. 169
69	Antonio Tempesta, *Procne shows the head of Itys to Tereus* (1608–1638). Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200263092	p. 169
70	Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/1498–1543), design for a stained-glass window with Terminus. Pen and ink and brush, grey wash, watercolour, over preliminary chalk drawing, 31.5 × 25 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel. From Christian Müller, Stephan Kemperdick, Maryan Ainsworth, et al. (2006), *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515–1532*, Munich. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Design_for_a_Stained_Glass_Window_with_Terminus,_by_Hans_Holbein_the_Younger.jpg	p. 171

71	Franz Valentin Durmer (1776–1835), *Pallas Evander's Son Killed by Turnus*. After painting by Angelica Kauffmann. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200187272	p. 173
72	Charles Turner (1774–1857), *Hannibal as a child, swearing enmity to the Romans* (c. 1850). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hannibal_as_a_child,_accompanied_by_a_Roman_soldier.jpg	p. 175
73	Impression of Barce with a piously worn headband (created using Copilot).	p. 177
74	*Publij Virgilij Maronis Opera* (1502), woodcut illustrations by Sebastian Brant. Synoptic view of the suicide sequence: Anna, Dido and Iris are labelled; the couch with Aeneas' effigy is placed on top of the burning pyre; the woman between Anna and Dido, who are marked as sisters by their streaming hair, is most likely Barce. Digital image from Heidelberg University Library (detail), public domain, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2443#0472	p. 179
75	Jacobus Gallus (1550–1591), 'Dulcēs Exuviae' (651–54 set to music), from **Moralia Jacobi Handl Carnioli, musici praestantissimi, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinnata, atque tam seriis quam festivis cantibus voluptati humanae accommodata, et nunc primum in lucem apud Belgas edita* (1603). See Skei (1976) for context and, for a recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=37kAXMbr5ss.	p. 181
76	Crispijn van de Passe (I), *The Death of Dido* (*Speculum Aeneidis Virgilianae*) (1612). Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200384381	p. 183
77	Barbara van den Broeck, *The Capture of Carthage* (*146* BCE) (c. 1585). After drawing by Chrispijn van den Broeck. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/20015726	p. 185
78	Ferdinand Bol, *The Death of Dido* (ca. 1668-69). Oil on canvas, 169 x 167.5 cm, FB-103. Image courtesy of The Leiden Collection, New York.	p. 187

79	Impression of The Last Breath (created using Copilot).	p. 189
80	Pluto, Proserpina and Cerberus. Julie Hoffmann (1864), *Mythologie der Griechen und Römer für die reifere und gebildete weibliche Jugend* [*Mythology of the Greeks and Romans for the more mature and educated female youth*], Breslau. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aidoneus_%26_Persephone.png	p. 191
81	Giovanni Cesare Testa (ca. 1630–1655; after Pietro Testa), *The suicide of Dido who reclines on a pyre in centre, surrounded by many figures* (1650–55). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund (1951), public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/400122	p. 193
82	Simon Fokke, *Didoos Dood, Boertig in Hollandsche kleedy afgebeeld / La Mort de Didon, Representée en burlesque, à la Hollandoise* (1758). After design by Cornelis Troost. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200886504	p. 194
83	Marcantonio Raimondi, *Neptune quieting the storm, 'quos ego'* (*Aeneid* 1.135) (1515–1516). After design by Rafaël. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200123943	p. 198
84	Map of geographical references (created by the author).	p. 236
85	Map of Asia Minor (with Lycia in red). CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Lycia.jpg	p. 307

Preface

When the OCR Exam Board specified *Aeneid* 4.1–299 as an A-Level set text for 2013–2016, I put together a commentary on this portion of the poem for Open Book Publishers.[1] From 2027–2029, an assortment of sections from the book (1–128, 259–396, 416–503, 529–629, with the rest to be read in English) will again be up for examination. The return of *Aeneid* 4 to the syllabus provided the incentive to integrate a revised version of the 2012 publication into a study edition with commentary on the entire book. The 2012 volume included four Interpretative Essays on topics of relevance to an appreciation of Virgil's poetry, particularly his Dido episode: 'Content and Form', 'Historiographical Dido', 'Allusion', and 'Religion'. These are republished in revised form, together with select pieces of scholarship, in a companion volume entitled *Teaching Dido: Critical Perspectives on Aeneid 4* (Open Book Publishers 2026). Materials in that volume are here cited with the siglum ***TD*** followed by the topic in the case of the Interpretative Essays, or the name(s) of the author(s) in the case of the scholarship.

In the years since 2012, I have greatly benefitted from critical feedback and encouragement on my contributions to Open Book Publishers' textbook series (via reviews or emails), for which I am most grateful.[2] I have tried to take on board as much of it as I could in the present volume. It includes:

1. An introduction, which outlines angles of analysis, many of which are further explored in ***TD.***
2. Citation style and list of abbreviations.
3. The Latin text, divided into segments of c. 5–15 lines, with section headings and subtitles.[3]

1 *Virgil*, *Aeneid 4.1–299: Latin Text*, *Study Questions*, *Commentary and Interpretive Essays*, Open Book Publishers (2012).

2 https://www.openbookpublishers.com/textbooks

3 For those who like their Virgil plain, alternative options are readily available,

4. 'Grammar & Syntax' questions, designed to alert students finding their footing in Latin verse to potential difficulties in the text and encourage a mode of reading that builds from construing the Latin to an appreciation of Virgil's poetics.
5. 'Style & Theme' questions that invite reflections on the interrelation of form and content and on meaning and message.
6. Images that offer visual perspectives, keyed to broader study questions.
7. A commentary that uses 'the sentence' (requoted, with indication of elisions to help with scansion) as basis for lemmatization and combines explication of grammar and syntax with exploration of style and themes.
8. A list of vocabulary (also provided separately as a PDF on the OBP website for ease of use).[4]
9. A bibliography, including works cited in the introduction and commentary and some further readings.

At the request of readers of my previous commentaries, all Latin cited comes with macrons. Ignorance or oversight on my part in this area (those hidden quantities can be tricky!) will have ensured that some macrons are mistaken, others missing; needless to say, those who offered much-appreciated advice—notably James Clackson—are not to be blamed for any such errors.

As in the earlier outing, engagement with the secondary literature has inevitably been highly selective (the Virgil section in our Faculty Library has grown by another shelf since 2012, to say nothing of articles in learned journals) and is for the most part limited to publications in English. But I have tried to keep in dialogue with past and present commentators, in particular Pease, Austin, Maclennan, O'Hara and Fratantuono–Smith (see Citation Style and List of Abbreviations for details), all packed with precious and distinctive insights. And as previously, I have tried to quote or summarize primary sources and scholarly views rather than simply reference them, since the latter practice is bound to be pointless for my target audience.

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including .docx and .pdf files with the Latin text only on the OBP website: https://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/0527#resources

4 https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0527#resources

Acknowledgements and Dedication

The volume was written in much the same way as classics often gets taught in school these days: off the timetable, at breakfast club, in hasty response to new specifications. Timely completion would not have been feasible without a term of research leave in the spring of 2026. I am profoundly grateful to my colleagues at King's College Cambridge, Rosanna Omitowoju and Robin Osborne, for covering my tutorial responsibilities during this period. Like my other Open Book Publishers commentaries, this one would not have seen the light of day without the infinite generosity of John Henderson, who agreed to critically vet and massively enrich a draft at absurdly short notice.[1] His voice resonates throughout, and not only in those places where I cite him explicitly. Jessi Glueck and Sebastian Marshall offered quick and informed advice on some of the visual material, and Riet van Bremen helped with some early modern Dutch. I owe more than I can put into words to Alessandra Tosi and Rupert Gatti of Open Book Publishers, for their visionary approach to scholarly publishing, their enthusiastic support over the years, and their help and advice with this (rather experimental) project and the seemingly endless stream of queries it generated, not least around issues of copyright. I am also much indebted to OBP's production team, in particular Annie Hine, Adèle Kraeger, Jeevanjot Nagpal, and Laura Rodríguez Pupo, for their exemplary care and attention to detail.

The inclusion of a pronounced visual element would not have been feasible without the far-sighted munificence of museums, libraries and

1 Virginia Closs puts it well (with reference to an earlier OBP commentary): 'The project's tutelary deity appears to be the inimitable John Henderson' (*Bryn Mawr Classical Review,* 17 October 2014).

collections around the world that decided to put significant parts of their holdings in the public domain or to make them available for a modest fee or even free of charge, thereby far expanding the pool of images currently on Wikimedia. I am profoundly grateful to the following institutions, for allowing such use of their material:

The British Museum, London
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For each image, I have provided the full URL address: many sites come with further educational and scholarly resources and offer zoom functionality for more detailed appreciation of the artwork in question. The award of a Pilkington Prize for excellence in teaching from the Cambridge Centre for Teaching and Learning generated a small budget that helped defray various costs associated with the project. At the same time, much relevant material remains locked away behind prohibitive paywalls or insurmountable administrative hurdles. Following encouragement by the University of Cambridge in the summer of 2025 to explore pedagogical uses of AI, I have turned to Copilot in cases where I was unable to source a suitable (and affordable) image.

I dedicated the 2012 volume to Alessandro Schiesaro 'for now twenty years of friendship and support—as a surely inadequate, but perhaps not inappropriate, token of gratitude for someone who has pushed our understanding of Virgil's Dido "further" than anyone.' It gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to add fifteen years to the tally and renew the dedication.

Citation Style and List of Abbreviations

Commentaries cited by last name only

Austin	Austin, R. G. (1963), *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, Oxford.
Fratantuono–Smith	Fratantuono, Lee M. and Smith, R. Alden (2022), *Virgil, Aeneid 4*, Leiden.
Maclennan	Maclennan, Keith (2007), *Virgil, Aeneid IV, edited with Introduction, Notes & Vocabulary*, Bristol.
O'Hara	O'Hara, James J. (2011), *Vergil, Aeneid Book 4: The Focus Vergil Aeneid Commentaries*, Newburyport, MA.
Pease	Pease, A. S. (1935), *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, Cambridge, MA.

Translations

Unless otherwise indicated, texts and translations of Greek and Latin authors are from the respective Loeb editions (at times adjusted). In the Study Questions and Commentary, I occasionally cite different translations of the *Aeneid* for a particular phrase or sentence, to encourage student exercises in comparison and contrast, with reference to the following translations (cited by last name only):

Ahl	Ahl, Frederik (2007), *The Aeneid*, Oxford (Oxford World's Classics).
Bartsch	Bartsch, Shadi (2020), *The Aeneid: A New Translation*, London and New York.
Goold	Fairclough, H. R. and Goold, G. P. (1999), *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1–6*, Cambridge, MA. (Loeb Classical Library).
McGill and Wright	McGill, Scott and Wright, Susannah (2025), *Virgil: The Aeneid*, New York and London
West	West, David A. (1991), *The Aeneid*, London (Penguin Classics).

Formal conventions

superscript letters ($^{a, b, c}$)	indicating mid-verse sentence or sense breaks in commentary
|	indicating verse break
() e.g. **pector**(**e**)	elision (for scanning purposes) in commentary
underlining	= emphasis/strong correlation
underlining	= oblique correlation
—>	see (for reference to ***TD***)

Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
abl. abs.	ablative absolute
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
A–G	Meagan Ayer (2014), *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Dickinson College Commentaries. https://dcc.dickinson.edu/grammar/latin/credits-and-reuse

BCE	Before the Common Era (an alternative to BC = Before Christ)
CE	Common Era (an alternative to AD = *Annō Dominī* 'In the year of the Lord')
cf.	*confer* ('compare')
conj.	conjunction
contr.	contracted
dat.	dative
e.g.	*exemplī grātiā* ('for example')
ellipt.	elliptical
etc.	*et cetera* ('and the rest')
f.	feminine
Fig.	Figure
fr.	fragment
freq.	frequentative
fut.	future
G–L	Gildersleeve, B. L. and Lodge, Gonzalez (1997), *Latin Grammar*, rev. edn 1895, Bristol reprint
gen.	genitive
i.e.	*id est* ('that is')
imp.	imperative
impers.	impersonal
ind.	indicative
indecl.	indeclinable
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
interj.	interjection
m.	masculine
ms.	manuscript

mss.	manuscripts
n.	neuter
NB	*Notā Bene* ('Take notice')
nom.	nominative
num.	numerical
obj.	object
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect (tense)
pers.	person
pl.	plural
pluperf.	pluperfect
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
reflex.	reflexive
s.v.	*sub voce* = 'under the word/ heading'
sc.	*scilicet* = 'that is to say'
sg.	singular
subj.	subject
TD	*Teaching Dido: Critical Perspectives on Aeneid 4*, Ingo Gildenhard (ed.), Open Book Publishers (2026)
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*

Introduction

The opening third of Virgil's *Aeneid* is mostly set in Northern Africa. It comprises the 'Dido episode' (Books 1 and 4), which sandwiches an account of the fall of Troy (Book 2) and the Trojans' subsequent odyssey (Book 3) as told by Aeneas during a welcoming banquet in Carthage.[1] If Dido and Aeneas 'share' Book 1, he takes the narrative limelight in Books 2 and 3, both as narrator and actor. But with the keynote of Book 4 (*At rēgīna*…), the attention switches decisively to Dido. This is her book. And she 'owns' it to an extent unrivalled by any other character in the poem. For many a reader (starting with Ovid),[2] the encounter between Dido and Aeneas constitutes the highlight of the epic. *Aeneid* 4 certainly maxes out in terms of 'human interest'. It combines the drama of *Sex and the City*, *Love Island*, and *The Crown*, with the archetype of the tabloid press, Virgil's twittering figure of *Fāma*, right there in the thick of things. Here we have Dido in love and limerence, tortured by a (misguided?) sense of loyalty to her murdered husband Sychaeus, used and abused by divine forces, a female leader to boot proudly asserting herself in a man's world, until passionate desire and a sense of betrayal push her into black magic and, ultimately, suicide—but not before uttering a world-historical curse that beds down at the very centre of Virgil's philosophy of history; there is Aeneas, recently bereft of paternal guidance (he buried his dad in Sicily just before being blown off course to Carthage), embracing a 'friends with benefits' relationship while taking a break from fate, and earning his keep by giving a helping hand to Dido's city-building project, providing a preview of 'Antony and Cleopatra'—before waving the queen good-bye, scared out of (or into) his wits by a

1 Compare Odysseus' account of his travels at the court of Alcinous on the fantasy island of Scheria/Phaeacia at *Odyssey* 9–12 before his onward travel back to Ithaca.

2 See *Tristia* 2, an auto-apology indirectly addressed to the princeps Augustus from his exile in Tomi.

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severe supernatural talking-to. Love and loyalty, desire and politics, the private and the public, human and divine, devotion and betrayal galore: what's not to like?

At the same time, the entire affair is also decidedly odd: it flies in the face of what was commonly accepted as historical fact at the time. According to historiographical orthodoxy, Aeneas never set foot in Africa on his way from Troy to Rome, and he and Dido lived several hundred years apart.[3] Virgil's contemporary Livy, for instance, never mentions Carthage in his account of the Aeneas-legend, let alone washes up his character on African shores.[4] True, the most significant predecessors in Latin epic, Livius Andronicus (c. 284 – c. 204 BCE), Naevius (c. 270 – c. 201 BCE), and Ennius (c. 239 – c. 169 BCE), wrote their works during or (in part) about the first and second Punic War (264–241 BCE; 218–201 BCE).[5] But for Virgil even the third and final clash between the two imperial powers (ending in 146 BCE with the destruction of Carthage) was *ancient* history, especially after a century of civil bloodshed. And yet he programmatically triangulates Troy, Carthage, and Rome in the *Aeneid*: if his *core* proem (1.1–11) is focused on the trajectory from Troy ([1]*Trōiae ... ab ōrīs*) to Rome ([7]*... altae moenia Rōmae*), he begins his *extended* proem (1.12–33) with a reference to Carthage ([12–13]*urbs antīqua fuit ... | Karthāgō*) and goes on to explore the myth-historical enmity between the two cities.[6]

The proem thus obliquely advertises the special place of Carthage and its queen in Virgil's literary universe as Rome's specular other.[7] As

3 —> ***TD*** 'Historiographical Dido'.

4 Livy 1.1.4 *Aenēam ab similī clāde domō profugum, sed ad maiōra rērum initia dūcentibus fātīs, prīmō in Macedoniam uēnisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sēdēs dēlātum, ab Siciliā classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse* 'Aeneas, driven from home by a similar misfortune [as Antenor], but guided by fate to undertakings of greater consequence, came first to Macedonia; thence was carried, in his quest of a place of settlement, to Sicily; and from Sicily laid his course towards the land of Laurentum'. Livy shares with or copies from Virgil Aeneas' association with refugee status (*profugum*) and fate (*dūcentibus fātīs*) (cf. *Aen.* 1.2 *fātō profugus*), but gets him straight from Sicily (*ab Siciliā*) to Latium (*ad Laurentem agrum*) without Virgil's Carthaginian adventure (a Tolkienesque 'there and back again': in Book 5 we are in the same place as the opening of Book 1—but everything has changed).

5 For the (unlikely) possibility that Naevius preceded Virgil in staging an encounter (without the love affair?) between Dido and Aeneas see ***TD*** 'Historiographical Dido' 28 n. 17.

6 For the historical city of Carthage and its inhabitants see Altekamp (2024), Callaway (2025), Miles (2010), MacDonald (2025) and Ringbauer (2025).

7 The link is provided by Juno, who is fingered as Aeneas' honour-obsessed antagonist

Alessandro Schiesaro (2008: 206–7) puts it:

> Dido's challenge to the ostensible ideology of the *Aeneid* is more radical than the specific alternative she posits to Aeneas' itinerary: she stands in Virgil's poem as the most powerful incarnation of a radically alternative world-view. Thrown on the shores of a potentially hostile land, welcomed (not without divine intervention) by a generous and attractive queen whose fate is in many respects parallel to his own, Aeneas is faced – for the first time – with a real alternative to his life's business, the search of a new homeland for his displaced people. The false foundations which dotted his earlier wanderings, even the emotional encounter with Andromache's pathetic (and pathological) solution to a similar problem – how can the defeated Trojans construct a new Troy? –, were temporary, limited, and patently unviable detours. Carthage is different. There he can become the co-regent, effectively the king, of a prosperous new land; his people can merge with the locals; royal succession would be guaranteed by Ascanius, or, down the line, by the child he will eventually conceive with Dido, the queen he has fallen in love with: we can glimpse, tantalizingly, a totally different world-history. The text is ready to acknowledge how much Aeneas is tempted by this unexpected scenario: coming to Carthage on Jupiter's orders, Mercury finds him *fundantem arces ac tecta novantem* (260), forgetful (*oblitus*) of his reign and his mission (267).

Carthage is also the place where Virgil's 'philosophy of history' assumes its final shape. The figure of Dido and her function within his cosmic plot are crucial for his aetiological ambition to prefigure and sum(mon) up *all* of Roman history, the triumphs *as well as* the tragedies—and centre *everything* in the kinship clan (*gēns*) of Augustus, which in the *Aeneid* is taken to symbolically represent at some level the entire 'Roman race' (*gēns Rōmāna*).[8] When Aeneas leaves Carthage he (and his people) carry a double destiny: one prewritten in the books of fate, the other conjured into being by Dido's curse.[9] Among much else, Carthage and Dido thus emerge as crucial indices of Virgil's literary and conceptual creativity and his poetics of (autocratic) power. The rest of the introduction surveys analytic angles on Aeneas' adventures in Dido-land, starting with the two protagonists and the other characters (human and divine) that appear in the narrative, moving on to aspects

in 1.1–11 and presented as especially fond of Carthage in 1.12–33.

8 —> ***TD*** Gildenhard.

9 —> ***TD*** Geisthardt and Gildenhard.

of poetics, and concluding with considerations of historical and political context. Rather than offering an exhaustive discussion of these critical perspectives, this overview is designed as a quick, first orientation and guide to further readings, not least the materials collected in ***TD***.[10]

1. Human Characters

1.1. Dido and Aeneas: a complementary couple

As the history of engagement with Virgil's poetry shows, each reader of the *Aeneid* construes their own Dido (as well as their own Aeneas) and has a view on the rights and wrongs of their relationship (and why Virgil construed his characters and their interactions the way he did: this always also relates to our idea of 'Virgil', on some level). Who is (more) to blame? Does Dido receive what she deserves? Does Aeneas?[11] Some lionize, some demonize Virgil's Dido (tragic founding figure of heroic stature or love-crazed *femme fatale*?); some admire, some despise his Aeneas (an all-too-human but loyal son and father finally following the call of duty or cold-hearted traitor?)—with fifty shades of sympathy or revulsion in between. This is as it should be: classical studies, and especially that portion of the field consisting of critical dialogue with creative literature, is to an extent a form of fan fiction, inevitably implicated in the predilections and prejudices, preconceptions and

10 Coincidentally, it also traces a history of sorts of literary criticism on the *Aeneid* (and Latin poetry more generally). In a rough-and-ready way, one might say that in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (the age of New Criticism), interest in imagery trended; that scholarship in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, under the influence of French theory, raised appreciation of genre, narratology, intratextuality and intertextuality to new levels of sophistication (at times with the help of psychoanalysis); and that in the 2010s and 2020s issues of race, ethnicity, empire and geopolitics have started to assert themselves more forcefully than before. These critical interests are of course not mutually exclusive, and there have always been pioneers and mavericks: not everyone marches in lockstep with the *Zeitgeist*. And some issues, such as the gendered dynamic between Dido and Aeneas or the poem's politics, are critical perennials, up for constant re-evaluation, in dialogue with political developments in society at large.

11 *culpa* ('guilt') and *meritum* ('desert') are key concepts not just in *Aeneid* 4: Virgil brings them into play at the very start when he raises the question of theodicy. —> ***TD*** 'Religion'.

preferences of whoever does the reading.[12]

Virgil's construal of the pair as a 'complementary couple' adds to the fun: Dido and Aeneas are both strikingly similar and polar opposites. Both are refugees from the Eastern Mediterranean, destined to establish settler communities and found imperial cities after migrating westwards. Their backstories share many a detail, not least the nightmarish appearance of a ghost that precipitates departure into exile. After Dido's brother Pygmalion had murdered her husband Sychaeus during a sacrifice and concealed the deed, the ghost of the deceased revealed the outrage to Dido in a dream, as Venus-in-disguise tells Aeneas (1.353–56):

> ipsa sed in somnīs inhumātī uēnit imāgō
> coniugis; ōra modīs attōllēns pallida mīrīs
> crūdēlīs ārās trāiectaque pectora ferrō
> nūdāuit, caecumque domūs scelus omne retēxit.
>
> [But in her sleep came the very ghost of her unburied husband; raising his pale face in wondrous wise, he laid bare the cruel altars and his breast pierced with steel, unveiling all the secret horror of the house.]

And in his account of the fall of Troy, Aeneas himself, knowing perhaps that Dido can relate, recounts the dream-appearance of Hector (2.270–71*in somnīs, ecce, ante oculōs maestissimus Hector | uīsus adesse mihī*... 'In slumbers, I dreamed that Hector, most sorrowful, stood before my eyes'), who hands over Troy's household gods and orders him to leave the city (2.268–97). Before doing so, Aeneas witnesses Priam slaughtered at the altars (2.550*altāria ad ipsa*), just like Sychaeus—a situation that triggers the ghost-like appearance of his own father, yet alive but in need of rescue (2.560*subiit cārī genitōris imāgō*; the idiom recalls and inverts 1.353–54*inhumātī uēnit imāgō | coniugis*, cited above).[13] Even before Aeneas establishes common ground with Dido via a ghost story, Dido herself is struck by the degree to which she and Aeneas resemble each other (1.628–29): *mē quoque per multōs similis fortūna labōrēs | iactātam hāc dēmum uoluit*

12 Stimulating discussions include Monti (1981), Feeney (1983), Moles (1987), Horsfall (1995: 123–34) and Spence (1999). And, of course, each commentator expresses a view.

13 See further Schiesaro (2005: 96).

cōnsistere terrā 'Me, too, has a like fortune driven through many toils, and willed to find rest at last in this land'. She uses proemial language, seemingly implying that Virgil could have written his epic just as well about herself: the plot would have been the same.[14] On one level, Dido and Aeneas are indeed twinned as if brother and sister, destined for marriage in the form of the sibling liaisons commonly practiced in Ptolemaic Egypt.[15] Two specular similes that compare Dido and Aeneas respectively to the divine twins Diana and Apollo mark the affinity.[16]

But the parallels only go so far. Aeneas is marked as a 'man of fate' from the outset ([1.2]*fātō profugus*). Dido initially conceives of herself (and Aeneas!) as figures of fortune (see 1.628–29 cited in the previous paragraph). The contrast between 'the man of fate' and 'the woman of fortune' feeds into the *Aeneid*'s binary design, which opposes Jupiter to Juno, cosmos to chaos, male to female, fate to fortune, success to failure. The epic, unsurprisingly, tends to associate the losers of history with *fortūna* and the winners with *fātum*; but in aesthetic terms, the tragic figures of fortune arguably prevail over the characters who carry destiny on their shoulders: 'Fortune denotes short-term contingency as opposed to the historical long run that is Fate. History's losers only have the short term and must make the most of it. Their fortunes become personalized, allowing for the assertion of selfhood and the willfulness that make Dido and Turnus the most vivid characters in the poem.'[17]

Dido's own relation to *fātum* is one of the more intriguing features of the *Aeneid*. In Virgil's literary universe, not everything is fated from the outset. While the overall parameters of history and certain outcomes are predetermined, a significant degree of contingency remains, enabling individual agents, human and divine, to inflect the overall shape of

14 See [1.3]*multum ille et terrīs iactātus et altō*; [5]*multa quoque et bellō passus*.

15 A subliminal point of reference throughout, given recent Roman history, with both Julius Caesar and Mark Antony ending up as lovers of the last Ptolemaic queen, Cleopatra VII. (The attribute 'Ptolemaic' derives from Ptolemy, one of the Macedonian generals of Alexander the Great, who ended up with Egypt as his kingdom when the so-called successors broke up Alexander's vast empire after his death.)

16 See *Aeneid* 1.494–504 and 4.141–50. For the implied incest see Schiesaro (2005: 96): 'The pair of similes suggests that the two very much resemble each other, are indeed "doubles" linked by a potentially incestuous bond', and Hardie (2006).

17 Quint (1993: 93). For the most recent monographic treatment of *fātum* in the *Aeneid* see Zanker (2023) with the review by Casali (2024).

history given that whatever happens within the unfolding story-world has aetiological implications: Roman history truly begins the moment the *Aeneid* ends (with everything to follow now fully prefigured). At the very centre of this design stands Dido. She is Aeneas' most significant other, eclipsing even Turnus, insofar as she does something no other character manages to do: bend fate to her will. Contrary to a widespread misconception, she was not destined to die at the end of *Aeneid* 4. Rather, she was destined (!) *not* to die. Virgil is explicit in stating that her suicide was *against* fate (696). Dido thus achieves something that ought to be impossible, an action that flouts predestination, which, in terms of agency, turns her into the most powerful figure in the poem. This act of defiance also countersigns her curse in blood and helps to turn her into a force of destiny herself. Dido morphs into a fate-like force, an anti-fate, that from then on complements *fātum* in a vision of Roman history entirely Virgil's own.[18]

If Dido starts as Aeneas' specular double, in later books she haunts the text as a ghostly shade, often in the form of her efficacious curse. A particular poignant instance is the meeting of Dido and Aeneas in the Underworld at *Aeneid* 6.440–76. Just as the shadow of Ajax at *Odyssey* 11.541–67 sulks speechlessly when his mortal enemy, still alive, appears in the world of the dead and tries to engage him in conversation, Dido refuses to respond to our hero and moves away in fraught and dignified silence, joining the shade of her former husband Sychaeus (cf. Fig. 3). Another moment of similar emotive power comes in *Aeneid* 11, when Aeneas covers the dead body of Pallas, the only son of his guest-friend Euander, who was killed by Turnus, with magnificent pieces of garment made by Dido (11.72–75)—not unlike the one, perhaps even the same, he is wearing at *Aeneid* 4.262–64 (cf. Fig. 71). The death of Pallas is by far the worst catastrophe that Aeneas suffers in the course of the poem.[19] It turns him into a beast of sorts, leads to the perpetration of human sacrifice during the funeral of his fallen charge, and motivates the final scene of the epic: Aeneas kills Turnus in a fit of rage upon seeing Pallas' sword-belt on his prostrate enemy, which instantly wipes away any thought of mercy. By evoking Dido as Aeneas bends over the dead body of Pallas, Virgil, among other things, subtly reminds us that the curse

18 —> ***TD*** Geisthardt and Gildenhard.
19 Gildenhard and Henderson (2018).

with which Dido sends Aeneas on his way at 4.590–629 is hitting home.

In addition to the inherent 'human interest' element of the encounter, their relationship thus unfolds within and feeds into wider frames of reference at the very core of the *Aeneid*'s vision of the world. Other angles to consider include: How do Dido and Aeneas measure up to ancient norms of hospitality?[20] How does Virgil use intertextuality to generate psychological depth for Dido (if not Aeneas)?[21] What might Virgil's (sexist) portrayal of Dido as *fēmina dux* have meant for contemporary readers, what does it do for readers now?[22] How is his figure implicated in discourses of race and gender, colonialism and empire?[23]

1.2. Minor characters and anonymous multitudes

Two further mortals with speaking roles appear in *Aeneid* 4: Dido's sister, Anna, and the local king, Iarbas.

(a) Anna: In the *Aeneid*, the 'tritagonist' (Pease, 49) Anna hardly exists as a figure in her own right: 'Anna's whole identity in the poem is bound up in the words with which Dido addresses her on her first appearance (4.9) – *Anna soror*. She is the devoted and beloved sister of the Carthaginian queen, the confidante of the first stirrings of Dido's love and the witness of its tragic end. She is a sister, but is treated (by Dido, by the poem, by its intertextuality, and by the majority of critics) as more like a much-loved but still subordinate servant, such as a nurse or other enslaved companion. Rather than being a royal princess, the Anna of the *Aeneid* is invisible until such time as she is called upon by Dido and the plot to perform some service.'[24] In the four scenes in which she appears, she acts as 'confidante, the message-bearer, the minister to false magic, and the deserted'.[25] Yet Virgil's portrayal of her is hardly devoid of psychological depth and nuance; and the sibling relationship

20 —> ***TD*** Gibson.
21 —> ***TD*** Schiesaro.
22 See Giusti and Rimell (2021) on the challenges of developing a feminist position vis-à-vis Virgil's text, with the contrapuntal options of collusive and corrective readings.
23 —> ***TD*** Giusti.
24 Sharrock (2021: 110). Anna's intertextual siblings include, not least, sister pairs in tragedy (see e.g. Coo, 2013, 2021).
25 Swallow (1951: 145).

on display has its fair share of problematic complexity.[26] Lines 421–23 offer surprising, retrospective insight into the frequent comings and goings at Dido's palace while the affair was in full swing: in her role as confidant and go-between, Anna somehow got to know Aeneas better than Dido! And in the intertextual multiverse, traces of which are present in Virgil's narrative, it was Anna who fell in love with the Trojan hero or even followed him to Italy, to the vexation of Aeneas' Italian wife Lavinia.[27] In Ovid's *Fāstī*, Anna ends up as the local Italic divinity Anna Perenna, with a festival on the Ides of March.[28]

(b) Iarbas: The offspring of Jupiter and a Garamantian nymph, Virgil's Iarbas possesses more divine DNA than any other human in the poem. And yet his role in the text is marginal. Before the narrative starts, he has been tricked into ceding the region around Carthage to queen Dido and her refugees from Tyre, only to get rejected by her as a suitor, on the grounds of sworn loyalty to her former husband Sychaeus. That the Settler Lady from Phoenicia should then fall for the Trojan castaway adds insult to injury, and Iarbas decides to plead his case with father Jupiter, whom he worships on a grand scale, clearly in the (desperate?) hope of some sort of transactional reciprocity. In his prayer he joins the persona of the poet in raising the issue of theodicy (are the gods just, given the injustices that even the most pious humans suffer?), threatens to atomize Jupiter with the help of Epicurean physics, and drags Aeneas' manly image through the mud, calling him a second Paris attended by an entourage of androgynes. His outburst does reach Jupiter, who, however, seems callously indifferent to Iarbas' personal grievance.[29] Apart from enriching the religious discourse of the epic, Iarbas' cameo appearance also anchors the text within wider geopolitical horizons, as

26 Barrett (1970), West (1979); further Brescia (2002).

27 Anna as lover of Aeneas: Servius Auctus *ad Aen*. 4.682 *Varrō ait nōn Didōnem sed Annam amōre Aenēae impulsam sē suprā rogum interēmisse* and Serv. *Aen*. 5.4 *sānē sciendum Varrōnem dīcere Aenēam ab Annā amātum*. Discussion: Pease 20–21, Gaertner (2025a: 166–72). Servius does not imply that Dido was ever in love with Aeneas before Virgil; rather, he suggests that some author (or some tradition) engineered a meeting of Aeneas with Anna (and/as/instead of Dido) that ended in her suicide or, in other versions, her pursuit of Aeneas to Italy.

28 *Fāstī* 3.545–656; see Heyworth (2019: 194–217). Barrett (1970: 23–24) points out that this variant generates a double meaning for [421]*perfidus ille*. See further Castellani (1987), Burbridge (2009), Brescia (2012), McIntyre and McCallum (2019) and Fratantuono (2020b).

29 —> ***TD*** 'Religion'.

a representative of the indigenous African population victimized by the Phoenician land-grab.[30] Virgil's Iarbas is also the mythical double of a range of historical North-African rulers.

In supporting roles, Book 4 also features a range of silent characters, including Aeneas' son Ascanius (though we get an insight into his still childlike imagination during the hunt, 156–59), the select individuals to whom Aeneas issues orders to get ready for departure ([288]Mnestheus, Sergestus, Serestus), Sychaeus' nurse Barce (630–41) and various groups of people such as the 'Massylian cavalry' ([132]*Massȳlī ... equitēs*), the 'Punic nobles' ([133–34]*prīmī | Poenōrum*) and the 'Phrygian companions' ([140]*Phrygiī comitēs*) that participate in the hunt, or the female servants (*famulae*) who tend to Dido after she faints (391–92).[31]

1.3. Ghosts: Anchises and Sychaeus

Two deceased characters also loom large in *Aeneid* 4, making their presence felt via visitations (or hallucinations): Aeneas' father, Anchises; and Dido's husband, Sychaeus.

(a) Anchises: For the ideology of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* it is crucial for Peleus (the father of Achilles) and Laertes (the father of Odysseus) to be alive and kicking at the close, if for different reasons. In the grand scene of reconciliation in *Iliad* 24, Achilles finds common ground with king Priam, whose son Hector he killed to avenge the death of his beloved Patroclus, by realizing that his own father Peleus will soon be in the same position as the elderly king of Troy—grieving for a son slain in his prime. And the *Odyssey* (as ever, working in contrast to the *Iliad*) ends on a triumphant note of lineage continuity across three generations, with Laertes, Odysseus and Telemachus facing off against the families of the slaughtered suitors. By contrast, Virgil wanted his proto-Roman protagonist 'legally adult' (*suī iūris*) for the entire epic rather than under 'paternal power' (*patria potestās*), so he strategically kills Anchises off just before the narrative portion of the *Aeneid* starts at 1.34. (His death in Sicily is the last event recounted in Aeneas' retrospect at 3.708–11.) Anchises nevertheless hovers prominently over the first half of the

30 —> ***TD*** Giusti.

31 Sharrock (2021) puts those epic characters in the limelight that tend to fly under the scholarly radar.

epic. In his single speech in Book 4, Aeneas claims nightly hauntings by his father's image. Deceased dad, so our loyal little trooper avows, is trying his nightmarish best to frighten his wayward son back onto the straight and narrow road to Rome. The ensuing constellation is proto-Freudian, with Aeneas' Ego being torn between Anchises (Superego = Roman Duty) and Dido (Id = Carthaginian Lust and Luxury). From the point of view of Anchises, the sojourn in Carthage is an unfortunate blip between their joint adventures at Troy and on the road (Books 2–3), the funeral games in his honour that take centre stage in Book 5, and the climactic visit his son pays him in the Underworld in Book 6. (Virgil here deviates sharply from a tradition in which Anchises reached Italy alive. According to Servius Auctus, putting him to death early was a blessing in disguise;[32] or put differently, it is hard to imagine the love story with Anchises present and alive.)[33]

(b) Sychaeus: Dido experiences a similar calling from beyond the grave. She swears loyalty to her dead husband Sychaeus, killed and abandoned back in Tyre, at the beginning of Book 4 (24–27), as a way of staving off her love for Aeneas. But once abandoned and bent on suicide, she hears his voice reaching out to her from the afterlife. What precisely he says, Virgil does not tell.[34] However, as Book 6 shows, where Dido is reunited in mourning with her husband, *Aeneid* 1–4 are for her just as much an aberration as for Aeneas.[35]

Virgil's hauntology contributes to his Carthage as a 'heterotopia' (a space of infinite possibility and inversion).[36]

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32 See his note at 3.711 *sed bene hīc subtrahitur, nē parum decorō amōrī intersit* 'But it's a good call to euthanise him at this point, lest he witness a rather disgraceful love-affair'.

33 For Anchises' premature passing as a prerequisite for Aeneas' love affair with Dido, see Heinze (1914/1999: 147): 'Anchises has to have died before Aeneas reaches Carthage; if his father had still been with him, his love-affair and the neglect of his divine mission would have been unthinkable' (cited by Gaertner, 2025a: 154). Casali (2007) explores how Virgil reshaped Naevius' and Ennius' figure of Anchises with a view to Augustan realities.

34 Ovid is less reticent: see *Hērōidēs* 7.99–102: 'Standing in shrine of marble is an image of Sychaeus I hold sacred—in the midst of green leaves hung about, and fillets of white wool. From within it four times have I heard myself called by a voice well known; he himself was crying in faintly sounding tone: "Elissa, come!"'

35 See further Dyck (1983).

36 For the Foucauldian concept and is application to Virgil's Carthage, see Giusti (2017).

2. Divine Characters (and Religion)

The royal couple Juno and Jupiter—the only two divinities who attract the epithet *omnipotēns*—preside over the *Aeneid*'s 'binary' profile: she is the goddess of beginnings, he the god of the end; she unleashes chaos, he upholds cosmos; she tries to derail the predetermined future, he acts as archivist and executor of fate.[37] The *Aeneid* chronicles the tug of war between the Lord and Lady of Mt. Olympus. Juno provides the negative energy that enables epic action: the storm she unleashes in Book 1 generates the material for the first half of the poem; and when this impetus runs out of steam with the arrival of Aeneas and the Trojans in Italy in Book 6, she ups the ante and summons the Fury Allecto from hell, whose intervention animates the action for another six books (7.286–340). Conversely, Jupiter is responsible for ensuring that the forces of destruction set loose by Juno are kept within bounds. The poem ends soon after Juno, the Lady of Contingency, and Jupiter, the Lord of Destiny, strike a bargain (12.791–842).

In Book 4, both Juno and Jupiter enlist the help of minor divinities. The chains of command obey a strict gender binary: Jupiter orders Mercury to intervene with Aeneas; Juno calls on Iris to help Dido: 'We may observe a pattern of practically structuralist tidiness in the opposed female/male pairs of Hera/Iris and Zeus/Hermes, translated by Virgil into Juno/Iris and Jupiter/Mercury. The marked gendering of the opposition of Juno and Jupiter has recently been studied by D. Fowler, who analyses the *Aeneid*'s struggle between deferral and closure, emotion | and rationality, error and truth within the terms of the confrontation between the female anarchy of Juno and the male authority of Jupiter.'[38] Given the apparent predictability of this design, it comes

37 The best account of the (anthropomorphic) gods in the *Aeneid* is Feeney (1991). For 'Jupiter's *Aeneid*', see Hejduk (2009); for 'Juno's *Aeneid*', Farrell (2021). Virgil marks the complementarity syntactically via two correlated instances of *cum-inversum* at *Aeneid* 1.34–37 (*... cum Iuno...*) and 1.223–26 (*et iam fīnis erat, cum Iuppiter...*). The device frames the initial stretch of action, being first associated with Juno—the goddess of beginning and obstruction, whose intervention verges on generating chaos but also provides dramatic energy—and then with Jupiter, the god of ending (cf. *fīnis*) and order.

38 Feeney (1998/2021: 152–53). Juno, of course, does not mind resorting to male minions when it suits her purpose: in Book 1, she bribes Aeolus with a nubile nymph into disobeying Jupiter's orders.

as a welcome divertissement that laughter-loving Venus confounds this 'pattern of practically structuralist tidiness'. A paradox herself, insofar as she embodies both maternal instincts and irresistible erotic desire, she relies on a male intermediary to meddle in the human realm: her son Cupid, whom she asks to target queen Dido in an intervention that causes havoc in the name of fate.[39] Why precisely she felt the need to muscle in on the action this way, combining anarchy with authority, and what she thought she would gain by afflicting Dido with limerence for Aeneas is up for debate: Venus herself claims that she fears Dido and her people (whether rightly or wrongly), despite Jupiter's reassurances and Mercury's safeguarding measures. She knows that Juno is incensed (1.661–63, cited and discussed below 27–28). Her mischievous meddling yields a moment of high diplomacy, when Juno and Venus agree to put sex and/as marriage between Dido and Aeneas to the test (90–128).

More than any other book of the epic, *Aeneid* 4 also pushes discourse about the supernatural sphere beyond the anthropomorphic. The figure of *Fāma* is both a personified concept and a chthonic monster and acts as female counterpart (the binary again) to Mercury.[40] When Dido and Anna seek approval for the queen's liaison with Aeneas, their interaction with a range of divinities, named (Juno, Ceres, Apollo, Dionysus) and unnamed, follows the protocols of Rome's civic religion (communication via signs on the innards of sacrificial victims). And when Dido realizes that neither Juno nor Jupiter see to it that justice is done, she takes matters into her own hands and taps into the realm of magic. With her suicide she secures a curse from supernatural forces, according to the logic of the Roman ritual of *dēuōtiō*. Her main 'point of contact' here is the goddess Hecate, who has an eerie, undefined, but powerfully efficacious presence in the narrative, but often flies under the scholarly radar. In the book's finale we learn that Proserpina operates a rigorous regime of admission to the Underworld that Dido (initially) fails to meet. The anthropomorphic divinities who appear in the narrative (Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Mercury, Iris, Cupid) are thus only one aspect of the religious discourse in *Aeneid* 4.

Importantly, Virgil's theology comes with a pronounced

39 For Venus in the *Aeneid* see Gutting (2006, 2009).
40 Hardie (1986: 276–85).

epistemological dimension: the degree of insight into the workings of the universe that human characters are afforded or acquire differs significantly. Some characters, such as Iarbas or Anna, remain for the most part in the dark. Some, such as Aeneas, benefit from (repeated) epiphanies with crystal-clear instructions. And one character starts out rather clueless but ends up uniquely cognizant of how and within what boundaries she can assert (religious) agency: Dido.[41]

3. Structure and Plot

Aeneid 4 can be divided into three main parts. Virgil marks the beginning of each section with the quasi-formulaic phrase *At rēgīna*. It draws programmatic attention to the protagonist of the book (Dido, *queen* of Carthage) and the *at*-versative role she plays in the narrative:

1–295 *At rēgīna grauī iamdūdum saucia cūrā ...*
296–503 *At rēgīna dolōs* (*quis fallere possit amantem?*) ...
504–705 *At rēgīna, pyrā penetrālī in sēde sub aurās ...*

As Quinn (1968: 135) notes: 'The book is the shortest of the twelve [by contrast we have to re-read 2+3 over and over again, Dido insists] and the most dramatic in form. A tripartite structure is more clearly discernible than in the other books: lines 1–295 recount the beginning of the affair; lines 296–503, the alienation; lines 504–705, the end of the affair – Aeneas' departure and Dido's suicide.' He also notes that for each section, the word following the phrase *at rēgīna* (*grauī*, *dolōs*, *pyrā*) 'strikes the keynote of the ensuing action'. The design is dynamic: Dido experiences gradual empowerment in her trajectory from erotic infatuation to infuriated suicide. As love turns to hatred, ignorance morphs into insight. Over the course of the book, Dido's understanding of the workings of Virgil's literary universe gradually increases. She stops being a stooge and becomes a (free-)agent—arguably (as noted) the most powerful in the poem, gods included. She may start out as a mortal plaything of callous divinities but ends up having her way with history and destiny, without ever losing the unassailable credit she already has in the bank as pitiful victim.

41 —> ***TD*** 'Religion' and Geisthardt and Gildenhard.

4. Themes and Imagery

One striking feature of *Aeneid* 4 is the dynamic coherence of the imagery and the fluid interface and imbrication of 'the figurative' and 'the literal'. Virgil uses a range of images to visualize Dido's psycho-pathological condition and explore its socio-political impact. And over the course of the book many of the metaphors for erotic passion that Virgil has splashed across the opening lines become 'literalized'.[42] Here is a list of some recurrent themes and images to look out for:

(a) Wounds and wounding. Virgil begins the book by diagnosing Dido as 'wounded' by love and being pierced in her chest (*pectus*) by the sight of Aeneas ([1]*saucia*, [2]*uulnus*, [4]*haerent īnfīxī pectore*, [67]*tacitum uīuit sub pectore uulnus*); he illustrates the condition at 4.70–73 with the simile of the stricken doe, wounded and killed by an errant arrow (*quam* [*sc. ceruam*] *fīxit* | *pāstor agēns tēlīs ... haeret laterī lētālis harundō*); and he reapplies this cluster of words to the physical wound Dido inflicts on herself at the end ([683]*uulnera*, [689]*īnfīxum strīdit sub pectore uulnus*). The simile marks a midway stage in the gradual transformation of the erotic imagery at the opening of the book into lethal reality at its end: a figure of speech designed to illustrate Dido's pathological condition, it involves the actual wounding and killing of an animal. In contrast to his counterpart Eros in Apollonius' *Argonautica* 3, Virgil's Cupid is not depicted as using arrows against Dido. Bow and arrow imagery is displaced upon Aeneas, the *pāstor* of the simile: 'Vergil's Cupid is emphatically not an archer. That role is reserved for his half-brother: for Aeneas, here in 4.69ff. [= the simile of the wounded doe].'[43]

(b) Fire imagery, too, has associations with Cupid, the firebrand or marriage torch, but the notion of a conflagration also refers to physiological symptoms of love (such as going hot and cold at the sight of the beloved). Words signifying flames and fire recur frequently from the moment Venus instructs Cupid to light Dido's fire in *Aeneid* 1

42 Analysis of recurrent images has been a time-honoured and rewarding way of reading *Aeneid* 4 for decades, with peaks during the heydays of New Criticism. See for example Newton (1957) or Ferguson (1970). In general terms, West (1969) is fundamental for a sophisticated appreciation of Virgil's 'art of the simile'.

43 Lyne (1987: 195).

([1.660]*incendat* [*sc. Amor*] *rēgīnam atque ossibus implicet ignem*, [1.688]*occultum īnspīrēs ignem*). Amor does as instructed, and by the time *Aeneid* 4 opens, Dido burns with erotic passion: [2]*caecō carpitur ignī*, [54]*incēnsum animum īnflammāuit amōre*, [68]*ūritur īnfēlīx Dīdō*, [101]*ārdet amāns Dīdō*.[44]

ignis recurs throughout the book across a wide semantic spectrum: [167]*fulsēre ignēs* (lightning), [200]*uigilem ... sacrāuerat ignem* (cultic worship), [209]*caecī ... in nūbibus ignēs* (lightning), [384]*sequar ātrīs ignibus* (Dido's personified curse), [661]*hauriat hunc oculīs ignem* (Dido's lit funeral pyre seen by Aeneas, as imagined by Dido), [676]*hoc ignēs āraeque parābant* (Anna referring to the funeral pyre). The related word *flamma* has a similarly pervasive presence and trajectory: [23]*agnoscō ueteris uestīgia flammae* (erotic passion), [66]*ēst mollīs flamma medullās* (erotic passion), [567]*iam feruere lītora flammīs* (torches wielded by the departing Trojans), [594]*ferte citī flammās* and [605]*implēssem ... forōs flammīs* (imaginary firebrands Dido desires to throw on the Trojan fleet), [607]*Sōl, quī terrārum flammīs opera omnia lustrās* (rays of the sun), [640]*Dardaniī ... rogum capitis permittere flammae* (the flames of the funeral pyre), [670]*flammae ... furēntes* (the conflagration that burns down Tyre and Carthage in the simile illustrating Dido's pyre). Repeated use of the words *fax* 'torch' (472, 567, 604, 626) and *pyra* (494, 504) or *rogus* 'pyre' (640, 646, 676) in the second half of the book supports the gradual literalization of the metaphor. But the fire imagery also undergoes a transformation at the figurative level: Dido's internal 'burning' gradually morphs from amorous passion into biblical wrath, a process facilitated by *Fāma*'s interventions. She 'inflames' Iarbas' mind with her incendiary report of what Dido and Aeneas get up to ([197]*incendit ... animum*; [203]*rūmōre accēnsus amārō*) and likewise incenses Dido with the news that Aeneas is leaving ([300]*incēnsa*). Aeneas' attempt to quench her pyromaniac conduct ([360]*dēsine mēque tuīs incendere tēque querēlīs*) is to no avail. Dido remains emotionally on fire for the rest of the book ([364]*accēnsa*, [376]*heu furiīs incēnsa feror*, [697]*accēnsa*) and, in the form of the curse, the rest of the narrative and Roman history down to the time of Virgil.

The gradual transformation of metaphors of love into realities of death is one of the most haunting (and poetically brilliant) aspects of *Aeneid* 4: 'These sequences of fire and wound images are fine examples

44 For *ārdeō, ārdēre*, see also [262]*Tyriō ... ārdēbat mūrice laena*, [281]*ārdet abīre fugā*, [482]*stellīs ārdentibus aptum*.

of "linked imagery" ... They introduce among other things a sense of tragic inevitability. Dido's love wound is converted remorselessly and seemingly inevitably in the maintained imagery into the wound of her suicide; and the fire of her love is converted with similar but less sympathetic inevitability into the fires of her curse.'[45] And it is fitting that Aeneas' last image of Dido-land happens on seas blackened by storm (*flūctūs ... ātrōs Aquilōne*), as he gazes back from his departing ship on a Carthage ominously aglow in flames (5.1–7):

> Intereā medium Aenēās iam classe tenēbat
> certus iter flūctūsque ātrōs Aquilōne secābat
> moenia respiciēns, quae iam īnfēlīcis Elissae
> conlūcent flammīs. quae tantum accenderit ignem
> causa latet; dūrī magnō sed amōre dolōrēs
> pollūtō, nōtumque furēns quid fēmina possit,
> trīste per augurium Teucrōrum pectora dūcunt.
>
> [Meanwhile Aeneas with his fleet was now holding steadfastly his mid-sea course, and cleaving the waves that darkened under the north wind, looking back on the city walls which now gleam with unhappy Elissa's funeral flames. What cause kindled so great a flame is unknown; but the cruel pangs when deep love is profaned, and knowledge of what a woman can do in frenzy, lead the hearts of the Trojans amid sad forebodings.]

The fire of the funeral pyre not only harks back to the fiery passion from which Dido suffers at the beginning but also picks up the transformation of the fires of love into the fires of wrath midway through the book: 'black fires' (*ātrī ignēs*) animate her curse at 384 and will pursue Aeneas, those close to him and his descendants.

(c) A third, even more insidious field of metaphors for Cupid's impact is poisoning and disease. In Book 1 Venus explicitly instructs her son to poison Dido ([688]*fallāsque uenēnō*), and during the welcoming banquet Dido gulps down 'love' as if from a poisoned chalice ([750]*bibat amōrem*). By the beginning of Book 4, love has infiltrated the queen and courses through her veins ([2]*uēnīs*) like poison. Dido is sick in mind and body ([8]*male sana*; cf. [389]*aegra*; Juno labels Cupid a [90]*pestis*). Right at the start, [2]*uulnus alit uēnīs et caecō carpitur ignī*—'[she] feeds the wound with her

[45] Lyne (1987: 120 n. 31), with reference to Otis (1964: 70–72) and others.

lifeblood/in her veins and is wasted with fire unseen'—programmatically blurs the metaphors of wounding, inflammation and poisoning.

(d) The idea of love as poison and the adjective [2]*caecus* also hint at the key theme of deception in Venus' plot against Dido. More generally, *Aeneid* 4 stages a drama of treachery: Venus and Cupid trick Dido, Juno tries to trick Venus (but meets her match in duplicity), Dido feels she is betrayed by Aeneas and then tricks Sychaeus' nurse Barce and her sister Anna. The arch-Roman value of *fidēs* ('trust', 'loyalty') comes under significant stress: [12]*nec uāna fidēs* (a hopeful litotes), [373]*nusquam tūta fidēs*, [552]*nōn seruāta fidēs cinerī prōmissa Sychaeō*, [597]*ēn dextra fidēsque* (sarcastic). Dominating the narrative terrain are various antonyms of *fidēs*: *dolus* (95, 296, 563), *fallere* (17, 85, 96, 296), *fraus* (675), *perfidus* (305, 366, 421). Ironically, while Amor is the Great Deceiver, he also helps to render the afflicted fool-proof: [296]*quis fallere possit amantem?*

Extra information

That interest in treachery should peak in the Carthaginian third of the *Aeneid* is hardly coincidental. Historically, the Romans associated Carthage with the breaking of treaties, and in the wake of Hannibal the phrase *Pūnica fidēs* became proverbial:

> The Romans did not mean, at least not in the first place, that as merchants the Carthaginians had an abnormally strong tendency to do their customers in the eye, but that the armed conflicts between Rome and Carthage were provoked by breach of treaty by the Carthaginians, in other words that war-guilt in the form of treaty-violating aggression had ever and again been on the Carthaginian side. The Carthaginians were *foedifragī* [Cic. *Off*. 1.38] and if especially Hannibal was denounced as being of a *perfidia plūs quam Pūnica* [Livy 21.4.9], then that was because in the Roman view he had started the second Punic War by attacking and destroying Saguntum, a city allied to Rome, in contravention of the terms of the 241 peace.[46]

But the association of the Phoenicians and Dido with cunning and trickery also predates Hannibal. It already registers in the way they

46 Thiel (1954/1994: 129). See further Gruen (2010) and Briscoe and Hornblower (2020: 47), with additional bibliography.

managed to secure sufficient land in Northern Africa to settle and build their city. The ancient dictionary Suda transmits the following entry under 'Phoenician contracts' (Φοινίκων ἐγκέφαλοι) (φ 796 Adler):

> ... Also [sc. attested is the proverbial phrase] 'Phoenicians' contracts'. When the Phoenicians who founded Carthage landed in Libya, they begged the natives to receive them for a night and a day (νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν); but when they had achieved this they were not willing to leave, on the basis that they were making an agreement to stay 'nights and days' (νύκτας καὶ ἡμέρας). Hence this is what is said of those making an agreement by stealth.

The version of colonizing African territory that Virgil presupposes in the *Aeneid* is that of the Phoenician settlers being granted as much land as could be spanned with an ox-hide, which they then sliced into thin straps to stake out an area sufficiently large to build a city. In Virgil, the mastermind of the affair is Dido (cf. *Aen*. 1.365–68; Fig. 24); in Livy, it is the Carthaginian collective.[47] Dido's vilification of Aeneas for perfidy thus contributes to Virgil's remarkable practice of projecting anti-Carthaginian prejudices upon his proto-Roman protagonist, alongside characters who fly into anti-Trojan hate-speech, such as Iarbas in Book 4 or Numanus Remulus in Book 9.

(e) Pathologies of the mind. Already at the end of Book 1, Dido is madly (and mad) in love ([659]*furentem*) and the semantic field of *furor*, a passionate intensity of feeling that causes destruction, continues to define her throughout Book 4: [69]*furēns*, [91]*furōrī*, [101]*trāxit ... per ossa furōrem*, [283]*rēgīnam ... furentem*, [298]*furentī*, [376]*furiīs ... feror*, [433]*requiem spatiumque furōrī*, [465]*agit ipse furentem*, [474]*concēpit furiās*, [501]*tantōs ... furōrēs*, [548]*furentem*, [646]*furibunda*, [670]*flammae ... furentēs*, [697]*subitō ... accēnsa furōre*. She and others 'lose their minds': [78]*dēmēns* (Dido), [203]*āmēns* (Iarbas), [279]*āmēns* (Aeneas reacting to Mercury's epiphany), [469]*dēmēns ... Pentheus*, [562]*dēmēns* (Mercury abusing Aeneas). And the Bacchic raving of Dido ([301]*bacchātur*) and *Fāma* ([666]*bacchātur*) enhance the atmosphere of characters out of control.

47 Livy 34.62.11–13: 'The Numidians ... added the question of what territory in Africa was genuinely Carthaginian, anyway, if one wished to examine the true beginnings of property rights there. As new immigrants, they said, the Carthaginians had, in order to build a city, been granted as a kindness as much ground as they could encompass with a bull's hide cut in strips. Whatever they now possessed beyond their original settlement, the Bursa, they had acquired unlawfully by force.'

'Madness' has its generic home in tragedy, from which it entered the epic tradition in full force.[48] It is also a quality that elites tend to associate with 'the rabble' and its supposedly violent-revolutionary disposition (as does Virgil in the simile at 1.149–50 *saeuitque animīs īgnōbile uulgus, | iamque facēs et saxa uolant furor arma ministrat* 'the base rabble rage angrily, and now firebrands and stones fly: madness furnishes arms'). In late-republican Rome, charges of insanity were also the stock-in-trade of political invective, not least Cicero's, who routinely accuses his adversaries (all senatorial peers) of being mentally deranged.[49]

Extra information

Dido is by no means the only character to come under the sway of *furor* in the poem: other furibund figures include Juno and Turnus, as well as Aeneas. The quality also occurs in vistas that look forward to historical Rome. Jupiter, when un-scrolling the fates to Venus in Book 1, announces that under Caesar the temple of Janus will be closed, with a gruesomely personified *Furor* chained and locked up within: 1.294–96 *Furor impius intus | saeua sedēns super arma et centum uīnctus aēnīs | post tergum nōdīs fremet horridus ōre cruentō* 'within, impious Rage, sitting on savage arms, his hands fast bound behind with a hundred brazen knots, shall roar in the ghastliness of blood-stained lips'. The reference to the temple of Janus blurs the distinction between external and internal warfare and constitutes a (partisan) reference to the end of a century of civil bloodshed, associating the Augustan regime with overcoming the insane rage that had torn apart Rome's civic community for over a century, in analogy to the control Jupiter exercises on the *furor* of Juno, who wreaks similar havoc in Virgil's literary universe. One should beware, however, of drawing too facile and schematic an opposition between *furor*, violence, and disorder on the one hand and self-control, peace, and order on the other, not least in light of how the poem ends. Aeneas kills Turnus *furiīs accēnsus et īrā | terribilis* (12.946–47 'ablaze with fury and terrible in his anger'). Does Virgil thereby imply that his hero is flawed and the killing unjust and unjustified? Or does he want to suggest that at times the maintenance of order (and retributive

48 Hershkowitz (1998).
49 Gildenhard (2011: 324–26, 328–30); Gildenhard (2018: 29–37).

justice) may require 'furious' actions (—> ***TD*** 'Transvaluating *pietās*')? The foundational end of the poem that anticipates a similar scene at the actual founding of Rome (Romulus' fratricide of Remus, carefully elided in the narrative itself) raises a further question: to what extent does Virgil conceive of civilization (or specifically Roman civilization, destined as it was to acquire imperial sway across the globe) as ultimately grounded in foundational acts of 'furious' violence? (Docile Romans were supposed to read the parable as their version of Abraham and Isaac, as you are meant to hold your polity dearer than your nearest and dearest: the insult to the city outweighs mere family.)

(f) Venery. As with figurative and literal uses of 'fire' and 'wound', images associated with hunting form a 'linked sequence' in *Aeneid* 1 and 4 and beyond.[50] The sequence includes Aeneas killing an entire herd of deer upon landfall in Africa (1.185–93); the appearance of Venus to her son Aeneas disguised as a huntress at 1.314–15 (Aeneas confuses her with Diana: 1.329); Dido's comparison to Diana, goddess of the hunt, in a simile (1.498–508); the simile of the hind struck by an errant arrow to illustrate Dido's love-sick roaming through Carthage (4.68–73); and the climactic hunt that ends up with Dido and Aeneas in the cave (4.129–72) and programmatically blurs hunting and erotic desire (in the double sense of 'venery' as 'the art, act, or practice of hunting' and 'the pursuit of or indulgence in sexual pleasure').[51]

(g) Desertion. Unlike Ariadne and Medea, Dido does not elope with her hero only to be abandoned along the way, having abetted or committed murder of family members in the process. She remains embedded within her family and in (notional) charge of her queendom throughout. But the fact that the tragedy of Dido's self-isolation plays itself out primarily on the psychological rather than socio-political level (though she anticipates military repercussions after alienating the indigenous rulers through refusal to strike up a marriage alliance) makes it all the more intense.

50 For the following, see Lyne (1987: 193–206), who traces the imagery with specific reference to Ascanius.

51 See further Lyne (1989: 179–81), Thornton (1996), and Nelis (2001: 125–35), who argues that 'the whole complex of hunting motifs which runs in a consistent pattern through the Dido story is Apollonian in origin' (126). The 'hunting metaphor' for erotic venery remains in use: see for example Ayoola (2025), with advice on where and how to 'go hunting' for men in real life.

The degree to which her limerence ('an involuntary state of intense, obsessive infatuation with another person', characterized by 'involuntary attachment', 'intrusive thoughts', 'idealization', 'hope and uncertainty', 'emotional dependency' and 'fear of rejection')[52] renders her sense of self dependent on another person makes her extremely vulnerable. Dido's surrender of selfhood and ensuing self-isolation and feelings of abandonment register in the insistent recurrence of such words (not only applied to Dido) as *dēserere*,[53] *relinquere*,[54] or *sōlus*, *-a*, *-um*.[55]

(h) *A*/*mor*/*s*: Love and Death. As part of Dido's tragic trajectory in *Aeneid* 4, 'love' (*amor*) gradually morphs into 'death' (*mors*), though the imbrication of love and death is part of Dido's story even before the arrival of Aeneas (cf. [17]*postquam prīmus amor dēcept**am mor**te fefellit*, a reference to the murder of her 'first love' and husband Sychaeus, reinforced at the end of her speech: [28–29]*ille meōs, prīmus quī mē sibi iūnxit, amōrēs | abstulit*; *ille habeat sēcum seruetque sepulcrō* 'He who first linked me to himself has taken away my heart; may he keep it with him, and guard it in the grave!'). The day on which Dido 'consummated' her love through (pseudo-)marital sex in the cave is referred to by Virgil as the first day of death and evils ([169–70]*ille diēs prīmus letī prīmusque malōrum | causa fuit*). The coincidence of wedding and death is a tragic theme par excellence, often linked to human sacrifice. Thus Iphigenia was summoned to Aulis under the false pretence of a marriage to Achilles, and after the sack of Troy the dead hero demanded Hecuba's and Priam's daughter, Polyxena, as a sacrificial victim on his tomb in a 'wedding to death' before he would enable the Greek fleet to depart from Troy—gruesome moments recounted not only in Greek and

52 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limerence.

53 See [42]*dēserta sitī regiō* (inhospitable landscape: the Saharan desert), [143–44]*Lyciam ... | dēserit ... Apollō*; [323]*cui mē moribundam dēseris?*, [330]*nōn ... omnīnō capta ac dēserta*, [468]*Tyriōs dēsertā quaerere terrā*, [582]*lītora dēseruēre*, [677]*quid prīmum dēserta querar?*

54 See [82]*strātīs ... relictīs*, [129]*Ōceanum intereā surgēns Aurōra relīquit*, [155]*montīs ... relinquunt* [sc. *ceruī*], [277]*mortālīs uīsūs mediō sermōne relīquit* [sc. Mercury], [281]*ārdet abīre fugā dulcīsque relinquere terrās* [sc. Aeneas], [315]*quandō aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa relīquī* [sc. Dido], [415]*nē quid inexpertum frustrā moritūra relinquat* [sc. Dido], [432]*nec pulchrō ut Latiō careat rēgnumque relinquat* [Dido about Aeneas], [452]*lūcem ... relinquat* [sc. Dido], [466–67]*semper ... relinquī | sōla sibī ... uidētur* [sc. Dido], [495]*arma uirī, thalamō quae fīxa relīquit* [sc. Aeneas], [507]*ēnsem ... relictum*.

55 22, 32, 82, 322, 324, 421, 423, 462, 467, 543.

Roman tragedy but in Lucretius 1.80–101 and Catullus 64.365–70.[56] In *Aeneid* 4, this thematic concern naturally interacts with the imagery of love as a (fatal) affliction: 'this imagery [of fire and wound] is part of a complex reciprocating metaphoric system in which first the imagery of death is predicated of Dido's love, and then, conversely, the imagery of love is predicated of Dido's death, a figurative reciprocity created by the tragic irony that for Dido, to love Aeneas is to die, and perpetuated in the structure of her fate after death.'[57] Virgil stitches the morphing of love into death into the texture of his narrative: of the nine instances of *mors* in *Aeneid* 4, eight are preceded by a word ending in *-a(m)*, resulting in cross-lexical *amor*.[58] (Meanwhile, in the logic of the 'specular other', each instance of *amor* also yields *Rōma* backwards.)

(i) Queenstown: Dido and her city. The city of Carthage (*urbs*) is a constant point of reference throughout *Aeneid* 4, alongside Dido's native city of Tyre, the sacked city of Troy and the future cities of Lavinium, Alba Longa and Rome.[59] Throughout, there is an explicit assimilation of the queen and her city, reinforced through figures of speech including three similes distributed across the three main sections: 68–73 (wounded deer), 300–3 (Maenad) and 665–71 (sacked city), which are linked through 'repetitions of words, meter, and syntax' that 'serve as

56 Trimble (2025: 648–56).

57 Moorton (1990: 153).

58 See [17]*postquam prīmus amor dēcept**am mor**te fefellit* (programmatic), [244]*lūmin**a mor**te resīgnat*, [375]*sociōs **ā mor**te redūxī*, [385]*cum frigid**a mor**s animā sēdūxerit artūs*, [502]*grauiōra timet qu**am mor**te Sychaeī*, [644]*et pallid**a mor**te futurā*, [662]*et nostrae sē cum ferat ōmin**a mor**tis*, [696]*merit**ā** nec **mor**te* (a stretch, perhaps, but *nec* is postpositive). See also [414]*amōrī* ('Not without a hint of *mori*, as Dido advances inexorably toward her end': Fratantuono–Smith, 611) followed by [415]*frustr**ā mor**itūr**a***. The exception that proves the rule is [451]*mortem ōrat* (which may involve a pun on *mors*/*mora* 'death delayed': Reed, 2016). In light of the statistics for this seemingly random phenomenon across the entire poem (**1**: 1/1, **2**: 1/9, **3**: 0/1, **4**: 8/9, **5**: 1/3, **6**: 4/8, **7**: –, **8**: 0/2, **9**: 3/7, **10**: 1/10, **11**: 4/12, **12**: 0/8), the clustering of *-a(m) mor-* (= 'love entailing death') in Book 4 is unlikely to be coincidental.

59 *urbs* refers to Carthage at 47, 69, 75, 111, 211, 266, 300, 348, 401, 592, 655, 666 and 683; to the cities to be founded in Italy at 225; to Troy at 342; and to Tyre at 545. In places, Virgil speaks as if North Africa had already undergone an intense process of urbanization when Aeneas passes by: Anna refers to hostile [40]*Gaetūlae urbēs*, *Fāma* spreads her news about the burgeoning love affair through the great cities of Libya ([173]*Libyae magnās ... per urbēs*; cf. 187, also of *Fāma*: *magnās territat urbēs*) and Dido invokes Hecate as a goddess called upon at night throughout cities at crossroads ([609]*Hecatē triuiīs ululāta per urbēs*).

signposts to indicate that the similes form a unity of some kind'.[60] The fire of love in the first two similes (68*ūritur*, 300*incēnsa*) becomes the fire that devours the city in the last simile (670*flammae*), just as the madness of love (69*furēns*, 300*saeuit inops animī*) transforms into the madness of war (670*furentēs*).[61] Anna sums up the idea when she links Dido's suicide to the simultaneous destruction of her sister, her people and her city: the queen is not just a person, but also head of a household, head of a body politic and head of an urban centre.[62] Both the queen and her foundation will ultimately be on fire, both figuratively and literally.[63]

5. Genre

Genres construct literary worlds according to specific protocols: the outlook and preoccupations of epic are different from those of elegy which are different in turn from those of tragedy.[64] At the same time, 'we all know that genres are always already mixed in practice, but it is often convenient to use a sort of *langue/parole* distinction, in which individual texts will be mixed, but standing behind them will be Platonic forms of unmixed genres that structure the generic play within the text.'[65] Metaphors for such 'generic play within the text' include 'crossbreeding', 'dialogue' and 'enrichment'.[66] In *Aeneid* 4, Virgil's epic takes on board

60 Estevez (1974: 26–27): 69*urbe*, 300*per urbem*, 666*per urbem*; 69*quālis coniectā cerua sagittā* and 301*quālis commōtīs excita sacrīs*; 300–1*per urbem | bacchātur* and 666*bacchātur ... per urbem*.

61 Estevez (1974: 27).

62 682–83*exstīnxtī tē mēque, soror, populumque patrēsque | Sīdoniōs urbemque tuam* 'You have destroyed yourself and me together, sister, the Sidonian senate and people, and your city!'

63 The city theme and identity will continue to register throughout the poem. At the end, Juno wheedles a concession out of Jupiter in return for her submission: she is guaranteed that the word/name 'Troy' will fall/die just as surely as the city did (12.828). This can sound like a promise on behalf of Virgil that the *Aeneid* is honour-bound to eat itself.

64 See e.g. Quintilian, *Īnstitūtiō ōrātōria* 10.2.22: 'Each genre has its own rules and proprieties. Comedy does not rise high on tragic buskins, nor does tragedy stroll about in the slippers of comedy' (for an ancient take on this point) or Conte (1994: 132): '[genre is] a discursive form capable of constructing a coherent model of the world in its own image. It is a language, that is, a lexicon and style, but it is also a system of the imagination and a grammar of things' (for a modern take).

65 Fowler (2000b: 217).

66 See e.g. Kroll (1924) with Lodge (1984: 367)—'Somebody in the audience was asking Angelica if she would agree that the novel, as a distinct genre, was born when Epic,

(enters into dialogue with or gets enriched by) elegy and tragedy, with further elements from other genres thrown in for good measure. Tragedy is by far the most important addition: Aeneas may have fled the tragic world of Troy but his detour via Carthage ensures that he is picking up tragedy for Rome along the way, with love (Elegy) functioning as catalyst. Dionysus himself and the tragic stories surrounding him have a subliminal presence in the narrative, not least in the theatre simile at 300–3, which gestures to tragedies involving the encounter between him and Pentheus, the king of Thebes, who fatally tries to thwart the triumphant homecoming of his divine cousin, in the tradition of Euripides' *Bacchae*. The allusion may be to a Roman adaptation, as opposed to the Greek original—or indeed to several plays, Greek and Latin, at once. Book 4 is tragic terrain, after all, and it is therefore fitting that the patron deity of the genre should loom in the background of the action. In *Aeneid* 4, epic teleology (Rome's preordained rise to world dominion culminating in the age of Virgil and Augustus) fuses with tragic entropy (the accursed catastrophes along the way). The Book both constitutes a tragedy in and of itself ('The Tragedy of Dido, in Three Acts') and ensures that the outlook of tragedy becomes an ineluctable component of Virgil's literary world (and thus also part of his commentary on cosmic history and Rome).[67] Or, as John Henderson puts it, all these genres 'bid' to subjugate the rest: Book 4's tragedy and elegy are subsumed within the epic (so within it they obtrude).

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as it were, f*cked the romance. She gave the suggestion careful consideration'—and Barchiesi (2001) on crossbreeding, Farrell (1992) on dialogue and Harrison (2007) on enrichment.

67 For tragic-dramatic elements in Virgil's Carthage, see e.g. Harrison (1972–1973), Foster (1973–1974), Muecke (1983), Hardie (2019/1997) building on Zeitlin (1990), Pobjoy (1998) and Giusti (2018, with much further bibliography at 91 n. 6). Galinsky (2003) explores tragic moments elsewhere in the epic (Nisus and Euryalus, Turnus). Virgil's affinity with tragedy already found visual articulation in a third/fourth-century mosaic now in the Bardo National Museum (Tunis), which places the bard—with a script of the *Aeneid* in his lap—between two muses: Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy, on his right; and either Clio, the Muse of History, or Calliope, the Muse of Epic, on his left. On Virgil and the Muses, see further Fratantuono (2020c).

6. Intratextuality

In his 'Life of Virgil', the biographer Suetonius gives the following account of Virgil's method of composition (*Lives of Illustrious Men*, 'Life of Virgil', 21–24):

> 21 Last of all he began the *Aeneid*, a varied and complicated theme (*argūmentum uarium ac multiplex*), and as it were a mirror of both the poems of Homer; moreover it treated Greek and Latin personages and affairs in common, and contained at the same time an account of the origin of the city of Rome and of Augustus (*Rōmānae simul urbis et Augustī orīgō*), which was the poet's special aim. 22 When he was writing the *Georgics*, it is said to have been his custom to dictate each day a large number of verses which he had composed in the morning, and then to spend the rest of the day in reducing them to a very small number, wittily remarking that he fashioned his poem after the manner of a she-bear, and gradually licked it into shape. 23 In the case of the *Aeneid*, after writing a first draft in prose and dividing it into twelve books, he proceeded to turn into verse one part after another, taking them up just as he fancied, in no particular order (*'Aenēida' prōsā prius ōrātiōne fōrmātam digestamque in XII librōs particulātim compōnere īnstituit, prout libēret quidque, et nihil in ōrdinem arripiēns*). 24 And that he might not check the flow of his thought, he left some things unfinished, and, so to speak, bolstered others up with very slight words, which, as he jocosely used to say, were put in like props, to support the structure until the solid columns should arrive.

Even though ancient biographies of poets tend to peddle in fanciful fictions (many of them extrapolated from their respective *oeuvres*), this account rings true. (It is, of course, also one shot in the eternal competition to finger the superlative uniqueness of the *Aeneid*.) Virgil's 'poesis of simultaneity' explains the random distribution of passages across the poem that seem to lack the *ultima manus*, the incomplete verses (however much some of them seem spot-on), and, most importantly, the fact that passages in the poem that are far apart read as if they are composed in deliberate dialogue with one another. Some of the correspondences within and across the epic are so intricate that they are difficult to account for if one assumes a strictly linear mode of composition (i.e. Virgil starting at 1.1 and writing continuously until reaching 12.952).

The technical term for the interrelation of specific parts within a larger whole is 'intratextuality', a calque on 'intertextuality' (for which

see below).[68] One of the most striking instances links the epic's first and last image of Aeneas, marking his trajectory from (emotionally incontinent) victim to (emotionally incontinent) victor.[69] On a more local level, intratextuality stitches together the Dido narratives of *Aeneid* 1 and 4. Towards the end of Book 1, we meet Venus worrying (1.657–63):

> at Cytherēa nouās artēs, noua pectore uersat
> cōnsilia, ut faciem mūtātus et ōra Cupīdō
> prō dulcī Ascaniō ueniat, dōnīsque furentem
> incendat rēgīnam, atque ossibus implicet ignem;
> quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriōsque bilinguīs;
> ūrit atrōx Iūnō, et sub noctem cūra recursat.
> ergō hīs āligerum dictīs adfātur Amōrem:
>
> [But Venus revolves new designs, new schemes in her breast, how Cupid transformed in face and form may come instead of sweet Ascanius and by means of his gifts inflame the raging[70] queen and embed the fire in her bones. In fact, she fears the uncertain house and the double-tongued Tyrians; black-biled Juno burns and at nightfall her anxiety rushes back. Therefore she addressed winged Amor with the following words...]

And here are the opening five lines of *Aeneid* 4:

> At rēgīna grauī iamdūdum saucia cūrā
> uulnus alit uēnīs et caecō carpitur ignī.
> multa uirī uirtūs animō multusque recursat
> gentis honōs; haerent īnfīxī pectore uultūs
> uerbaque nec placidam membrīs dat cūra quiētem.
>
> [But the queen, long since smitten with a grievous love-pang, feeds the wound with her lifeblood, and is wasted with fire unseen. Oft to her mind rushes back the hero's valour, oft his glorious stock; his looks and words cling fast to her bosom, and longing withholds calm rest from her limbs.]

68 See Sharrock and Morales (2000).

69 Aeneas beaten: [1.92–93]*extemplō Aenēae soluuntur frīgore membra*; | *ingemit*; Aeneas triumphant: [12.951–52]*ast illī soluuntur frīgore membra* | *uītaque cum gemitū fugit indignāta sub umbrās* (Turnus dying). See further Gildenhard and Henderson (2018: 5–10).

70 *furentem* is proleptic. Cf. above 19–21 on the semantics of *furor* in *Aeneid* 4.

The two passages also 'talk' to one another beyond the repetition of specific words:

- [1.657]*at Cytherēa* matches [4.1]*At rēgīna*.
- [1.657]*pectore uersat* correlates with [4.3]*animō ... recursat* and [4.4]*īnfīxī pectore*.
- [1.660]*incendat rēgīnam, atque ossibus implicet ignem* points to [4.1–2]*rēgīna ... uulnus alit uēnīs* [~ *ossibus*] *et caecō carpitur ignī* (= 'mission accomplished').
- [1.662]*sub noctem cūra recursat* prefigures the opening of *Aeneid* 4 more generally, with specific lexical parallels: [4.1]*cūrā*, [4.3]*animō ... recursat*, [4.5]*cūra*.

In both passages, it is night; *cūra* (worry on behalf of Aeneas on the part of Venus, love of Aeneas in the case of Dido) causes emotional upheaval; and emotive thoughts assault the peace of mind of the character in question. At the same time, a displacement has occurred: because of the *cūra* that Venus felt in Book 1, Dido feels *cūra* in Book 4. The lexical reminiscences therefore serve as a reminder that Dido's pathological condition owes itself at least in part to a divine intervention and thus encourages reflection about the interface between the divine and the human realm as well as the ethics thereof.

The cross-references in the commentary to other parts of the poem are designed to highlight some particularly striking connections in Virgil's intratextual poetics and its thematic implications. In many ways, Dido is the intratextual character par excellence. In the form of her curse, she acquires an ubiquitous spectral presence:

> Dido is notorious for her capacity to return, not only in history, in the guise of Hannibal and Cleopatra, but also in the *Aeneid* – a text densely populated, as J. K. Newman has stressed, by avatars or partial replicas of Dido: Venus, Amata, Lavinia, Camilla, Turnus, Pallas, and Juno, among others. Dido is thus true to her word: *omnibus umbra locis adero* (386); her shade seems to be everywhere in the poem. One reason it is hard for readers to get past or get over the fourth book is that it is hard for the poem to get past or over it. As a self-styled revenant, Dido will continually resurface, albeit in shadowy, distorted forms, troubling the text that drove her into its underworld.[71]

71 Oliensis (2001) with reference to Newman (1986: 158).

7. Allusion and Intertextuality

Texts stand in dialogue with other texts: a phenomenon that can be theorized in various ways. Giorgio Pasquali favoured the term 'allusion', which he theorized as presupposing authorial intent; Julia Kristeva went with 'intertextuality', conceiving of texts as dynamic sites of meaning that stand in dialogue with other texts, discourses and language more generally in ways uncontrolled and uncontrollable by authors.[72] In Classics, the two terms are nowadays frequently used interchangeably, as scholars embrace the radical vision of Kristeva without (quite) giving up on the more controlled model of Pasquali.[73] See, for instance, Hinds (1998: xi), who courts Kristeva before marrying her to Pasquali:

> Whenever we describe the world, consciously or unconsciously we measure our description against previous descriptions of the world. The words which we use have always been used before; we never have a monopoly on their contexts and connotations [= courting Kristeva]. This book addresses an interest in texts and traditions in which this inevitability of intertextual relation is complicated by a high level of linguistic and literary self-awareness on the part of the individual language-user – in texts and traditions in which authors and readers, not content to be acted upon passively by tradition, seek to shape and define it to their own specification [= reaffirming human agency: authors and readers have a will and creative powers to engage with and—crucially—alter traditions].

In terms of allusivity or intertextual ambition (or potential), the *Aeneid* is encyclopaedic, subsuming the entirety of Greco-Roman literature in allusive and intertextual dialogue and putting it to work as an inexhaustible source of enrichment as well as aetiologically anticipating all of Roman and Rome-related history. Again, no character boasts greater intertextual 'multiplicity' or has more 'prefigures' and historical doubles than Dido, even though in terms of prior mytho-poiesis, Dido herself was an underexplored character, without much pedigree in poetry.[74] As Savage puts it:

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72 See Pasquali (1951) and Kristeva (1969).

73 From a theoretical point of view, this may well irritate. Cf. Irwin (2004: 228): '[intertextuality] has come to have almost as many meanings as users, from those faithful to Kristeva's original vision to those who simply use it as a stylish way of talking about allusion and influence.' See further Fowler (1997).

74 The terms are from Hexter (1992: 337). —> ***TD*** 'Historiographical Dido'.

> the Tyrian Dido, in this respect like the Roman Lucretia, is one of the few mythical heroines from Mediterranean antiquity not to be given epic and/or tragic treatment by the Hellenic or Hellenistic Greeks. There is no Euripidean tragedy about her, for instance, and no Alexandrian heroic tale *à la* Apollonius Rhodius; so she is not fully of the classic sisterhood of Antigone, Iphigenia, Electra, Phaedra, Medea and Ariadne, even if in some versions of her myth she seems like a combination – almost a consciously constructed amalgam – of the latter three: like Phaedra burning with dangerous, divinely inflicted passion...; swept off her feet like Medea by a questing hero; finding herself abandoned and inconsolable like Ariadne.[75]

In fact, Dido cosplays multiple versions of Medea (of Euripides, of Apollonius Rhodius, of Ennius, among others), dreams about emulating tragic Procne, re-enacts Catullus' Ariadne and serves as archetype for Sophonisba, Cleopatra and numerous other African queens.[76]

8. Historical Context and Geopolitics

The *Aeneid* constitutes an aggressive intervention in its original historical context, expressing highly unorthodox and provocative perspectives, in intimate dialogue with current events. It is therefore to be used with extreme caution as a source for what is 'typically' Roman. Virgil was reacting to and helped shape Augustus' new autocratic normal. As a comparison with the design of the *Annals* by Virgil's republican predecessor Ennius shows, on the categorical level the *Aeneid* aligns with the realities of the principate as it was taking shape after the 'settlement' between Augustus and the senate in 28/27 BCE—irrespective as to whether or to what extent Virgil was critical or supportive of the first *princeps* and his regime. One of Virgil's key moves is his persistent racializing of the Romans as a community of blood, the *gēns Rōmāna*, rather than a socio-political order that defined membership by the legal criterion of citizenship. This conceptual choice enabled him to forge or reinforce a novel form of Roman identity rooted in the *gēns Iūlia* as centring and representing the *gēns Rōmāna* (and simultaneously *de*-centring the [other!] noble families (*gentēs*) that formed the traditional

75 Savage (1998: 6).

76 For the intertextual fun [and/or headache] to be had with Dido and *Aeneid* 4 more generally, —> ***TD*** 'Allusion' and ***TD*** Schiesaro.

core of the oligarchic ruling elite during republican times).[77]

In addition to re-negotiating Rome's 'domestic' identity, the *Aeneid* explores the position of Rome and the Romans within Italy and the wider world. This 'imperial remit' of conquest and triumph helped, not least, to put into perspective the century of suicidal civic bloodshed the Romans had just inflicted on themselves (and the rest of the Mediterranean world). In Virgil's own times, the outside enemies of choice were the Parthians, who play a crucial role in the self-representation of the Augustan regime and Virgil's poetry.[78] But from a historical-aetiological point of view, Rome's centuries-long struggle with Carthage over supremacy in the Western Mediterranean proffered the greatest potential for a sustained meditation on empire, especially since the North-African setting resonated in a contemporary key. The typological link between the two queens Dido and Cleopatra enables Virgil to link (his) beginning and (his) end of Roman history in a particularly neat and tidy (and hence aesthetically pleasing?) fashion. The plot of the *Aeneid* sketches an historical arc in which Rome's struggles start with the tragedy of Dido and come to an (at least preliminary) end with the battle at Actium in 31 BCE against Cleopatra (and Mark Antony) and the ensuing triple triumph in 28 BCE—the two scenes that form the central tableau on the shield of Vulcan that depicts the history of the Romans and especially their wars 'in order' from the very beginning down to Virgil's own times.[79]

These wars included not least the prolonged struggle with Carthage. In the spirit of the *Aeneid* as an aetiological encyclopaedia of Roman history, Virgil has scripted anticipatory cues of the Punic wars into his narrative. Thus Aeneas, in his account of how the Trojan refugees sailed along the shore of Sicily, mentions as the final two spots Lilybaeum (3.706) and Drepanum (3.707). They are situated on the western-most point of Sicily—virtually midway between Carthage and Rome. Intriguingly, Lilybaeum

77 ***TD*** Gildenhard.

78 See e.g. Zanker (1988) and Parker (2011), with further bibliography.

79 As elsewhere, Virgil uses a double identity for the Romans as *Romānī* and as the 'race' (*genus*) descended from Iūlus/Ascanius: $^{8.626–29}$*illic rēs Italās Rōmānōrumque triumphōs | haud uātum ignārus uentūrīque īnscius aeuī | fēcerat īgnipotēns illīc genus omne futūrae | stirpis ab Ascaniō pugnātaque in ōrdine bella*. The battle at Actium features from 8.675 (*in mediō*)–713, with 685–88 devoted to Mark Antony and his 'Egyptian spouse' (*Aegyptia coniūnx*) Cleopatra; Caesar Octavianus' 'triple triumph' at Rome takes pride of place at 714–28 (esp. $^{714–15}$*triplicī inuectus Rōmāna triumphō | moenia*). For Cleopatra(s), see most recently Llewellyn-Jones (2024).

was founded by Phoenician settlers in the eighth century (under the name Motya); and, even more intriguingly, Lilybaeum and Drepanum were both sites of major military actions in the First Punic War (when this part of Sicily was a stronghold of the Carthaginians). In 250 BCE a Roman Consular army led by Gaius Atilius Regulus Serranus and Lucius Manlius Vulso Longus put Lilybaeum under siege, which was, however, lifted after the battle of Drepanum, in which the Romans suffered their one major naval defeat in the First Punic War (249 BCE).

Once Lilybaeum had fallen under Roman domination, it served Scipio Africanus Maior as boot camp and launching pad for the invasion of Africa towards the end of the Second Punic War (from 205 BCE onwards). Add to this the etymological affinity of *Lilybaeum* and *Libya*, where Aeneas has ended up on his Juno-triggered detour (3.715*hinc mē dīgressum uestrīs deus appulit ōrīs* 'departing from there a god drove me to your shores'), and the end of Book 3 obliquely sets the scene not just for the African setting of Book 4 but also prefigures the historical consequences of Aeneas' legendary stay with Dido: the lethal enmity between Rome and Carthage and the series of Punic Wars. These traces of future history, as John Henderson points out, serve 'to emphasise just how wide a range of registers the *Aeneid* spans – from pedantic aetiological-etymological scholasticism to searing hot erotics in a turn of the page/switch of a scroll – and how sheer the juxtapositions can be – a big part of Virgil's "sheer" audacity' (*per litterās*).

More generally, both Dido and Aeneas are representatives of the 'refugee-settler', combining vulnerability with aggression: forced into exile, they lay claim to foreign land and make it their own, in conflict—but also usually in intermarriage—with the indigenous population. Dido of course refuses any local suitors, which in part accounts for her precarious position. Whereas Virgil's Carthage episode explores a settler community which keeps itself apart from the inhabitants of the region, Aeneas has an Italic wife in waiting upon arrival in Latium. *Aeneid* 1 and 4 further comprise a wealth of ethnographic material, intercultural dynamics and reflections on race-craft, both historical and imaginary, on peoples from across the ancient Mediterranean world: Trojans from Asia Minor; 'Phoenicians' from Tyre in present-day Lebanon reinventing themselves as Carthaginians;[80] ethnic communities in North-Africa:

80 For 'the Phoenicians' see Quinn (2018).

Gaetulians and their king Iarbas, Aethiopians, and Nomads.[81] In the clash between Rome and Carthage, here aetiologically prefigured, broader parameters are in play: historically, the Romans learned much about the 'craft of empire' during their prolonged confrontation with the other western-Mediterranean super-power.[82] Also within the classical tradition, 'Carthage' continued to resonate powerfully as an ideological alternative to Rome (often deemed worse, but sometimes also better).[83]

10. Reception

In his annotated bibliography, Thomas Kailuweit catalogues more than 1400 instances of reception of Dido in literature and music, with most responding to Virgil's version of her story rather than the Dido of historiography (–> ***TD*** 'Historiographical Dido').[84] Engagements start with Ovid, from *Hērōidēs* 7 to *Metamorphōsēs* 14.78–81 (a brilliant four-line summary of *Aeneid* 4).[85] Another reader who famously went mushy when reading *Aeneid* 4 was Augustine, who wept for Dido when reading the *Aeneid* as an adolescent only to flagellate his youthful 'I' in his *Confessions* for not having wept instead for his own godforsaken self.[86]

81 Haley (2009), Hesekamp (2021) with the review by Giusti (2022); —> ***TD*** Giusti, and, from a historical point of view, Mattingley (2023) with the review by Quinn (2024).

82 —> ***TD*** Quinn.

83 Winterer (2010: 3) explores Carthage as a model in revolutionary North America: 'Ancient but not quite classical, Carthage was neither Greek nor Roman. Carthaginians spoke Punic, a Semitic language; armed elephants for battle; and burned children to honor their gods. But in some of the foremost revolutionary political texts Carthage appears again and again, not as a bizarre curiosity but as an instructive example to be imitated. Why did ancient Carthage interest Americans at the crucial moments of revolution and nation formation?'

84 Kailuweit (2005). For Dido's reception history see e.g. Martin (1990), Burden (1998), Bono and Tessitore (1998), Hardie (2014a: 51–76), Ziosi (2017), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dido, as well as two forthcoming publications: Torlone and Scafoglio (2026), and Agbamu and Giusti.

85 *excipit Aenēān illīc animōque domōque | nōn bene discidium Phrygiī lātūra marītī | Sīdōnis*; *inque pyrā sacrī sub imāgine factā | incubuit ferrō dēceptaque dēcipit omnēs* 'There the Sidonian queen received Aeneas hospitably in heart and home doomed ill to endure her Phrygian husband's (!) departure. On a pyre, built under pretence of sacred rites, she fell upon his sword; and so, herself deceived, she deceived all'.

86 Looking back on his youth in the *Confessions*, he declares that acquiring literacy in Latin was much preferable to the guilty pleasures of classical literature (1.13): 'Certainly the basic language skills were better, because they were more definite. They gave me the capacity and then the ability that I still possess, of reading any piece of writing I come across, and of writing for myself if I want to compose something. They

Dido is one of the 'Famous Women' in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Dē Mulieribus Clārīs* (1361–1362)[87] and features in Book 2, Chapter 55 of Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies* (c. 1405).[88] Her appeal in the early-modern period manifests across a range of genres and media, not least painting and drama. Notable examples include Andrea Mantegna's 'Dido' (1495–1500),[89] Angelica Kauffman's 'Dido at the funeral pyre calling on the gods' (1777),[90] Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage* (1594) or the operas *Didone* by Francesco Cavalli (1640) and *Dido and Aeneas* by Henry Purcell (1689).[91] In this millennium, Margaret Ferguson invokes 'Dido the empire-builder who challenged Rome' as an archetype in her study of (female) literacy and empire in early-modern England and France,[92] while mathematicians might like to read up on 'Dido's Problem'[93] and gamers can join the queen in building up Carthage's empire in *Sid Meier's Civilization II* (1996) and *V* (2010).

II. Starter Questions

1. Would you start reading a novel with Chapter 4? To what extent, do you think, will your understanding and appreciation of *Aeneid* 4 be compromised if you do not read the first three books (in English) first? (As John Henderson puts it: 'Everyone should ask how come they're starting with Chapter 4 of a book, who's doing what to them this way...'). Cf. Henderson (2006: 13 n. 19), on Austin writing his *Aeneid* 1 commentary after his *Aeneid* 4 commentary: '*Aeneid* I as "reprise" of *Aeneid* IV is a piquant trajectory – one followed by many a student/ Latinist,

were better, that is, than the literature in which I was made to master the wanderings of some fellow called Aeneas (meanwhile neglecting my own wanderings), and to weep for Dido's dying, just because she killed herself for love (*quibus tenēre cōgēbar Aenēae nesciō cuius errōrēs, oblītus errōrum meōrum, et plōrāre Dīdōnem mortuam, quia sē occīdit ab amōre*). And all the time – pitiable though I was – in such matters I endured my own dying away from you, O God, my life; and I shed not a single tear.'

87 See e.g. Kallendorf (1985).

88 Desmond (1994).

89 The cover image of ***TD***.

90 See cover image.

91 For Mantegna, see e.g. Franklin (2000), F. Fletcher (2014); for Marlowe, Purkiss (1998), Gamel (2005), du Plessis (2012), Ziosi (2015); for Purcell, Harris (1987), Burden (1998); more generally, Montagu (1998) (Dido and the artists) and de Jong (2009) (Dido in Italian Renaissance art).

92 Ferguson (2003). For Dido and early-modern imperialism, see also Newman (2017).

93 Bandle (2017).

for IV has been excerpted as the text set for early examination syllabuses so regularly that it always already *does* come first.'

2. One of the interpretative challenges involved in reading (excerpts from) *Aeneid* 4 is to see the book in the context of what came before and what follows after. How does *Aeneid* 4 fit into the epic as a whole? You may also wish to consider how the arrival at Carthage in Book 1, followed by the 'internal narrative' in *Aeneid* 2 and 3—in which Aeneas recounts the fall of Troy (Book 2) and his subsequent travels (Book 3) to his Carthaginian hosts (in particular Dido)—resonates in and impacts on the events that unfold in *Aeneid* 4. Dido continues to haunt the narrative even after her suicide: where in the poem does she reappear or make her presence felt?
3. Aeneas, in his account of the fall of Troy in *Aeneid* 2, makes much of the figure of Sinon, a treacherous Greek who persuades the gullible Trojans to breach their city walls to pull in the Wooden Horse. Aeneas does something very similar in Carthage, employing his persuasive skills to gain entry into the heart of his hostess.[94] The outcome is the same in each case: Troy and Carthage end up in flames. Aeneas leaves a conflagration behind him at the end of both *Aeneid* 2 and 4. Is he another Trojan horse?
4. How old do you think Dido is when she encounters Aeneas? (Think of *īnfēlīx* Elizabeth I and the relevance of child-bearing age: she was caught between local barons and foreign princes but played them off both ends against the middle.)
5. Shortly before being washed ashore in Libya, Aeneas lost his father Anchises. (See his lament at 3.708–15, the last major event in the story of his adventures he recounts to Dido.) To what extent can the affair between Dido and Aeneas be attributed to the hero's recent loss of parental guidance?
6. What are the similarities and differences in the biographies of Dido and Aeneas before they meet each other? (Venus tells Aeneas/us about Dido's backstory at 1.335–426.)
7. The second word of Book 4 is the programmatic *rēgīna*. To

94 For Aeneas as spin doctor in *Aeneid* 2 see Powell (2011).

what extent is Dido's royal status (and the attending civic responsibilities) part of Virgil's characterization of the Carthaginian queen? What are the characteristics of a good monarch? Do the same criteria of excellence apply to kings and queens or is there a gender-related difference?

8. In monarchies today, too, there is potential tension between regal role-requirements and the quest for 'true' love and personal fulfilment: compare Dido's choices with the decision of Edward VIII to abdicate the throne so he could marry Wallis Simpson. (Then try Diana, princess of Wales.)
9. What metaphors does Virgil use to describe Dido in the thralls of passion, both in the opening lines of Book 4 and elsewhere in *Aeneid* 1 and 4? In Virgil's pathology of love, which of Dido's symptoms refer to the body and which to the mind?
10. Is it possible to associate the different metaphors that Virgil uses for Dido's love with different emotional responses he meant to trigger in the audience? Oliver Lyne, for instance, submits that 'wound imagery easily suggests sympathy. Wounds involve suffering, which we pity', whereas 'fire imagery is less sympathetic, potentially aggressive, and destructive', and therefore concludes: 'Vergil implies an antipathetic as well as a sympathetic aspect to Dido's violently passionate love.' (Lyne 1987: 121). Do you agree?
11. Can you think of English expressions that are equivalent to Virgil's erotic images? What are the conceptions of love—from infatuation with another person to outright sexual desire—that inform the metaphors? Are they all reconcilable with one another? How does what Dido experiences relate to our notion of 'romantic love'? Love, while a seemingly universal phenomenon, manifests culturally specific inflections and therefore also has a history: see Simon May (2011), *Love: A History*, New Haven and London. (Within arranged marriage, always the dominant world model of monogamy, romantic love gets seen as ruinous for society.)

TEXT AND STUDY QUESTIONS

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1–30: Sister Act I

1–8: *He Drives Her Crazy*: *She Just Can't Sleep*

At rēgīna grauī iamdūdum saucia cūrā
uulnus alit uēnīs et caecō carpitur ignī.
multa uirī uirtūs animō multusque recursat
gentis honōs; haerent īnfīxī pectore uultūs
uerbaque nec placidam membrīs dat cūra quiētem.
postera Phoebēā lūstrābat lampade terrās
ūmentemque Aurōra polō dīmōuerat umbram,
cum sīc ūnanimam adloquitur male sāna sorōrem:

Grammar & Syntax: 1 How does the phrase *grauī ... cūrā* fit into the sentence? • 2 Parse *uulnus*. • 2 What kind of abl. is *uēnīs*: place ('in her bloodstreams') or instrument ('with her bloodstreams')? Do we need to decide? • 2 What kind of abl. is *caecō ... ignī*? • 3 What noun does *multus* modify? • 3 What does the *-que* after *multus* link? • 4 Parse *uultūs*. • 5 What does the *-que* after *uerba* link? • 6 Parse *postera*. What noun does it modify? • 6 What noun does *Phoebēā* modify? And why does the penultimate syllable (*-ē-*) scan long? • 6 Who is the subject of *lūstrābat*? • 7 What does the *-que* after *ūmentem* link? • 7 What kind of abl. is *polō*? • 8 Explain the use of *cum*. • 8 What noun does *ūnanimam* agree with? • 8 Who is the subject of *adloquitur*? • 8 Explain the use of *male*.

Style & Theme:

- The first word of Book 4 is the adversative particle *at*. Why is this surprising? And what does Virgil achieve with this opening gambit?
- In what ways are the opening lines both retrospective and prospective, pointing back to what happened in Book 1 and forward to what will happen in Book 4?
- Analyse the design of [1]*rēgīna grauī iamdūdum saucia cūrā*: how has Virgil arranged the nouns (*rēgīna*, *cūrā*) and their attributes (*grauī*, *saucia*)? What is the force of *iamdūdum*, and how does the word order enhance its effect?
- What do you make of the paradox that Dido simultaneously 'feeds' ([2]*alit*) and 'is consumed by' ([2]*carpitur*) her passion?
- In the phrases [3]*multa ... uirtūs* and [3–4]*multus ...|... honōs*, Virgil uses adjectives instead of adverbs: what is the rhetorical effect?
- What are the figures of speech Virgil uses in the phrase [3]*uirī uirtūs*?
- The phrases [3]*multa uirī uirtūs* and [3–4]*multus ... | gentis honōs* explain why Dido swoons over Aeneas: he's got that something! What precisely do the four nouns mean; what are the thematic affinities between the two nominatives (*uirtūs*, *honōs*) and the two genitives

(*uirī*, *gentis*); and what is the wider significance of all four within Rome's political culture?

- What is the rhetorical effect of the hyperbaton [5]*placidam ... quiētem* and the tautological attribute?
- What parts of Dido's body does Virgil single out for special mention in 1–5? What are the thematic implications of this rhetorical dissection?
- Explore the thematic implications of the hyperbaton [6–7]*postera ...|... Aurōra*.
- Explore the thematic implications of the alliterative [6]*lūstrābat lampade*.
- Discuss the verbal architecture of [7]*ūmentem ... Aurōra polō dīmōuerat umbram*.
- Scan [8]*cum sīc ūnanimam adloquitur male sāna sorōrem* and discuss the thematic implications of the metrical peculiarity.

Romans liked to deify concepts, dedicating temples and shrines to a range of divine qualities, such as *Honōs* (in 234 BCE by Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus). When Marcus Claudius Marcellus restored the building in 208 BCE, he added a second shrine dedicated to *Virtūs*, resulting in the double temple of *Honōs* and *Virtūs*. In 101 BCE, C. Marius dedicated a second temple to *Honōs* and *Virtūs*, large enough to house meetings of the senate. Nothing of either temple has survived. But Vitruvius describes the Marian temple in *Dē Architectūrā* 3.2.5, which served Giacomo Lauro (1550–1605) as basis for a creative reimagining of the building (Fig. 1). You can explore the urban topography at https://www.digitalaugustanrome.org/records/honos-et-virtus-aedes-velia/

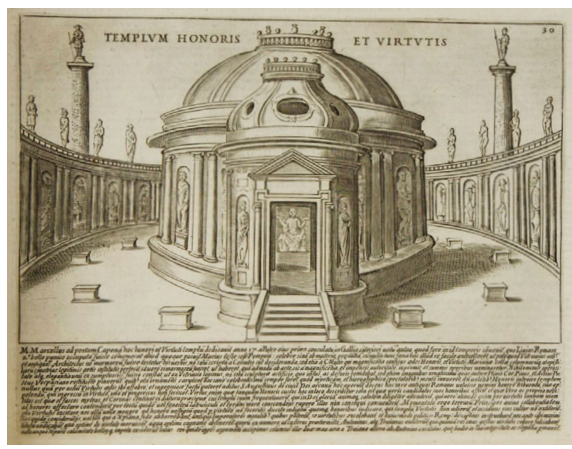

Fig. 1 Giacomo Lauro, *The Temple of Honor and Virtue* (1641). Gift of Max Falk. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum. Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, M24967.31, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/174130

➢ What is the effect of Dido thinking about Aeneas in key terms of Roman political culture?

9–19: *He's 'The One'*

'Anna soror, quae mē suspēnsam īnsomnia terrent!
quis nouus hic nostrīs successit sēdibus hospes,
quem sēsē ōre ferēns, quam fortī pectore et armīs!
crēdō equidem, nec uāna fidēs, genus esse deōrum.
dēgenerēs animōs timor arguit. heu, quibus ille
iactātus fātīs! quae bella exhausta canēbat!
sī mihi nōn animō fīxum immōtumque sedēret
nē cui mē uinclō uellem sociāre iugālī,
postquam prīmus amor dēceptam morte fefellit,
sī nōn pertaesum thalamī taedaeque fuisset,
huic ūnī forsan potuī succumbere culpae.

Grammar & Syntax: 9 What case is *Anna soror*? • Identify the respective nouns that the interrogative/exclamatory adjectives agree with: [9]*quae*, [10]*quis*, [11]*quem*, [13]*quibus*, [14]*quae*. (How is [11]*quam* different?) • 9 How does *suspēnsam* fit into the sentence? • 9 Parse *īnsomnia*. • 10 What is the sense of *nouus*? • 11 Why is *quem* in the acc.? • 11 What kind of abl. is *ōre*? • 11 What kind of abl. is *fortī pectore et armīs*? • 11 *armīs* comes either from *armus* 'shoulder' or from *arma* 'arms'. Which do you prefer and why? Was Virgil deliberately ambiguous? If so, why? • 12 What construction does *crēdō* govern? • 12 What verb has to be supplied with the parenthetical interjection *nec uāna fidēs*? • 13–14 What kind of abl. is *quibus ... fātīs*? • 14 Identify and explain the tense of *canēbat*. • 15–19 In the conditional sequence, the protasis is made up of two *sī*-clauses: [15]*sī ... sedēret* and [18]*sī ... pertaesum ... fuisset*. What are the implications of the switch in tense from imperfect subjunctive (*sedēret*) to pluperfect subjunctive (*pertaesum ... fuisset*)? • 15 What kind of dat. is *mihi*? • 15 What is the subject of *sedēret*? • 16 What kind of clause does *nē* introduce? • 16 Explain the form and syntax of *cui*. • 16 What kind of abl. is *uinclō ... iugālī*? • 17 What does the participle *dēceptam* agree with? • 17 What is the object of *fefellit*? • 18 Why is *thalamī taedaeque* in the genitive? • 19 What noun do *huic* and *ūnī* agree with?

Style & Theme:

- Outline the structure of Dido's speech (9–29). What devices does Virgil use to mark the different segments?
- Compare and contrast Virgil's account of Dido's condition (1–8) with her account (9–29).
- What, precisely, are the nightmarish visions ([9]*īnsomnia*) that Dido says frighten her?
- Dido labels Aeneas a [10]*hospes*. What are the implications of this term? What changes in identity does Aeneas undergo for Dido over the course of the book?

- On what grounds does Dido believe in Aeneas' divine lineage ([12]*crēdō equidem, nec uāna fidēs, genus esse deōrum*)? Is her reasoning sound?
- Why might Dido endorse the principle that fear betokens degeneracy ([13]*dēgenerēs animōs timor arguit*) shortly after confessing to be terrified (9)?
- Lines 13[b]–14 feature several words that also occur in the proem (1.1–7). Which ones are they? And what are the implications of their recurrence here?
- What are the *fāta* that Dido refers to ([14]*fātīs*)? Who is her source of information?
- What insights into Dido's tortured mind does the torturous conditional sequence, with its twofold protasis and shifts in tense, in 15–19 afford?
- What is the psychology behind the bipartite expression [15]*fīxum immōtumque*?
- In [17]*postquam prīmus amor dēceptam morte fefellit*, Dido mentions an earlier moment in her biography defined by the coincidence of love (*amor*) and death (*mors*). What is the significance of this thematic nexus for the plot of *Aeneid* 4?
- What does the [19]*culpa* consist in that Dido refers to? How does Virgil's use of the word here affect our reading of post-coital [172]*coniugium uocat, hōc praetexit nōmine culpam*?
- Discuss the psychology that motivates the fluid syntax of [19]*huic ūnī*, which first appears to be a self-standing expression but at line-end emerges as modifying *culpae*.

Fig. 2 Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774–1833), *Aeneas Relating to Dido the Fall of Troy* [*Énée racontant à Didon les malheurs de la ville de Troie*] (1815). Louvre, Paris. Photography by Wilfredor. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C3%89n%C3%A9e_et_Didon,_Gu%C3%A9rin.jpg

➢ To what extent does Guérin's blend of classicising and orientalising (Fig. 2) capture Virgil's Carthage (and the plot of *Aeneid* 4)?

20–30: *A Tale of Love and Loyalty*

Anna (fatēbor enim) miserī post fāta Sychaeī
coniugis et sparsōs frāternā caede Penātīs
sōlus hic īnflexit sēnsūs animumque labantem
impulit. agnōscō ueteris uestīgia flammae.
sed mihi uel tellūs optem prius īma dehīscat,
uel Pater omnipotēns adigat mē fulmine ad umbrās,
pallentīs umbrās Erebō noctemque profundam,
ante, Pudor, quam tē uiolō aut tua iūra resoluō.
ille meōs, prīmus quī mē sibi iūnxit, amōrēs
abstulit; ille habeat sēcum seruetque sepulcrō.'
sīc effāta sinum lacrimīs implēuit obortīs.

Grammar & Syntax: 20 What case is *Anna*? • 20 What is the meaning of *fāta* here? • 21 What does the *et* after *coniugis* link? • 21 What does *frāternā* (*caede*) allude to? • 22 Parse *hic* and explain why it scans short. • 22 What does the *-que* after *animum* link? • 24 What kind of dat. is *mihi*? • 24–25 What does *uel ... uel ...* coordinate? • 24 Explain the mood of *optem* and identify the construction it governs. • 24 What noun does *īma* agree with? • 24–25 Why are *dehīscat* and *adigat* in the subjunctive? • 26 How does *pallentīs umbrās Erebō noctemque profundam* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 26 What kind of abl. is *Erebō*? • 27 What do you call the splitting of *antequam* into its constituent parts (*ante ... quam*)? • 28 What noun does *meōs* modify? • 29 Explain the tense and mood of *habeat* and *seruet* and identify their acc. obj. • 30 What kind of abl. is *lacrimīs*?

Style & Theme:

- Sketch the thought process that Dido goes through while talking to her sister. Why does she burst out in tears (30) when she has finally reached the decision not to act on her love for Aeneas?
- What stylistic devices does Virgil use in the phrase [20–21]*miserī post fāta Sychaeī | coniugis* and to what effect?
- Why might Dido refer to and elaborate on the murder of her husband Sychaeus with the plural [20]*fāta* (here in the sense of 'death') and an additional and seemingly superfluous reference to the household gods ([21]*Penātīs*) splattered in blood?
- What are the cosmic points of reference for Dido's self-imprecation (24–26) and why might she have chosen them?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the repetition of *umbrās* (25, 26)?

- Analyse the word order and verbal architecture of [26]*pallentīs umbrās Erebō noctemque profundam*.
- What, exactly, does *pudor* mean (both in general and for Dido) and what are its [27]*iūra*?
- In line 27 Dido addresses *Pudor*: 'the apostrophe distances *pudor* from her by turning it into another external force, which makes one wonder where her own *pudor*, previously a key internal attribute of her person, has gone' (Gutting 2006: 269–70). Discuss.
- Explore the formal and thematic correlation between 22–23 and 28–29.
- What does Dido mean to convey with the plural [28]*amōrēs*?
- In what ways is the last word of Dido's speech ([29]*sepulcrō*) programmatic?

Infelix Dido, verus mihi nuncius ergo
Venerat extinctam, fer- venne extrema tuorum.
Funeris heu tibi causa Fati, per sidera juro,
Per superos, & si qua Fides tellure sub ima est,
Invitus regina tuo de littore cessi.
Sed me jussa deum, quæ nunc has ire per umbras,
Per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
Imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi
Hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.
Te retine gradum, & quem fugis accipe fatum.
Guilielmo Armitage de Doncastre Arm. Tabula meerito votiva.

Meeting of Dido and Aeneas in the Mourning Fields, with *Aeneid* 6.456–60 and 465 cited at the bottom (Aeneas speaking): 'Unhappy Dido! Was the tale true then that came to me, that you were dead and had sought your doom with the sword? Was I, alas! the cause of your death? By the stars I swear, by the world above, and whatever is sacred in the grave below, unwillingly, queen, I parted from your shores. ... Stay your step and withdraw not from our view' (Goold).

Dido gives Aeneas the silent treatment, points to her wound, and joins her husband Sychaeus, half hidden behind a tree. (The figure behind Aeneas is the Sibyl carrying the golden bough.)

Fig. 3 Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677), *Aeneas and Dido in the Underworld*. Public domain, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Wenceslas_Hollar_-_Aeneas_and_Dido_in_the_underworld_(State_2).jpg

➢ Two 'ghosts' loom large in *Aeneid* 4: Dido's murdered husband Sychaeus and Aeneas' recently deceased father Anchises. On his Underworld journey in Book 6, Aeneas on his way to dad encounters Dido, who turns away into the embrace of Sychaeus (Fig. 3). What is the thematic significance of these Underworld reunions?

31–53: Sister Act II: Anna's Reply

31–44: *Homefront*

Anna refert: 'ō lūce magis dīlēcta sorōrī,
sōlane perpetuā maerēns carpēre iuuentā,
nec dulcīs nātōs Veneris nec praemia nōris?
id cinerem aut Mānīs crēdis cūrāre sepultōs?
estō: aegram nūllī quondam flexēre marītī,
nōn Libyae, nōn ante Tyrō; dēspectus Iarbās
ductōrēsque aliī, quōs Āfrica terra triumphīs
dīues alit: placitōne etiam pugnābis amōrī?
nec uenit in mentem quōrum cōnsēderis aruīs?
hinc Gaetūlae urbēs, genus īnsuperābile bellō,
et Numidae īnfrēnī cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
hinc dēserta sitī regiō lātēque furentēs
Barcaeī. quid bella Tyrō surgentia dīcam
germānīque minās?

Grammar & Syntax: • 31 What kind of abl. is *luce*? • 31 What case is *dīlēcta*? • 31 Does *sorōrī* refer to Dido or Anna? • 32 What is the sense of *perpetuā*? • 32 Parse *carpēre*. Where in *Aeneid* 4 have you encountered the verb already? Explore possible relations between the two occurrences. • 33 How are we to construe the genitive *Veneris*? • 33 Parse *nōris*. • 34 What does *id* refer to? • 34 What are the subj. accusatives (pl.) what the inf. of the indirect statement governed by *crēdis*? • 35 Parse *estō*. • 35 Parse *flexēre*. What is its acc. obj.? • 35 What is the sense of *marītī*? • 36 What case are *Libyae* and *Tyrō*? • 36–37 What form of *esse* needs to be supplied with *dēspectus* and what is the implied form of the verb with *ductōrēs ... aliī*? • 37 How does *triumphīs* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 38 What noun does *dīues* modify? • 38 What is the tone of the question introduced by *-ne*? • 39 What noun does *quōrum* depend on? • 39 Parse *cōnsēderis* and explain the mood. • 40 How does the phrase *genus īnsuperābile bellō* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 40 What kind of abl. is *bellō*? • 41 Does *cingunt* lack an acc. obj.? • 42–43 What verb has to be supplied with *hinc dēserta sitī regiō lātēque furentēs | Barcaeī*? • 42 What is the sense of *sitī*? • 43 What kind of abl. is *Tyrō*? • 43 Parse *dīcam*. • 44 What does the *-que* after *germānī* link?

Style & Theme:

- Outline the structure of Anna's speech (31–53). What devices does Virgil use to mark the different segments?

- Identify the different arguments Anna musters to convince Dido to give in to her feelings for Aeneas. What rhetorical devices does she use to make them sound compelling? *Are* they compelling?
- Does Anna truly understand her sister—or the situation?
- Anna acts as Dido's trusted confidante but gives disastrous advice. At the same time, she faces the task of consoling and advising a sister who is dissolving into tears in front of her. What would your advice to Dido have looked like?
- What does Anna gain for her rhetorical agenda from positioning [33]*Veneris* in such a way that it might be construed with both *dulcīs nātōs* and *praemia*?
- Assess Anna's suggestion that 'the dead do not (or cannot) care about what the living do' against the wider context of Book 4 and the *Aeneid* more generally. Is she correct? What *is* the presence of the dead in the world of the living in Virgil's epic?
- In what sense is Africa a land 'rich in triumphs' (37–38)?
- Place the people who threaten Carthage according to Anna (lines 40–43) on a map. How would you describe the way in which Anna evokes their immediate surroundings?

Within the militaristic culture of republican Rome, the celebration of a triumph after a significant victory in battle represented the height of glory. Around 12 BCE, the so-called *Fāstī Triumphālēs* were set up—a monumental inscription that recorded all triumphs from the foundation of the city to the reign of Augustus (who monopolized the ritual). See further Havener (2019).

Fig. 4 Segment XX of the *Fāstī Triumphālēs*, recording triumphs during the First Punic War. Photography by Rossignol Benoît. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CILI(2)p47fgtXXFastitriumphales.jpg

➢ What are the implications of Anna's invocation of the triumph, the central Roman military ritual? Discuss with reference to Fig. 4.

45–53: *That Winter, the Wind Blows*

dīs equidem auspicibus reor et Iūnōne secundā
hunc cursum Īliacās uentō tenuisse carīnās.
quam tū urbem, soror, hanc cernēs, quae surgere rēgna
coniugiō tālī! Teucrum comitantibus armīs
Pūnica sē quantīs attollet glōria rēbus!
tū modo posce deōs ueniam, sacrīsque litātīs
indulgē hospitiō causāsque innecte morandī,
dum pelagō dēsaeuit hiems et aquōsus Orīōn,
quassātaeque ratēs, dum nōn tractābile caelum.'

Grammar & Syntax: 45 What construction is *dīs ... auspicibus* and *Iūnōne secundā*? • 45 Identify the subj. acc. and inf. of the indirect statement governed by *reor*. • 46 What is the grammatical function of *hunc cursum*? • 47 What is the force of *hanc*? • 47 What tense is *cernēs*? • 48 What kind of abl. is *coniugiō tālī*? • 48 What kind of abl. is *comitantibus armīs*? • 49 What noun does *Pūnica* agree with? • 49 What tense is *attollet*? • 50 How does the 'double accusative' with *posce* work? • 50 What construction is *sacrīs ... litātīs*? • 51 On what noun does the genitive gerund *morandī* depend? • 52 What kind of ablative is *pelagō*? • 52 Who is *aquōsus Orīōn*? • 53 Which form of *esse* needs to be supplied with *quassātae ... ratēs*, and which with *dum nōn tractābile caelum*?

Style & Theme:

- How are we supposed to interpret Anna's (blatantly erroneous) belief that the arrival of Aeneas at Carthage owes itself to the intervention of *benevolent* divinities, in particular Juno (45–46)?
- Discuss how Anna, on the formal level, interrelates Dido and Carthage as well as Aeneas and Carthage in lines 47–49.
- Some translations fail to render the deictic [47]*hanc*: 'What a city you'll see rise...' (Bartsch), 'But what a city you will see...' (McGill and Wright). Contrast Goold: 'What a city you will see rise *here*...' (with an implied gesture). What difference does it make to Anna's rhetoric?
- What is the rhetorical force of the enjambed [48]*coniugiō tālī*?
- Analyse the design of 49: how does it reinforce theme?
- What is the logic behind Anna's three pieces of advice (50–51)?
- What is the rhetorical force of [50]*modo*?
- What is the meaning and what are the implications of [50]*ueniam*? Blessing? Support? Favour? Or does it contain an intuitive awareness

that the recommended course of action is not entirely above board: Permission? Forgiveness? How does the [50]*sacrīs ... litātīs* continue the theme of 'divine permission for a questionable action'?

- What is your assessment of Anna's counsel to weave wiles to capture her hero (51)? What stylistic devices infuse her advice with seductive allure?
- Where else in *Aeneid* 4 does a character use winter as an untoward season for setting sail (cf. 52–53) as an argument?

In pre- and early modern times, astronomy played a crucial role in such diverse cultural spheres as agriculture, timekeeping, navigation, myth and religion. Orion (Fig. 5) is a hunter from Greek myth (you can see his biggish dog, *Canis Major*, in the lower right corner and his prey, a hare or *Lepus* in Latin, at his feet), who was turned into a constellation after being killed by a scorpion. It can be seen during the winter months of the Northern Hemisphere (and the summer months of the Southern). When the zodiac sign Scorpius rises, Orion sets...

Fig. 5 Johannes Hevelius (1611–1687), *Prodromus Astronomia*, vol. III: *Firmamentum Sobiescianum, sive Uranographia* (1690), table QQ – Orion (published posthumously). Colourization of another work by Johannes Hevelius, CC BY-SA 4.0. via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Johannes_Hevelius_--_Orion.jpg

➢ What is the significance of Anna mentioning Orion in her counsel to Dido?

54–89: 'Crazy Little Thing Called Love' (Queen)

54–64: *If Your Guts Say 'No', Consult Others*

hīs dictīs incēnsum animum īnflammāuit amōre
spemque dedit dubiae mentī soluitque pudōrem.
prīncipiō dēlūbra adeunt pācemque per ārās
exquīrunt; mactant lēctās dē mōre bidentīs
lēgiferae Cererī Phoebōque patrīque Lyaeō,
Iūnōnī ante omnīs cui uincla iugālia cūrae.
ipsa tenēns dextrā pateram pulcherrima Dīdō
candentis uaccae media inter cornua fundit,
aut ante ōra deum pinguīs spatiātur ad ārās,
īnstauratque diem dōnīs, pecudumque reclūsīs
pectoribus inhiāns spīrantia cōnsulit exta.

Grammar & Syntax: 54 How does *amōre* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 56 What kind of acc. is *dēlūbra*? • 57 What noun does the participle *lēctās* agree with? • 57 Parse *bidentīs*. • 59–60 Why are *lēgiferae Cererī*, *Phoebō*, *patrī ... Lyaeō* and *Iūnōnī* in the dative? • 59 What is the antecedent and what is the verb of the relative clause *cui uincla iugālia cūrae*? • 59 Explain the datives *cui* and *cūrae*. • 60 What noun is implied with the adj. *dextrā*? • 61 On what noun does the genitive *candentis uaccae* depend? • 61 What phrase does the preposition *inter* govern? • 61 What is the acc. obj. of *fundit*? • 62 Parse *deum*. • 62 What noun does *pinguīs* modify? • 63 What does the *-que* after *pecudum* link? • 63–64 What case is *reclūsīs* | *pectoribus*?

Style & Theme:

- Manuscripts and commentators disagree about what text to read in 54. Possible options are: (a) *hīs dictīs incēnsum animum flammāuit amōre*; (b) *hīs dictīs impēnsō animum flammāuit amōre*; (c) *hīs dictīs incēnsum animum īnflammāuit amōre*. Which one do you prefer and why?
- Discuss the rhetorical design of 54–55, with special attention to the series of nouns that Virgil brings into play (*animus*, *amor*, *spēs*, *mēns*, *pudor*).
- What is the overall atmosphere generated by Virgil's description of Dido's and Anna's religious activities?
- Why does Virgil emphasize Dido's superlative beauty here ([60]*pulcherrima Dīdō*)?
- Is there a particular rationale behind Virgil's positioning of *media* and *inter* in line 61?
- What is the thematic effect of *aut* at the beginning of 62?
- Why are the altars 'fat' ([62]*pinguīs ... ad ārās*)?

- What does the practice of *īnstaurātiō* consist in (cf. [63]*īnstaurat*)? What is its underlying 'logic'?
- What is the relation between the action captured by the participle [64]*inhiāns* and the main verb *cōnsulit*?
- 'Dido does not learn from the sacrifices that her love for Aeneas is going to lead to a bad end' (O'Hara). Do you agree?
- In 56–59, the subjects (Dido and Anna) are not modified by participles and the only participle in an oblique case is [57]*lēctās*; in 60–64, the subject (Dido) agrees with the participles [60]*tenēns* and [64]*inhiāns*, and the lines also feature [63]*reclūsīs* (dat.) and [64]*spīrantia* (acc.). What does the pullulation of participles add to the description of Dido sacrificing and inspecting entrails, in contrast to the syntactical simplicity of 56–59?
- What do the two metrical peculiarities in 64 (the last syllable of *pectoribus* scans 'irrationally' long, the first syllable of *inhiāns* short) contribute to the image of Dido inspecting entrails?

In the background: (from left to right) statues of Apollo, Juno, Ceres, Bacchus. In the foreground: (left) preparation of a victim, Dido is the figure between victim and altar; (centre) altar with sacrificial offerings; (right) religious functionary with attendants inspecting the entrails.

➢ What has the artist changed/added?

Fig. 6 Illustration of *Aeneid* 4.80, from *The Works of Virgil* (1709), translated by John Dryden. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Virgil_translated_by_Dryden_(1709)-volume_2-sheet_258.png

➢ Anna and Dido sacrifice to Ceres, Apollo, Bacchus and Juno (58–59; cf. Fig. 6). Why are these divinities singled out? Are any members of the Olympic pantheon conspicuous in their absence?

65–73: *Di-Doe Ablaze and Mortally Wounded*

heu uātum ignārae mentēs! quid uōta furentem,
quid dēlūbra iuuant? ēst mollīs flamma medullās
intereā, et tacitum uīuit sub pectore uulnus.
ūritur īnfēlīx Dīdō tōtāque uagātur
urbe furēns, quālis coniectā cerua sagittā,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Crēsia fīxit
pāstor agēns tēlīs līquitque uolātile ferrum
nescius: illa fugā siluās saltūsque peragrat
Dictaeōs; haeret laterī lētālis harundō.

Grammar & Syntax: 65 In the phrase *uātum ignārae mentēs*, is *uātum* (a) a possessive genitive depending on *mentēs* ('the ignorant minds of seers') or (b) an objective genitive depending on *ignārae* ('minds ignorant of the seers')? • 65, 66 What kind of acc. is *quid* (2x)? • 65 How does *furentem* fit into the sentence? • 66 Parse *ēst*. • 66 What noun does *mollīs* modify? • 67 What is the subject of *uīuit*? • 68–69 What kind of abl. is *tōtā ... urbe*? • 69 What is the verb of the clause introduced by *quālis*? • 69 What construction is *coniectā ... sagittā*? • 70 What is the antecedent of the relative pronoun *quam*? • 70–71 What notional adjustment to the relative pronoun is required for the second part of the relative clause (*līquitque uolātile ferrum | nescius*)? • What noun does *Dictaeōs* modify? • 73 Why is *laterī* in the dative?

Style & Theme:

- Why do vows and temples fail to benefit Dido? (Cf. [65–66]*quid uōta furentem, | quid dēlūbra iuuant?*)
- What does Dido's portrayal as [65]*furēns* convey? Where else does Virgil use this, or etymologically related, word(s)?
- Identify the lexical and thematic reminiscences of 4.1–5 in [66–67]*ēst mollīs flamma medullās | intereā, et tacitum uīuit sub pectore uulnus*. What is the dramatic effect of the repetitions?
- Identify lexical and thematic parallels between the description of the sacrifices in 60–64 and the description of love-sick Dido in 66–67. What is their significance?
- What are the stylistic devices Virgil uses to spread Dido's erotic insanity across lines 68–69[a] and the city of Carthage?
- Discuss the correspondences (both in terms of similarities and

differences) between the 'stricken-hind' simile (69–73) and the surrounding narrative. How does the 'commentary' of the simile reflect on the two characters and their roles as (tragic) victim and (tragic) agent? Who comes off better? Dido or Aeneas?

- What are the four words Virgil uses to refer to the deadly arrow? What is the effect of this plethora of synonyms?
- Austin claims that the *pāstor* did not mean to shoot the hind: '*coniectā* implies simply the act of shooting; the creature has not been aimed at' (45). Agree or disagree, with reasons.
- Why has Virgil situated the incident of the wounded hind on Mt. Dicte on Crete (70*nemora inter Crēsia*; 72–73*siluās saltūsque ... | Dictaeōs*)?
- Of what is the shepherd 72*nescius*?
- Explore the design of 73*haeret laterī lētālis harundō*.
- What does the contrast between the cityscape of Carthage in the narrative and the mountainous woodlands of Crete in the simile add to the meaning of the text?

Fig. 7 Illustration of *Aeneid* 4.69–73 (created using Copilot). Inspired by Frida Kahlo, *The Wounded Deer* (1946), https://www.fridakahlo.org/the-wounded-deer.jsp

➢ Virgil first assimilates Dido to a sacrificial victim, then to a wounded deer. Why does he use modes of violence against animals to explore the experiences of his human character? What does the rhetorical blurring of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic contribute to the *Aeneid*'s ecology? Discuss with reference to Fig. 7.

74–79: *Epic (Re-)Cycle*

nunc media Aenēān sēcum per moenia dūcit,
Sīdoniāsque ostentat opēs urbemque parātam; 75
incipit effārī mediāque in uōce resistit.
nunc eadem lābente diē conuīuia quaerit,
Īliacōsque iterum dēmēns audīre labōrēs
exposcit, pendetque iterum nārrantis ab ōre.

Grammar & Syntax: 74 What noun does *media* modify? • 75 What do the two *-que* link, respectively? • 77 Is *eadem* nom. f. sg. (modifying the implied subject Dido) or acc. n. pl. (modifying *conuīuia*)? • 77 What construction is *lābente diē*? • 78 What does the *-que* after *Īliacōs* link? • 78 How does the infinitive *audīre* fit into the sentence? • 79 Parse *nārrantis*. What does it agree with?

Style & Theme:

- Compare and contrast the advice Anna gives to her sister to detain Aeneas in lines 50–53 with Dido's actions in lines 74–85.
- Analyse the syntax and rhetorical design of lines 74–79, with particular attention to the sequence of main verbs (with Dido as subject): [74]*dūcit*, [75]*ostentat*, [76]*incipit* and *resistit*, [77]*quaerit*, [79]*exposcit* and *pendet*. Two lines (76, 79) feature two verbs, one (78) none: what is the rhetorical effect in each instance and of the pattern overall?
- Day (74–76) & Night (77–79), marked by the anaphora of *nunc* (74, 77), each get three lines: how do the daytime activities and evening divertissements compare? Answer with reference to the 'city theme' ([74]*media ... per moenia*, [75]*urbem ... parātam*, [78]*Īliacōs ... labōrēs*), ideas of wealth and living it up ([75]*Sīdoniās ... opēs*, [77]*eadem ... conuīuia*) and the dynamic between Dido and Aeneas.
- What are the stylistic devices Virgil uses to generate word order mimicking action in [74]*media Aenēān sēcum per moenia dūcit*?
- How has Virgil arranged attributes and nouns in [75]*Sīdoniās ... opēs urbemque parātam*? Does the arrangement have thematic significance?
- What are the dynamics of speech in this passage?
- What is the thematic significance of the correspondence between [75]*Sīdoniāsque* and [78]*Īliacōsque*?
- Consider where in the line Virgil places the underlined words: [76]*incipit effārī mediāque in uōce resistit*. What is the effect?

- Analyse the design of [78]*Īliacōsque iterum dēmēns audīre labōrēs*. What does it foreground?
- What is the significance of the repetition of *iterum* (78–79)? What does it reveal about Dido?
- Dido is the subject throughout. But is she in charge? Discuss with reference to [78]*dēmēns* and [79]*pendet ... nārrantis ab ōre*. And where is Aeneas in this passage?
- Would you want to listen to the *Iliad* on loop (cf. [78]*Īliacōs iterum ... audīre labōrēs*)? To what extent is Dido entranced by the teller, to what extent by the tale? What general points about epic narrators (and narration) might Virgil be making here?

Fig. 8 Dido shows Aeneas the plans for the fortifications of Carthage. Tapestry, designed by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, woven by Michael Wauters (1679). Public domain, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1915.79.4

➢ What are we to make of the fearful symmetry that Dido, by day, shows Aeneas 'Carthage rising' (cf. Fig. 8) and Aeneas, by night, tells Dido about 'Troy falling'?

80–89: *Hug Therapy for Nights of Solitude*

post ubi dīgressī, lūmenque obscūra uicissim
lūna premit suādentque cadentia sīdera somnōs,
sōla domō maeret uacuā strātīsque relictīs
incubat. illum absēns absentem auditque uidetque,
aut gremiō Ascanium, genitōris imāgine capta,
dētinet, īnfandum sī fallere possit amōrem.
nōn coeptae adsurgunt turrēs, nōn arma iuuentūs
exercet, portūsue aut prōpugnācula bellō
tūta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
mūrōrum ingentēs aequātaque māchina caelō.

Grammar & Syntax: 80–81 What are the three verbs of the *ubi*-clause, and what are their subjects? • 82 What noun does *uacuā* agree with? • 82 What case is *strātīs ... relictīs*? • 84 How does *Ascanium* fit into the sentence? • 84 What kind of abl. is *imāgine*? • 84 What does the participle *capta* agree with? • 85 What kind of condition is *īnfandum sī fallere possit amōrem*? • 86 What does the participle *coeptae* agree with? • 86 Parse *iuuentūs*. • 87 What does the *-ue* after *portūs* link, and what does *aut* link? • 87 Identify and explain the case of *bellō*. • 88 How does *tūta* fit into the the sentence? • 88–89 What are the three subject phrases that go with the verb *pendent*? • 89 What noun does *ingentēs* modify? • 89 Identify and explain the case of *caelō*.

Style & Theme:

- Explore the rhetorical impact of the juxtaposition of *lūmen* and *obscūra* (sc. *lūna*) (80–81).
- How has Virgil arranged subjects, acc. objects, and verbs in the second and third colon of the *ubi*-clause (80–81)? What is the rhetorical effect?
- What formal features in the phrase [81]*suādentque cadentia sīdera somnōs* reinforce its contents (= inducement of sleep)?
- What are the three words in 82 that signify 'abandonment', and how do they relate to one another?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the two verbs placed in enjambment followed by strong caesura in 83 (*incubat*) and 85 (*dētinet*)?
- Analyse the rhetorical design of [83]*illum absēns absentem auditque uidetque*.

- What do you make of Dido displacing her affection from absent father Aeneas to present son Ascanius, and what of the switch from (delusional?) hearing and seeing to (intimate) touching ([84–85]*gremiō Ascanium ... | dētinet*)?
- What does Dido see in Ascanius (cf. [84]*genitōris imāgine capta*)?
- What does the clause [85]*īnfandum sī fallere possit amōrem* mean, precisely? And what is the point of the hyperbaton *īnfandum ... amōrem* and the aggressive fronting of the attribute?
- After using a precise asyndetic anaphora of *nōn* in 86 to coordinate the first two main clauses, Virgil adds the third main clause with the enclitic *-ue* ([87]*portūsue*): what does the use of this connective accentuate?
- What elements of city-building does Virgil single out in 86–88?
- Discuss the images that capture the effects of 'Dido in love' on her city-building project in terms of their ruined or stalled sublimity (86–89).

Fig. 9 J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851), *Dido Building Carthage, or The Rise of the Carthaginian Empire* (1815). The National Gallery. Photography by The Athenaeum. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turner_Dido_Building_Carthage.jpg

➢ Is Carthage rising or falling in Turner (Fig. 9)? What dark touches inspired by Virgil counterbalance the centred sun's brightness?

90–128: A Match Made in Heaven

90–97: *Pawn in Your Game...*

quam simul ac tālī persēnsit peste tenērī
cāra Iouis coniūnx nec fāmam obstāre furōrī,
tālibus adgreditur Venerem Sāturnia dictīs:
'ēgregiam uērō laudem et spolia ampla refertis
tūque puerque tuus, magnum et memorābile nūmen,
ūna dolō dīuum sī fēmina uicta duōrum est!
nec mē adeō fallit ueritam tē moenia nostra
suspectās habuisse domōs Karthāginis altae.

Grammar & Syntax: 90–91 How do *quam* and *fāmam* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 90 What are the subject and verb of the subordinate clause introduced by *simul ac*? • 90 What does *tālī ... peste* refer to? • 91–92 Who is the *cāra Iouis coniūnx* and *Sāturnia*? • 91 What does *nec* link? • 91 Why is *furōrī* in the dative? • 92 What noun does *tālibus* modify? • 93 Parse *refertis*. • 94 How does *magnum et memorābile nūmen* fit into the sentence? • 95 Who is the subject of the *sī*-clause? • 95 On what noun does the genitive *dīuum ... duōrum* depend? • 96 What constructions does *fallit* govern? • 96 Explain the syntax of *tē*. • 96–97 What is the acc. obj. of *ueritam*, what of *habuisse*?

Style & Theme:

- Where does Juno come from, all of a sudden? When did she last make an appearance in the narrative? How does Virgil re-introduce her?
- Discuss the design of 92 as setting the stage for the speech to follow.
- What are the structure and tone of Juno's speech (93–104)? What stylistic devices help to bring out her indignation?
- What are [93]*spolia*? What are the implications of Juno's figurative use of the term here?
- How does Juno portray Venus and Cupid respectively in line 94? How does the meaning change if one puts a semicolon instead of a comma after *tuus* and/or reads *nōmen* instead of *nūmen*?
- In 95, Juno specifies three reasons why the victory of Venus and Cupid over Dido is cheap: what are they? And how does Juno reinforce her accusation stylistically that Venus and her son performed an unsporting knock-out?
- [97]*Karthāginis altae* preceded by [96]*moenia* recalls the concluding phrase of the proem, *altae moenia Rōmae* (1.7). What are the implications of this re-use of proemial idiom?

Fig. 10 Francesco Bartolozzi (1728–1815), *Title page: Depicting Cupid, Venus, and Juno* (1782). Line engraving and stipple engraving. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.19807. Public domain, https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:38208

See also Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson (1767–1824), *Juno and Venus: Illustration to Virgil's Aeneid*, https://www.gallery.ca/collection/artwork/juno-and-venus-illustration-to-virgils-aeneid

- In the rivalry between Venus and Juno, does anyone come out on top? What are the power dynamics in Virgil and what in Bartolozzi's engraving (Fig. 10)?

98–104: ...*Queen at Heart*

sed quis erit modus, aut quō nunc certāmine tantō?
quīn potius pācem aeternam pactōsque hymenaeōs
exercēmus? habēs, tōtā quod mente petīstī:
ārdet amāns Dīdō trāxitque per ossa furōrem.
commūnem hunc ergō populum paribusque regāmus
auspiciīs; liceat Phrygiō seruīre marītō
dōtālīsque tuae Tyriōs permittere dextrae.'

Grammar & Syntax: 98 Parse *quō*. • 98 What verb needs to be supplied in the question *quō nunc certāmine tantō?* • 99 What is the meaning of *quīn* here? • 100 What noun does *tōtā* modify? • 100 Parse *petīstī*. • 101 Explain the tense of *trāxit*. • 102–3 Identify and explain the mood of *regāmus* and *liceat*. • 102–3 What kind of ablative is *paribus ... | auspiciīs*? • 103 Who is the subject of *liceat*? • 104 Parse *dōtālīs*. How does it fit into the sentence? • 104 What case is *tuae ... dextrae* and what implied noun does it modify?

Style & Theme:

- Juno's question [98]*quō nunc certāmine tantō?* is a good one: what was Venus thinking when she decided to make Dido fall hopelessly in love with her son? What is the point of driving the queen insane with passion? Is this really aiding Aeneas and his mission? Is she perhaps reacting to what Jupiter told her in Book 1: best not to take Juno on upfront, in her own backyard?
- How does Virgil use sound-patterning and word order to interlink the two accusative phrases [99]*pācem aeternam* and *pactōs ... hymenaeōs*? What is their thematic relation?
- On the face of it, the conditions that Juno offers Venus—peace, marriage alliance, joint rule of Carthage on equal terms (99–100; 102–3)—seem attractive. But does she truly propose a plausible mode of government? Would you have signed up to the deal?
- Identify the ways in which Juno insults Aeneas in lines 103–4. Why does she adopt the seemingly counterproductive strategy of spewing billingsgate at the offspring of the goddess with whom she wishes to strike up a partnership?
- What do you make of Juno's offer of divine power-sharing, achieved at the human level through Dido's enslavement to an unworthy husband? (What, precisely, are the connotations of the phrase [103]*Phrygiō seruīre marītō*?)

- What is the effect of Juno's peculiar admixture of technical terms from Rome's public political culture ([99]*pācem*, [102]*populum*, [102–3]*paribus ... | auspiciīs*), the (partially Greek) idiom of marriage alliances ([99]*pactōs ... hymenaeōs*, [103]*marītō*, [104]*dōtālīs*) and the language of love elegy ([101]*ārdet amāns Dīdō trāxitque per ossa furōrem*)?

Fig. 11 'Master of the Aeneid', Venus and Juno provoke Dido's love for Aeneas. Painted Limoges enamel plaque (ca. 1530), based upon woodcut illustration by Sebastian Brant in the 1502 Strasbourg edition of Virgil edited and printed by Johann Grüninger. Photography by Marie-Lan Nguyen. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venus_Juno_Aeneas_Louvre_OA6596.jpg

➢ Discuss how the unknown Renaissance artist known as 'Master of the Aeneid' visualizes 4.80–128.

105–114: *Venus' Fly Trap*

ollī (sēnsit enim simulātā mente locūtam,
quō rēgnum Ītaliae Libycās āuerteret ōrās)
sīc contrā est ingressa Venus: 'quis tālia dēmēns
abnuat aut tēcum mālit contendere bellō,
sī modo quod memorās factum fortūna sequātur?
sed fātīs incerta feror, sī Iuppiter ūnam
esse uelit Tyriīs urbem Trōiāque profectīs,
miscērīue probet populōs aut foedera iungī.
tū coniūnx, tibi fās animum temptāre precandō.
perge, sequar.' tum sīc excēpit rēgia Iūnō:

Grammar & Syntax: 105 Identify and explain the case of *ollī*. • 105 What is the subj. acc., what the inf., of the indirect statement governed by *sēnsit*? • 105 What kind of ablative is *simulātā mente*? • 106 What kind of clause does *quō* introduce? • 106 Identify and explain the case of *Ītaliae*. • 106 What kind of acc. is *Libycās ... ōrās*? • 107 Into what grammatical category does *contrā* belong? Is it a preposition or an adverb here? • 108 Identify and explain the tense and mood of *abnuat* and *mālit*. • 109 What is the subject of the *sī*-clause? • 109 What is the antecedent of *quod*? • 110 What kind of abl. is *fātīs*? • 110 Parse *incerta*. What does the adjective agree with? • 110 What noun does *ūnam* modify? • 111 Identify and explain the case of *Tyriīs* and *profectīs*. What implied pronoun does the participle agree with? • 111 What kind of abl. is *Trōiā*? • 111 What does the *-que* after *Trōiā* link? • 112 What does the *-ue* after *miscērī* link, and what does the *aut* link? • 113 Which form of *esse* is implied with *tū coniūnx*, and which with *tibi fās*? • 113 Parse *precandō*. • 114 Parse *sequar*.

Style & Theme:

- What insight into the relationship between Juno and Venus can we glean from the word order of 105–7a?
- How does the design of 106 reflect Juno's geopolitical ambitions (as divined by Venus)?
- Outline the structure of Venus' speech (107–114). What techniques does Virgil employ to articulate the potent mixture of surface innocence and concealed guile at its heart?
- How does *modo* inflect the meaning of the *sī*-clause and how does word order enhance Venus' play with fact and fortune in 109?
- What is so mischievous about [109]*quod memorās factum*, variously translated as 'this plan of yours' (Bartsch), 'the fulfilment of your

word' (Goold), 'the plan you describe' (West)? (Only Goold's translation comes close to capturing the Latin's naughtiness.)

- How are we to read Venus' cheeky juxtaposition of predetermination (*fātīs*) and uncertainty (*incerta*) in her claim [110]*sed fātīs incerta feror*?
- Does the word order of [110–11]*sī Iuppiter ūnam | esse uelit Tyriīs urbem Trōiāque profectīs* reinforce or countervail the idea of one city for Tyrians and Trojans?
- What forms of socio-political organization does Venus invoke with the phrases [112]*miscērī ... populōs* and *foedera iungī*?
- What is funny about Venus' appeal to [113]*fās* and the recommendation to use prayer on Jupiter ([113]*precandō*)?
- When Venus claims that she will follow Juno's lead ([114]*perge*, *sequar*) does she mean what she says? Is it significant that she finishes her speech mid-verse?
- How does Juno's attribute [114]*rēgia* anticipate her speech?

Fig. 12 Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550), *Fortuna*. Private collection, Scan by Yellow Lion 2006. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fortuna_or_Fortune.jpg

➢ Fortuna is the divine personification of erratic reversals, mistress of the 'spinning wheel of fortune' (Fig. 12): what is her role in Virgil's epic of fate? (Cf. [109]*sī modo quod memorās factum fortūna sequātur?*)

115–122: *The Weather Maker*

‘mēcum erit iste labor. nunc quā ratiōne quod īnstat
cōnfierī possit, paucīs (aduerte) docēbō.
uēnātum Aenēās ūnāque miserrima Dīdō
in nemus īre parant, ubi prīmōs crāstinus ortūs
extulerit Tītān radiīsque retēxerit orbem.
hīs ego nigrantem commixtā grandine nimbum,
dum trepidant ālae saltūsque indāgine cingunt,
dēsuper īnfundam et tonitrū caelum omne ciēbō.

Grammar & Syntax: 115 What kind of subordinate clause does *quā ratiōne* introduce? • 115–16 Why is *possit* in the subjunctive and *īnstat* not? • 116 What needs to be supplied with *paucīs*? • 116 Parse *aduerte*. How does it fit into the sentence? • 117 What construction is *uēnātum*? • 118 What noun does *crāstinus* modify? • 119 What tense are *extulerit* and *retēxerit* and why? • 119 Who is *Tītān*? • 120 Identify and explain the case of *hīs*. • 120 What is the verb that goes with *ego*? • 120 Parse *nigrantem*. What noun does the participle agree with? • 120 What kind of construction is *commixtā grandine*? • 121 What kind of abl. is *indāgine*? • 122 Parse *īnfundam*. What is its acc. obj.? • 122 What kind of abl. is *tonitrū*?

Style & Theme:

- Outline the structure of Juno’s speech (115–27). Then deliver it (either by reciting Virgil’s hexameter or an English adaptation). Give special attention to impersonating Juno’s royal demeanour, without neglecting the fact that she is here trying to win over Venus.
- What does *iste labor* refer to? How does the word order in [115]*mēcum erit iste labor* dramatize Juno’s agency? And what is the contrast implied with *mēcum* and *iste*?
- How might one best translate [115]*quod īnstat*? ‘our plan’ (Bartsch), ‘the present purpose’ (Goold), ‘the first part of the plan’ (West)? Literally, Juno says ‘what is pressing’: *OLD īnstō* 6b; does the slippage from ‘the task/ the urgent matter at hand’ to ‘the plan’ introduce a wanted or an unwanted aspect into Juno’s discourse? Likewise, how does the passive construction *cōnfierī possit* (‘can come about/ be accomplished’) fit into the picture? Put differently, why does Juno, in the Latin, *not* use anything that suggests first-person plural (such as ‘our’)?

- Is the parenthetical imperative [116]*aduerte* haughty or conspiratorial (or both)?
- Why does Juno call Dido [117]*miserrima*?
- Is there an argumentative point to Juno's elaborate description of dawn in 118–19?
- How does the clustering of voiced bilabial nasal /m/ and voiced alveolar nasal /n/, combined with the assonance *-gra-*, *gra-*, mimic the brewing of bad weather? (Cf. [120]*nigrantem commixtā grandine nimbum*.)
- How does the design of lines 120–22 reinforce the theme of a sudden storm of hail and thunder?
- Does line 121 contribute anything beyond platforming the downpour?
- How do you picture the weather at *your* wedding?

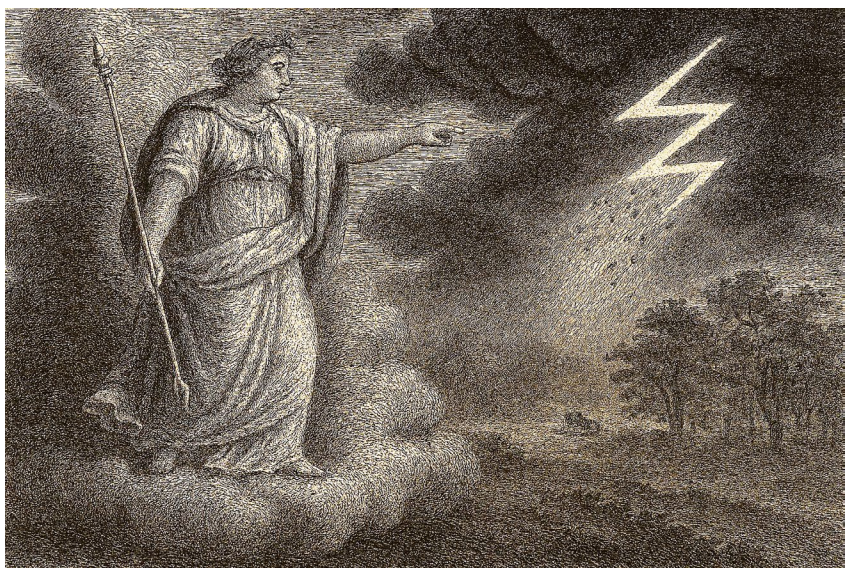

Fig. 13 Impression of Juno cosplaying as Jupiter (created using Copilot).

➢ What does it mean for Virgil's cosmology that Juno can repeatedly usurp Jupiter's role as (bad) weather maker (cf. Fig. 13)?

123–128: *The Wedding Planner*

diffugient comitēs et nocte tegentur opācā:
spēluncam Dīdō dux et Trōiānus eandem
dēuenient; aderō, et tua sī mihi certa uoluntās,
cōnubiō iungam stabilī propriamque dicābō,
hic hymenaeus erit.' nōn aduersāta petentī
adnuit atque dolīs rīsit Cytherēa repertīs.

Grammar & Syntax: 123–25 What tense are *diffugient*, *tegentur* and *dēuenient*? • 124 What does *et* link? • 125 What is the verb of the *sī*-clause? • 125 What kind of dat. is *mihi*? • 126 What is the direct obj. and what is the indirect obj. of *iungam*? • 126 What does *propriam* agree with? • 127 What does the participle *aduersāta* (from *aduersor*) agree with? • 127 How does the present participle *petentī* fit into the sentence? • 128 Who is the subject of *adnuit*? • 128 Identify and explain the case of *dolīs ... repertīs*. • 128 Why is Venus called 'the Cytherean' (*Cytherēa*)?

Style & Theme:

- [123]*diffugient* scans as a choriamb (– u u –), [123]*comitēs* is an anapaest (u u –, a metrical foot supposedly generating a light, galloping feel): how does the metre enact the action?
- In a play, what would be the equivalent in stage direction for [123]*nocte tegentur opācā*?
- Analyse the design of [124–25]*spēluncam Dīdō dux et Trōiānus eandem | dēuenient*. Specifically: what are the implications of the placement of *et* (juxtaposing *Dīdō* and *dux*, separating *dux* and *Trōiānus*)? What is the effect of the delayed *eandem* (agreeing with *spēluncam*) and the enjambment of *dēuenient*?
- In 125–27, Juno seems to be asking Venus for consent to wed Dido to Aeneas. But who is marrying? Dido and Aeneas? Or Venus and Juno? And who gets 'married' to whom? Dido to Aeneas? Venus to Juno? Dido to Venus? How does Virgil's syntax enhance the ambiguities? (NB: a legitimate marriage in ancient Rome required the consent of both partners.)
- What are the implications of *certa* in the phrase [125]*certa uoluntās*?
- [126]*cōnubiō iungam stabilī propriamque dicābō* is an exact replica of 1.72, where it is part of Juno's promise to Aeolus to hook him up with a nubile nymph if he unleashes a storm to sink Aeneas' fleet. Some

editors argue that here the line is out of place and put it in brackets as an unwelcome intrusion. Do you agree?

- How might we best translate *propriam ... dicābō*? Translators concur that *propriam* refers to Aeneas: 'she'll be his' (Bartsch), 'sealing her for his own' (Goold), 'I shall make her his' (West). But it is equally possible (not least in view of the parallel with the Aeolus scene in Book 1 (see previous question) to take *propriam* as referring to Venus ('I'll pronounce her *yours*'). How do *you* disambiguate?
- What, precisely, is the referent of [127]*hic* ('*This* will be their wedding')?
- What does the portrayal of Juno as 'seeking' or 'wooing' (*OLD petō* 10) ([127]*petentī*) and of Venus as 'not resisting' ([127]*nōn aduersāta*) add to the characterization of the two goddesses and their relationship?
- [128]*... dolīs rīsit Cytherēa repertīs*: does 'laughter-loving' (Homer's epithet for Aphrodite) Venus just smile (*rīsit* = *surrīsit*; Bartsch, Goold) or truly laugh (West) in reaction to Juno's speech? And what is the rationale behind her response?

Fig. 14 Antoine-Augustin Préault (1809–1879), *Venus and the Sphinx* (1868). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venus_and_the_Sphinx_by_Antoine-Augustin_Pr%C3%A9ault_at_the_Metropolitan_Museum_of_Art.jpg

➢ Why has Virgil made his Venus such a duplicitous and enigmatic (indeed sphinx-like: Fig. 14) figure?

129–172: The Hunting Party

129–139: *The Golden Girl Dilly-Dallying*

Ōceanum intereā surgēns Aurōra relīquit.
it portīs iubare exortō dēlēcta iuuentūs;
rētia rāra, plagae, lātō uēnābula ferrō,
Massȳlīque ruunt equitēs et odōra canum uīs.
rēgīnam thalamō cūnctantem ad līmina prīmī
Poenōrum exspectant, ostrōque īnsignis et aurō
stat sonipēs ac frēna ferōx spūmantia mandit.
tandem prōgreditur, magnā stīpante cateruā,
Sīdoniam pictō chlamydem circumdata limbō.
cui pharetra ex aurō, crīnēs nōdantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fībula uestem.

Grammar & Syntax: 129 What tense is *relīquit*? • 130 Parse *it* and identify its subject. • 130 What kind of abl. is *portīs*? • 130 What construction is *iubare exortō*? • 131 What kind is abl. is *lātō ... ferrō*? • 132 What are the subjects of *ruunt*? • 132 Parse *canum*. • 134 Who is the subject of *exspectant*? • 134 What kind of abl. are *ostrō ... et aurō*? • 134 What does the *-que* after *ostrō* link? • 134 What noun does *īnsignis* modify? Dido or the horse? • 136 Who is the subject of *prōgreditur*? • 136 What construction is *magnā stīpante cateruā*? • 137 Why is *Sīdoniam ... chlamydem* in the accusative? • 137 What kind of abl. is *pictō ... limbō*? • 138 What kind of dat. is *cui*? • 138 What is the verb of the first segment of the relative clause introduced by *cui*?

Style & Theme:

- 129–72 recount the events that Juno anticipated in 117–27: compare her divine plan with how it unfolds.
- Who is the goddess [129]*Aurōra* and where else does Virgil mention her in *Aeneid* 4? Do the instances add up to a pattern?
- Which formal features in lines 130–32 help to generate a sense of energy and excitement as the hunting party sets out?
- Who are the 'Massylian horsemen' ([132]*Massȳlī ... equitēs*)? How do they compare to the 'foremost of the Carthaginians' ([133–34]*prīmī | Poenōrum*) who wait for the queen at the threshold ([133]*ad limina*)? In what ways does Virgil's stress on ethnic difference and social rank contribute to the scene's dramatic and thematic texture?
- The rest of the hunting party is ready to go, but everyone is waiting for dallying Dido (133–35): what is taking her so long? (Cf. Segal 1990: 6: 'Dido may be delaying over her toilette because she is deeply in love and wants to appear at her best on a public occasion where

she will be in her beloved's company. But may not her hesitation mark the complexity and contradictoriness of her motives: critical self-consciousness and surrender to feeling, reluctance and desire, knowledge and self-deception?')

- Why is the phrase [135]*stat sonipēs* (of Dido's horse) paradoxical and funny? How does Virgil's (humorous?) blurring of the distinction between Dido and her horse shape our perception of her entrance, beyond keeping us entertained while we wait?
- What does alliteration and sound play add to the picture of Dido's horse (135)?
- Compare and contrast Dido's entry at 4.136–37 with her earlier entry at 1.496–97 *rēgīna ad templum, fōrmā pulcherrima Dīdō, | incessit, magnā iuuenum stīpante cateruā* 'The queen, Dido, of surpassing beauty, approached the temple, with a large throng of youths crowding around her'.
- In lines 138–39, Virgil uses 'gold' or 'golden' three times: *ex aurō, in aurum, aurea ... fibula*. What do we call the figure of speech in which the same word recurs in different cases? What are the thematic implications of Virgil's use of the device here?

Fig. 15 Jean-Bernard Restout (1732–1797), *The Departure of Dido and Aeneas for the Hunt* (1772–1774). Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Departure_of_Dido_and_Aeneas_for_the_Hunt_LACMA_M.2000.179.22.jpg

➢ To what extent does Restout's paining (Fig. 15) capture Virgil's blend of fun, excitement and impending tragedy?

140–150: *The Golden Boys Strutting About*

nec nōn et Phrygiī comitēs et laetus Iūlus
incēdunt. ipse ante aliōs pulcherrimus omnīs
īnfert sē socium Aenēās atque agmina iungit.
quālis ubi hībernam Lyciam Xanthīque fluenta
dēserit ac Dēlum māternam inuīsit Apollō
īnstauratque chorōs, mixtīque altāria circum
Crētēsque Dryopēsque fremunt pictīque Agathyrsī;
ipse iugīs Cynthī graditur, mollīque fluentem
fronde premit crīnem fingēns atque implicat aurō;
tēla sonant umerīs: haud illō sēgnior ībat
Aenēās, tantum ēgregiō decus ēnitet ōre.

Grammar & Syntax: 141 Parse *omnīs*. • 142 How does *socium* fit into the sentence? • 143 What does the *-que* after *Xanthī* link? • 144 What is the subject of *dēserit*? • 144 Why does the island of Delos (*Dēlum*: acc. f. sg.) come with the attribute 'maternal' (*māternam*)? • Lines 145–46 feature four *-que* (*mixtīque*, *Crētēsque*, *Dryopēsque*, *pictīque*): what words do they link, respectively? • 145 Why is *altāria* in the accusative? • 147 What kind of abl. is *iugīs*? [147]Parse *Cynthī*. • 147 What noun does *mollī* agree with? • 147 What noun does *fluentem* agree with? • 148 What is the acc. obj. of *implicat*? • 149 What kind of abl. is *illō*? • 149 Identify and explain the tense of *ībat*. • 150 What kind of abl. is *ēgregiō ... ōre*? • 150 What is the subject of *ēnitet*?

Style & Theme:

- [140]*nec nōn*: what is the rhetorical effect of the double negation?
- How and why does Virgil underscore the outstanding beauty of Aeneas (141–42)?
- Are we to understand [141]*ante aliōs ... omnīs* spatially with [142]*īnfert sē socium* or comparatively with [141]*pulcherrimus* or both?
- What are the points of contact between the simile of Apollo (143–49) and the surrounding narrative?
- Where are we geographically with Lycia, the river Xanthus and the island of Delos (142–43)? How has Virgil arranged the nouns (*Lyciam*, *fluenta*, *Dēlum*) and their attributes (*hībernam*, *Xanthī*, *māternam*)?
- Apollo is depicted as leaving Lycia in winter (143–44). Why might the indication of the season be significant? Who else is on the move during this time of year? And what is the point of imprinting on Aeneas, via the simile, 'leaving winter' and 'calling on mum's place'?
- When Apollo 'renews the dance' ([145]*īnstauratque chorōs*), does he participate or only initiate?
- Who are the *Crētēs*, *Dryopēs* and *Agathyrsī* (146)? Why are these people singled out as worshippers of Apollo?

- Apollo seems to care a lot about his hair (147–48). Why is that?
- [149]*tēla sonant umerīs* introduces a sharp shift in tone, from the cosmetic obsession with hair to Apollo's deadly weaponry. To what extent does the 'soft/tough' image of Apollo in the simile match the character and the role of Aeneas?
- How does word order and sound play in [150]*tantum ēgregiō decus ēnitet ōre* enhance the glow that issues forth from Aeneas?
- What is the overall choreography (cf. [145]*chorōs*) of the various individuals and groups in this passage, in both the simile and the surrounding narrative? Specifically, what are the dynamics of interaction between the two leaders (Aeneas, Apollo) and their attendant groups? Does contrast or analogy dominate?
- What are the ideological implications of Aeneas simultaneously participating in human formations and being removed into a sphere of divine splendour?
- What is the impact of the numerous Greek loanwords in the passage? (Cf. [143]*Lycia*: Λυκία, [143]*Xanthus*: Ξάνθος, [144]*Dēlos*: Δήλος, [144]*Apollō*: Ἀπόλλων, [145]*chorus*: χορός, [146]*Crētēs*: Κρῆτες, [146]*Dryopēs*: Δρύοπες, [146]*Agathyrsī*: Ἀγάθυρσοι, [147]*Cynthus*: Κύνθος.)

Fig. 16 Regions of ancient Greece and western Anatolia. Edited by the author. CC BY 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Regions_Greece_and_Asia-en.svg

➢ What is the significance of Virgil situating Apollo (and Aeneas) in a multicultural setting, with visitors from North (*Agathyrsi*), West (*Dryopes*), South (*Cretes*), and East (Apollo himself) coming together at a central cult side (Delos) (cf. Fig. 16)?

151–159: *The Lion Kid*

postquam altōs uentum in montīs atque inuia lustra,
ecce ferae saxī dēiectae uertice caprae
dēcurrēre iugīs; aliā dē parte patentīs
trānsmittunt cursū campōs atque agmina ceruī
puluerulenta fugā glomerant montīsque relinquunt. 155
at puer Ascanius mediīs in uallibus ācrī
gaudet equō iamque hōs cursū, iam praeterit illōs,
spūmantemque darī pecora inter inertia uōtīs
optat aprum, aut fuluum dēscendere monte leōnem.

Grammar & Syntax: 151 What is the verb of the *postquam*-clause? • 151 What noun does *altōs* agree with? • 152 On what noun does the genitive *saxī* depend? • 152 What kind of abl. is *uertice*? • 153 Parse *dēcurrēre*. • 153 What kind of abl. is *iugīs*? • 153 What noun does *patentīs* modify? • 154 What is the subj. of *trānsmittunt*? • 155 What is the subj. and what is the acc. obj. of *glomerant*? • 156 What noun does *ācrī* agree with? • 158 What noun does *spūmantem* agree with? • 158 What does the *-que* after *spūmantem* link? • 158 What phrase does the preposition *inter* govern? • 158 Identify and explain the case of *uōtīs*. • 159 What construction does *optat* govern? • 159 What does *aut* coordinate? • 159 What kind of abl. is *monte*?

Style & Theme:

- Lines 151–55 feature hyperbaton galore often reinforced by enjambment (151*altōs ... in montīs*, 152*ferae ... caprae*, 152*saxī ... uertice*, 153–54*patentīs* | *... campōs*, 154–55*agmina ...* | *puluerulenta*) and other unsettled word order (such as 154*trānsmittunt ... ceruī*): why and to what effect?
- Identify the three elisions and the anastrophe in line 151. Why are these features thematically appropriate?
- What is the rhetorical effect of 152*ecce*?
- Analyse the balance of symmetry and movement that Virgil has built into the syntactical and metrical design of 152–53.
- Scan lines 153b–55 and relate metre to theme.
- What are the main features of the character-portrayal of Ascanius in 156–59?
- How does the designation of Ascanius as 156*puer* 'boy' affect the meaning of the subsequent lines? Why do we get such a stark change

of register from the stately entry of queen and king to a child at play?

- [157]*iam... hōs cursū* [sc. *praeterit*], *iam praeterit illōs* [sc. *cursū*]: what is the rhetorical effect of this 'double apo koinou' construction?
- The wildlife in the narrative are mountain goats and deer (= [158]*pecora ... inertia*, as far as Ascanius is concerned), that in Ascanius' wishful thinking are a boar and a lion: what is the point of this distribution, and what are we to make of the delusional mismatch between aspiration and capability on Ascanius' part?
- Discuss Virgil's use of topographical detail (up the mountains, down the mountains, on the ridges, in the valley): what are the thematic resonances of the scenery?

Campbell's model was the eight-year-old Arthur Fitzgerald, later 10th Baron Kinnaird (1814–1847), the son of the 8th Lord Kinnaird, and the sculpture was commissioned at the suggestion of Lord Byron. Ascanius is depicted with a Phrygian cap, to indicate his Trojan origins. https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/8635

Fig. 17 Thomas Campbell (1790–1858), *The Young Ascanius* (1822). Scottish National Gallery. Photography by Stephencdickson. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Young_Ascanius_by_Thomas_Campbell_1822.jpg

➢ How old, precisely, is Ascanius in *Aeneid* 4 (cf. Fig. 17)? In Book 2, he followed his father with unequal steps out of burning Troy ([724]*sequiturque patrem nōn passibus aequīs*); in Book 9 he claims his first victim in battle, Numanus Remulus, if from afar. What does his trajectory of maturation add to the plot of the *Aeneid*?

160–164: *The Tempest Takes the Stage*

intereā magnō miscērī murmure caelum 160
incipit; īnsequitur commixtā grandine nimbus;
et Tyriī comitēs passim et Trōiāna iuuentūs
Dardaniusque nepōs Veneris dīuersa per agrōs
tēcta metū petiēre; ruunt dē montibus amnēs.

Grammar & Syntax: 160 How does *miscērī* fit into the sentence? • 161 What is the subject of *incipit*? • 161 What kind of abl. is *commixtā grandine*? • What is the verb that goes with [162]*Tyriī comitēs*, [162]*Trōiāna iuuentūs* and [163]*Dardanius ... nepōs Veneris*? • 163 Who is the *Dardanius ... nepōs Veneris*? • 163 What noun does *dīuersa* modify? • 164 What kind of abl. is *metū*? • 164 Parse *petiēre*.

Style & Theme:
- What are the constituent elements of the meteorological 'sound-picture' Virgil draws in 160–61?
- What is the dramatic effect of ... | [161]*incipit*; *īnsequitur*...?
- How does Virgil's word order reflect the disorienting impact of the storm on the hunting party in lines 162–64?
- In her script, Juno dismisses the entourage in the throw-away line [120]*diffugient comitēs et nocte tegentur opācā*; in the event, we get rather more (emotional) detail and disarray, but also more agency and strategic choices (seeking out shelter). What are the implications of this divergence in perspective between the goddess and the epic narrator?
- Previously, the 'youth' were the Carthaginians ([130]*dēlēcta iuuentūs*), the comrades the Trojans ([140]*Phrygiī comitēs*). Here the Carthaginians have become the comrades ([162]*Tyriī comitēs*) and the Trojans the youth ([162]*Trōiāna iuuentūs*): why? And how might this 'reassignment' be related to [162]*passim*?
- Explore the paradox that the chaotic *dispersal* of the hunt reinforces the *intermingling* of Carthaginians and Trojans.
- What is the effect of the shift from Ascanius' heroic day-dreaming to a state of fear ([164]*metū*)?
- What is the dramatic effect of the inversion of subject and verb in [164]*ruunt dē montibus amnēs*?

Eneidos
Instauratęq; choros: mixtiq; altaria circum
Creteęq; dryopeęq; fremũt: pictiq; agathyrsi.
Ipse fugis cynthi gradiit: mollięq; fluentem
Fronde pmit crinẽ figẽs: atq; implicat auro:
Tela sonant humeris: haud illo segnior ibat
Aeneas: tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

Fig. 18 *Publij Virgilij Maronis Opera* (1502), woodcut illustrations by Sebastian Brant. Digital image from Heidelberg University Library, public domain, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2443#0445

The woodcut features the goats in the mountain, the deer in the plain, hunters using nets, dogs chasing a hare, the Tempest, Aeneas and Dido cuddling in the cave, Ascanius on his horse—and, at the centre, his imaginary boar!

- What are the relative strengths of poetry and of painting in depicting events in time? Explore with reference to Fig. 18. (Discussion of the topic dates back at least as far as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's 1766 treatise 'Laocoon: An Essay upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry'.)

165–172: *Holey Matrimony*

spēluncam Dīdō dux et Trōiānus eandem
dēueniunt: prīma et Tellūs et prōnuba Iūnō
dant signum; fulsēre ignēs et cōnscius aethēr
cōnubiīs, summōque ululārunt uertice nymphae.
ille diēs prīmus lētī prīmusque malōrum
causa fuit; neque enim speciē fāmāue mouētur
nec iam fūrtīuum Dīdō meditātur amōrem:
coniugium uocat, hōc praetexit nōmine culpam.

Grammar & Syntax: 165 What does the *et* link? • 166 How does *prīma* fit into the sentence? • 167 Parse *fulsēre*. • 168 Identify and explain the case of *cōnubiīs*. • 168 What does the *-que* after *summō* link? • 168 What kind of abl. is *summō ... uertice*? • 168 Parse *ululārunt*. • 169 On what noun do the genitives *lētī* and *malōrum* depend? • 169 What does the *-que* after *prīmus* link? • 170 What kind of abl. are *speciē* and *fāmā*? • 172 How does *coniugium* fit into the sentence?

Style & Theme:

- Unlike other aspects, the joint arrival at the cave (165–66*spēluncam Dīdō dux et Trōiānus eandem | dēueniunt*) matches Juno's script to the dot (124–25*spēluncam Dīdō dux et Trōiānus eandem | dēuenient*), with only the tense of the verb changing from future to present. But what are *Tellūs*, *aethēr* and the *nymphae* doing? Is Juno improvising?
- Compare and contrast Virgil's curtaining of storm-struck Dido and Aeneas in a counsel-keeping cave with Apollonius Rhodius' account of Medea's and Jason's wedding night at *Argonautica* 4.1128–69:

  > Immediately they prepared a mixing-bowl of wine for the blessed gods, as is proper, and following correct ritual procedure led sheep to the altar. On that very night they made ready a bridal bed for the girl in the sacred cave... Here, then, they prepared the great bed; over it they threw the gleaming golden fleece, so that the wedding night should be honoured and become the subject of song. And for them the nymphs gathered flowers of many colours and brought them cradled in their white breasts. ... Some were called daughters of the river Aegaeus, others haunted the peaks of mount Melite, and others were woodland nymphs from the plains. Hera herself, Zeus' wife, urged them to come in Jason's honour. To this day that holy cave is called the Cave of Medea, where the nymphs spread out fragrant linen and brought the marriage of the couple to fulfilment. ... The crew ... to the pure accompaniment of Orpheus' lyre, sang the wedding song at the entrance of the bridal chamber. It was not in Alcinous' domain that the heroic son of Aeson [= Jason] had

wished to marry, but in the halls of his father after his return to Iolcus; and Medea also had the same intention, but necessity led them to make love at that time. But so it is: we tribes of woe-stricken humans never enter upon delight wholeheartedly, but always some bitter pain marches alongside our joy. Thus, though they melted in sweet love-making, both were fearful whether Alcinous' sentence would be brought to fruition.

- A literal translation of [169–70]*ille diēs prīmus lētī prīmusque malōrum | causa fuit* would be 'that day the first of death and the first of evils | was cause' or, more elegantly, 'that day was first and foremost the cause of death, first and foremost the cause of evils'. Why is the day in which Dido and Aeneas meet in the cave the cause of death and evils? And whose death (just Dido's?), and what evils? And why the emphatic reiteration of *prīmus*?
- What aspects of Dido's identity does [170]*speciē fāmāue* single out? And how should the two terms be translated? Options include 'rumor or appearance' (Bartsch), 'fair show or fair fame' (Goold), 'appearance or her good name' (West).
- What does Dido's [172]*culpa* consist in?

Fig. 19 Dido and her Trojan Hero (with his dashing Phrygian cap). Roman Mosaic part, found at Low Ham, Somerset. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Low_ham_mosaic.jpg

Cf. Wright, R. P. (1946), 'Roman Britain in 1945: I. Sites Explored; II. Inscriptions', *Journal of Roman Studies* 36, p. 148, Plate 11. For discussion, see Anderson (2006).

➢ What happens in the cave? Do Dido and Aeneas see eye-to-eye (cf. Fig. 19) and emerge as a married couple? All but in name? No piece of paper? Does Virgil describe a wedding ritual or a parody thereof? And if they did not get married, how would you describe their relationship status?

173–197: The News Goes Viral

173–183: *Gossip Girl*

extemplō Libyae magnās it Fāma per urbēs,
Fāma, malum quā nōn aliud uēlōcius ūllum:
mōbilitāte uiget uīrēsque adquīrit eundō,
parua metū prīmō, mox sēsē attollit in aurās
ingrediturque solō et caput inter nūbila condit.
illam Terra parēns īrā inrītāta deōrum
extrēmam, ut perhibent, Coeō Enceladōque sorōrem
prōgenuit pedibus celerem et pernīcibus ālīs,
mōnstrum horrendum, ingēns, cui quot sunt corpore plūmae
tot uigilēs oculī subter (mīrābile dictū),
tot linguae, totidem ōra sonant, tot subrigit aurīs.

Grammar & Syntax: 173 What category of word is *extemplō*? • 173 What noun does the genitive *Libyae* depend on? • 174 What verb form needs to be supplied for the relative clause *malum quā nōn aliud uēlōcius ūllum*? • 174 Explain the grammar and syntax of *quā*. • 175 What kind of abl. are *mōbilitāte* and *eundō*? • 176 What kind of abl. is *metū*? • 177 What kind of abl. is *solō*? • 178 What kind of genitive is *deōrum* and what noun does it depend on? • 179 ... *ut perhibent* ...: who are they? • 179 How does *Coeō Enceladōque sorōrem* fit into the syntax of the sentence? Who are Coeus and Enceladus? • 180 What kind of abl. are *pedibus* and *pernīcibus ālīs*? • 181 How does *mōnstrum horrendum*, *ingēns* fit into the sentence? • 181–183 At what point does the syntax of the relative clause introduced by *cui* break down and why? • 182 Explain the grammar of *mīrābile dictū*. • 183 Who is the subject of *subrigit*? • 183 Parse *aurīs*.

Style & Theme:

- Why and how is fear ([176]*parua metū prīmō*...) a factor in *Fāma*'s growth? Might it be preferable to read *parua initū prīmō* 'small at her first beginning'?
- In 178–81 Virgil provides a genealogy for *Fāma*, putting her in the company of pre-Olympian monsters: how does word order, syntax, and metre in these lines reinforce the theme of monstrosity? How does her lineage (daughter of Terra, sister of the giants) position her in Virgil's literary universe?
- Scan line 180: how does the metre reinforce the theme of speed (cf. *celerem*)?

- What is the impact of *Fāma* sporting the exact same number of feathers, eyes, tongues, mouths and ears ([181–83]*quot ... tot ... tot ... totidem ... tot*...)?
- Hardie (2009: 71) observes that Virgil modelled *Fāma* on Lucretius' account of the thunderbolt at *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 6.177 and 340–42: 'Allusively *Fāma* is a natural force, translated to the theatre of human actions and words.' Why does Virgil cast his character as 'thunderbolt-*Fāma*'? Why does he model his divine force on a natural force? Is it meaningful that Lucretius' thunderbolt flashes from Heaven to Earth, whereas *Fāma* moves from Earth to Heaven?

Fig. 20 Francis Cleyn (1582–1658), *Dido and Aeneas sheltering in a Cave* (with *Fāma* in the background). Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, public domain, https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:8049

➢ How are we to visualize *Fāma* following Virgil's description (cf. Figs 20, 21, 22)?

184–188: *The Watcher*

nocte uolat caelī mediō terraeque per umbram
strīdēns, nec dulcī dēclīnat lūmina somnō;
lūce sedet custōs aut summī culmine tēctī
turribus aut altīs, et magnās territat urbēs,
tam fictī prāuīque tenāx quam nūntia uērī.

Grammar & Syntax: 184, 186 What kind of abl. are *nocte* and *lūce*? • 184 On what word do the genitives *caelī* and *terrae* depend? • 184 What words does the *-que* after *terrae* link? • 184 Does the prepositional phrase *per umbram* go with *uolat* or *strīdēns*? • 185 Parse *strīdēns*. • 185 What noun does *dulcī* modify? • 186 How does *custōs* fit into the sentence? • 186–87 What phrases does *aut ... aut* coordinate? • 187 What noun does *altīs* agree with? • 188 How does *tam ... tenāx quam nūntia* fit into the sentence? • 188 What does the genitive phrase *fictī prāuīque* depend on? • 188 What kind of genitive is *uērī*?

Style & Theme:

- Discuss the overall design of this block of verses, with reference to the correlation of [184]*nocte* and [186]*lūce* and the appositional status of 188.
- Why does *Fāma* move at night and perch during daytime?
- Apart from the fifth foot, line 185 is entirely spondaic: in what ways might metre enact theme?
- What sound does [185]*strīdēns* refer to?
- Of what is *Fāma* 'a guardian' ([186]*custōs*)?
- After small and fearful beginnings ([176]*parua metū prīmō*), *Fāma* is said to terrify great cities ([187]*magnās territat urbēs*). What is the source of the terror she spreads? And what are the 'big cities' that she haunts?
- Analyse the rhetorical design of [188]*tam fictī prāuīque tenax quam nūntia uērī*: what does it tell us about the truth-value of *Fāma*'s discourse? How much is fictitious, how much is distorted, how much is true?

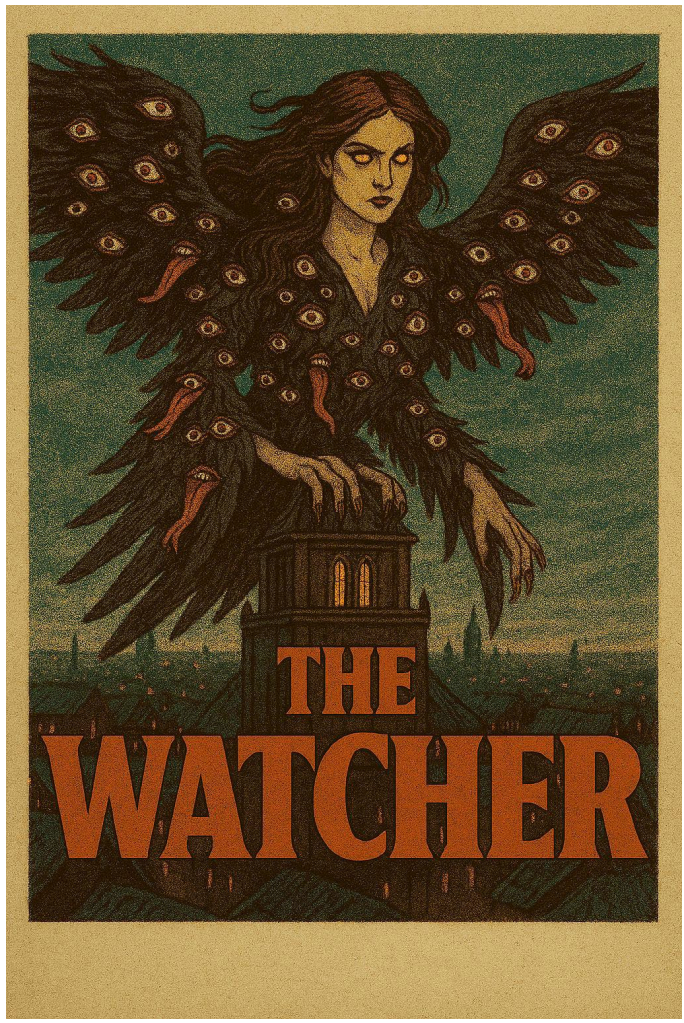

Fig. 21 Digital Demonology: A *Fāma* from Franken-code (created using Copilot).

➢ Do *you* like hearing the latest scoop or piece of gossip? Does that mean you are feeding the monster (Fig. 21)?

189–197: *News of the World: Beyond Splashy to Trashy*

haec tum multiplicī populōs sermōne replēbat
gaudēns, et pariter facta atque īnfecta canēbat:
uēnisse Aenēān Trōiānō sanguine crētum,
cui sē pulchra uirō dignētur iungere Dīdō;
nunc hiemem inter sē luxū, quam longa, fouēre
rēgnōrum immemorēs turpīque cupīdine captōs.
haec passim dea foeda uirum diffundit in ōra.
prōtinus ad rēgem cursūs dētorquet Iarbān
incenditque animum dictīs atque aggerat īrās.

Grammar & Syntax: 189 What kind of abl. is *multiplicī ... sermōne*? • 191, 193 Explain the infinitives *uēnisse* and *fouēre*. • 191 Why is *Aenēān* in the accusative? • 191 What kind of abl. is *Trōiānō sanguine*? • 192 How does *uirō* fit into the relative clause introduced by *cui*? • 192 Why is *dignētur* in the subjunctive? • 193 What verb needs to be supplied with *quam longa*? • 193 What is the subj. acc. that needs to be supplied with *fouēre*? • 194 What does the genitive *rēgnōrum* depend on and what kind is it? • 194 What kind of abl. is *turpī ... cupīdine*? • 194 What implied pronoun do *immemorēs* and *captōs* agree with? • 195 Does *foeda* modify *haec* or *dea* or *ōra*—or any two or all three? • 195 On what noun does the genitive *uirum* depend? • 196 Parse *cursūs*. • 197 What kind of abl. is *dictīs*?

Style & Theme:

- What is the force of the imperfects [189]*replēbat* and [190]*canēbat*? And what is the effect of the switch to present tense in 195–97 (*diffundit*, *dētorquet*, *incendit*, *aggerat*)?
- How do elisions enact theme in [190]*facta atque īnfecta*?
- Analyse the stylistic design of 192. Why is *Fāma*'s spin on the facts so insidious?
- What associations might *Fāma* try to invoke with the term [193]*luxū*?
- What does the verb [196]*dētorquet* contribute here to the course of disin*fama*tion?
- In lines 191–94, Virgil summarizes what *Fāma* says about Dido and Aeneas. Scholars have different opinions concerning the truth-value of her coverage. Here is Austin (74): 'it is true that Aeneas has come to Carthage, and that Dido is living with him; but *luxū* and *turpīque cupīdine captōs* ("enthralled by vile passion") is a malicious twist to truth, and so is *immemorēs*.' And here O'Hara (42): 'What in Rumor's report is not true? That Dido considers Aeneas her husband? That

she neglects her kingdom (but see 261–4 for Aeneas supervising construction)? That they are captives of foul desire?' Discuss, perhaps with reference to the category 'foul'.

- 'What *Fāma* spreads is "news", an up-to-date report about the private lives of two royal families' (Hardie 2009: 107). Imagine you preside over an inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of reporting news, have fielded testimony from Dido and Aeneas on *Fāma*'s coverage of their 'cohabitation', and need to report your findings to Parliament: what would you say? What part of her coverage is true, what part distorted, what part 'in the public domain', what part an infringement of privacy legislation (from a contemporary point of view)?

Fama ingens monstrum: cui quot sunt corpore plumæ, Tot linguæ et vigiles oculi; tot subrigit aures.
Phil. Galle inuent. et excud. Joannes Collaert sculp.

Fig. 22 Jan Collaert (c. 1561 – c. 1620), *Roem* (*Fāma*). Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200473658

➢ What are we to make of parallels between *Fāma*'s discourse and Virgil's epic song? Both sing ([190]*canēbat*) and blend facts and fiction ([190]*facta atque īnfecta*). —> ***TD*** 'Historiographical Dido'

198–218: In Dad I Tru$t(ed)

198–205: *Worship Mode: Activated*

hic Hammōne satus raptā Garamantide nymphā
templa Iouī centum lātīs immānia rēgnīs,
centum ārās posuit, uigilemque sacrāuerat ignem,
excubiās dīuum aeternās, pecudumque cruōre
pingue solum et uariīs flōrentia līmina sertīs.
isque āmēns animī et rūmōre accēnsus amārō
dīcitur ante ārās media inter nūmina dīuum
multa Iouem manibus supplex ōrāsse supīnīs:

Grammar & Syntax: 198 What kind of abl. is *Hammōne*? • 198 Parse *satus*. • 198 What construction is *raptā Garamantide nymphā*? • 198 Explain the morphology of *Garamantide* (an adj. modifying *nymphā*). • 199–200 What words in these lines are part of the acc. object of *posuit*? • 199 Identify and explain the case of *Iouī*. • 200 What tense is *sacrāuerat*? • 201 How does the phrase *excubiās dīuum aeternās* fit into the sentence? • 201, 204 Parse *dīuum*. • 201 Parse *pecudum*. • 201 What does the *-que* after *pecudum* link? • 202 Are *pingue solum* and *flōrentia līmina* in the accusative or nominative? • 203 Explain the grammar of *animī*. • 204 Who is the subject of *dīcitur* and what construction does it govern? • 205 What kind of acc. is *multa*? • 205 What is the position of Iarbas' hands as he prays to Jupiter (*manibus ... supīnīs*)? • 205 What does *supplex* agree with and how does it fit into the sentence? • 205 Parse *ōrāsse*.

Style & Theme:

- How does Virgil's word choice and use of grammar differentiate between Iarbas' parents (198)?
- Iarbas' father is the supreme Roman deity Jupiter in his Libyan incarnation as Hammon (or Ammon, a.k.a. Amun Ra), his mother a nymph from the North-African region (or the tribe?) of the Garamantians. To what extent does such syncretism (one deity, different names) and ethnographic detail highlight diversity, and to what extent the reach of Roman power? (At 6.794–95, Virgil celebrates Augustus for extending the empire beyond the Garamantians and Indians: ...*super et Garamantas et Indōs | prōferet imperium*.)
- Analyse the design of lines 199–202, with special attention to word

order and chiastic patterns. What do these formal aspects contribute to the picture of Iarbas' religious efforts?

- Are *templa* supposed to be [199]*immānia*?
- How has Virgil arranged the nouns that capture Iarbas' religious architecture ([199]*templa*, [200]*ārās*, [200]*ignem*, [201]*excubiās*, [202]*solum*, [202]*līmina*)?
- With what stylistic devices does Virgil animate the character profile of Iarbas in 203–5?

Fig. 23 Impression of Iarbas praying to Jupiter (created using Copilot).

➢ Is Iarbas' religious devotion over-the-top (cf. Fig. 23)? Why has Virgil given us a character who goes all out in worship with questionable returns?

206–218: *Ghosted by Dad*

‘Iuppiter omnipotēns, cui nunc Maurūsia pictīs
gēns epulāta torīs Lēnaeum lībat honōrem,
aspicis haec? an tē, genitor, cum fulmina torquēs,
nēquīquam horrēmus, caecīque in nūbibus ignēs
terrificant animōs et inānia murmura miscent?
fēmina, quae nostrīs errāns in fīnibus urbem
exiguam pretiō posuit, cui lītus arandum
cuique locī lēgēs dedimus, cōnūbia nostra
reppulit, ac dominum Aenēān in rēgna recēpit.
et nunc ille Paris cum sēmiuirō comitātū,
Maeoniā mentum mitrā crīnemque madentem
subnexus, raptō potitur: nōs mūnera templīs
quippe tuīs ferimus fāmamque fouēmus inānem.’

Grammar & Syntax: 206 What case is *Iuppiter omnipotēns*? • 206 What kind of dat. is *cui*? • 206–7 Who is the *Maurūsia ... gēns*? • 206 What noun does *pictīs* modify? • 207 Parse *epulāta*. • 207 What does *Lēnaeum ... honōrem* refer to? • 208 What type of sentence does *an* introduce? • 209–10 How do the attributes *caecī* and *inānia* follow up on *nēquīquam*? • 210 What is the subject of *miscent*? • 211 Who is the *fēmina*? • 212 What kind of abl. is *pretiō*? • 212 Parse *arandum*. • 213 What are the *locī lēgēs*? • 214 How does *dominum* fit into the sentence? • 215 Why does Iarbas refer to Aeneas as *ille Paris*? • 215 What does the phrase *sēmiuirō comitātū* refer to? • 216 What kind of abl. is *Maeoniā ... mitrā*? • 216–17 Explain the syntax of *mentum ... crīnemque madentem | subnexus* • 217 Explain the syntax of *raptō*. • 217–18 Identify and explain the case of *templīs | ... tuīs*.

Style & Theme:

- What is the structure of Iarbas’ prayer to Jupiter (206–18), and what is its tone? What are the arguments and the rhetorical devices he employs to stir Jupiter into action?
- Is Jupiter [206]*omnipotēns*?
- How does Iarbas gradually sap Jupiter of his powers in the rhetorical question at 208–10?
- Assess how Iarbas portrays his interactions with Dido upon her arrival in Libya, including the (sexist?) idiom he uses to refer to her. What did he offer? Was he in his right to expect ‘intermarriage’ ([213]*cōnūbia*) in turn? (Cf. Fig. 24 for the legend.)

- Iarbas' notion that Carthage is a city of pitiful size (211–12*urbem | exiguam*) is at variance with the description of the building works undertaken by Dido, both at 1.365–66 and 4.88–89 (even if they are said to have ceased in the latter passage). What may account for the contrast?
- Explore the implications of Iarbas' use of 214*dominus* with reference to Aeneas.
- What are the effeminizing and orientalising insults that Iarbas hurls Aeneas' way in 215–17? What stylistic devices does he use to make the abuse even more cutting? Why does Virgil (if indirectly) subject his protagonist to hate speech involving gender and ethnicity?
- What is the tone of 218*quippe*?
- '[Iarbas] has spoken to Jupiter with an insolence that is quite rare in addressing the supreme god, and *he has not actually made any demands of his famous father* – and yet his prayer will be among the most effective in the epic' (Fratantuono–Smith: 387, my italics). Discuss.

Fig. 24 Dido purchases land for the foundation of Carthage. Detail from Gottfried, Johann Ludwig (1630), *Historische Chronica oder Beschreibung der führnembsten Geschichten so sich von Anfang der Welt biß auff unsere zeitten zugetragen* [Historical Chronicle, or description of the most prominent stories how they happened from the beginning of the world until our own times], Frankfurt. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

➢ By expressing frustration with divine inaction in the face of (perceived) injustice, Iarbas touches upon a problem that haunts many religious belief systems: if gods or God are/is all-powerful, how can (perceived) injustice/evil exist?

219–237: Jupiter's Wake-Up Call

219–226: *Male Directives*

tālibus ōrantem dictīs ārāsque tenentem
audiit Omnipotēns, oculōsque ad moenia torsit
rēgia et oblītōs fāmae meliōris amantīs.
tum sīc Mercurium adloquitur ac tālia mandat:
'uāde age, nāte, uocā Zephyrōs et lābere pennīs
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyriā Karthāgine quī nunc
exspectat fātīsque datās nōn respicit urbēs,
adloquere et celerīs dēfer mea dicta per aurās.

Grammar & Syntax: 220 What is the acc. obj. of *audiit*? • 220–21 What are the phrases governed by *ad* and linked by *et*? • 221 What noun does *rēgia* modify? • 221 Identify and explain the case of *fāmae meliōris*. • 221 Parse *amantīs*. • 222 Who is the subject of *adloquitur* and *mandat*? • 223–26 Identify the six imperatives. • 223 Parse *nāte*. • 223 What kind of abl. is *pennīs*? • 224 What does the *-que* after *Dardanium* link? • 224–26 What verb governs *Dardanium ... ducem*? • 224 What kind of abl. is *Tyriā Karthāgine*? • 225 What kind of abl. is *fātīs*? • 226 What noun does *celerīs* modify?

Style & Theme:

- How many of his hundred altars are we supposed to imagine Iarbas holding while praying? Cf. [219]*ārās* (pl.) ... *tenentem*.
- This narrative stretch features several twists and turns. First, *Fāma* turns aside to head for Iarbas ([196]*prōtinus ad rēgem cursūs dētorquet Iarbān*), then Iarbas imagines Jupiter twisting his thunderbolts ([208]*cum fulmina torquēs*), now Jupiter turns his eyes on the scene at Carthage ([220]*oculōs ... torsit*). See also Mercury to Aeneas about Jupiter: [269]*... caelum et terrās quī nūmine torquet*. Do the repetitions of the verb add up to a meaningful pattern?
- How does Jupiter respond to Iarbas' prayer? Does he truly listen to his son?
- Just like Iarbas in 209, Virgil calls Jupiter [220]*Omnipotēns*: what does the repetition of the epithet 'all-powerful' achieve? (Don't push him! Being supreme should mean rising serene above the fray, so intervention dents omnipotence—but don't push it!)
- When Jupiter turns his eyes to Carthage (220–21) what does he see (or thinks he sees)? To what extent might his perception be skewed

by the slurs in Iarbas' prayer? Discuss with reference to [221]*oblītōs fāmae meliōris amantīs* and [235]*quid struit?*

- What is the rhetorical effect of the double set-up of Jupiter's speech ([222]*sīc ... adloquitur ... tālia mandat*)?
- Analyse the design of the opening four lines of Jupiter's speech (223–26): how does he integrate orders to Mercury with commentary on Aeneas?
- Why might Jupiter refer to Aeneas with the moniker [224]*Dardanium ... ducem*?
- What is the effect of the hyperbaton [224]*Dardanium ... ducem* ...|...| [226]*adloquere*? And what are the implications that Jupiter uses the same diction the narrator used to introduce the speech ([222]*Mercurium adloquitur*)?
- What are the cities granted by the fates ([225]*fātīs ... datās ... urbēs*)?
- How do the combined effects of anastrophe and hyperbaton in [226]*celerīs ... per aurās* help to shape the tone of Jupiter's speech here?

Fig. 25 *The Reign of Jupiter* (ca. 1550–1570). Purchase, The Annenberg Foundation Gift (1997). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/208568

➢ To what extent does Jupiter pull the strings in the *Aeneid*? Compare the realities of the epic with the vision in Fig. 25. (The Met website contains a detailed and incisive analysis of the relief that you may wish to consult.)

227–237: *He Has Promises to Keep, and Miles to Go, Don't Let Him Sleep!*

nōn illum nōbīs genetrīx pulcherrima tālem
prōmīsit Grāiumque ideō bis uindicat armīs;
sed fore quī grauidam imperiīs bellōque frementem
Ītaliam regeret, genus altō ā sanguine Teucrī
prōderet, ac tōtum sub lēgēs mitteret orbem.
sī nūlla accendit tantārum glōria rērum
nec super ipse suā mōlītur laude labōrem,
Ascaniōne pater Rōmānās inuidet arcēs?
quid struit? aut quā spē inimīcā in gente morātur
nec prōlem Ausoniam et Lāuīnia respicit arua?
nāuiget: haec summa est; hic nostrī nūntius estō.'

Grammar & Syntax: 227 Who is the *genetrīx pulcherrima*? • 227 How does *tālem* fit into the sentence? • 228 What syntactical elements are governed by *prōmīsit*? • 228 Parse *Graium*. • 228 What kind of abl. is *armīs*? • 229 Of what construction is *fore* a part? • 229 What is the antecedent of *quī*? • 229 What does the *-que* after *bellō* link? • 230–31 Why are *regeret*, *prōderet* and *mitteret* in the subjunctive? • 231 What noun does *tōtum* modify? • 232 What is the acc. obj. of *accendit*? • 233 How does *super* fit into the sentence? • 233 What kind of abl. is *suā ... laude*? • 234 Identify and explain the case of *Ascaniō*. • 234 How does *pater* fit into the sentence? • 235 What construction does *quā spē* introduce? • 237 What kind of genitive is *nostrī*? • 237 Parse *nāuiget!*, *nostrī* and *estō*.

Style & Theme:

- At 227–31 Jupiter recalls what *Venus* promised *him*. The lines rework 1.235–37, where Venus reminds Jupiter of what *he* had promised *her*: *hinc fore ductōrēs, reuocātō ā sanguine Teucrī, | quī mare, quī terrās omnīs diciōne tenērent, | pollicitus* [sc. *es*] 'you promised that from Teucer's restored bloodline should come leaders, who hold the sea and all lands under their rule...' Who promised whom what and when? How and why does Jupiter drag Venus into the picture at all?
- Does Jupiter, in his speech, display 'ignorance of human motivations'? (Cf. Hejduk 2020: 71: 'Whether or not one applauds Jupiter's values here, his combination of anger with ignorance of human motivations contributes forcefully to his characterization.') Or does he know all too well what is going on and choose to put his own spin on the matter?
- To what two events does [228]*Grāium ... ideō bis uindicat armīs* refer (cf. Fig. 26)?

- How does Jupiter's evocative description of Italy (229–30*grauidam imperiīs bellōque frementem | Ītaliam*: 'an Italy of war-cries, pregnant with an empire' (Bartsch); 'Italy, a land teeming with empire and clamorous with war' (Goold); 'an Italy pregnant with empire and clamouring for war' (West)), followed shortly by the prospect of the entire world being subjected to Roman law (cf. 231*ac tōtum sub lēgēs mitteret orbem*), feed into the epic's ideology of Roman imperialism? And how does the idiom used by Jupiter relate to the fact that he is giving an *imperium* ('order'—cf. 239*imperiō*; the basic sense of the word is 'the (legal) right to issue orders')?
- In what ways does the significance of 232*glōria*, 233*laus* and 233*labor* in Rome's political culture sharpen Jupiter's sarcasm?
- What do you make of Jupiter's subtly malicious musing that Aeneas dawdles in Carthage because he begrudges his son a glorious future (234*Ascaniōne pater Rōmānās inuidet arcēs?*)? Is the question entirely rhetorical?
- Identify and comment on the metrical peculiarity in 235*aut quā spē inimīcā in gente morātur*.
- What does 236*prōlem Ausoniam* refer to?

Fig. 26 Jan van Orley (1665–1735), *The Battle of Diomedes and Aeneas* (from the story of Achilles) (ca. 1720–1730). Purchase, Daniel Ergmann Gift (2014). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/428634

➢ Why does Virgil highlight Aeneas' (and Venus'!) past Homeric vulnerabilities?

238–278: The Mercourier Express

238–244: *In Preparation for Take-Off, Please Ensure that Your Wingstraps Are Securely Fastened and Your Caduceus Is in Full Upright Position*

dīxerat. ille patris magnī pārēre parābat
imperiō; et prīmum pedibus tālāria nectit
aurea, quae sublīmem ālīs sīue aequora suprā
seu terram rapidō pariter cum flāmine portant;
tum uirgam capit: hāc animās ille ēuocat Orcō
pallentīs, aliās sub Tartara trīstia mittit,
dat somnōs adimitque, et lūmina morte resignat.

Grammar & Syntax: 238 On what noun does the gen. *patris magnī* depend? • 238 What tense is *parābat*? Why might it be funny? • 239 Identify and explain the case of *pedibus*. • 240 What noun does *aurea* modify? • 240–41 What is the subject and what is the acc. obj. of the relative clause *quae ... portant*? • 240 How does *sublīmem* fit into its clause? • 240–41 What words do *sīue ... | seu* coordinate? • 240 What nouns does the preposition *suprā* govern? • 241 What noun does *rapidō* modify? • 242 What kind of abl. is *hāc*? • 242 What kind of abl. is *Orcō*? • 243 What noun does *pallentīs* modify? • 243 What noun needs to be notionally supplied with *aliās*? • 244 What does *lūmina morte resignat* mean?

Style & Theme:

- Is there a thematic or indexical point to the *p*-alliteration [238–39]*patris – pārēre parābat – imperiō – prīmum – pedibus*?
- What is the effect of the detailed and deliberate description of Mercury getting ready for take-off (cf. [238]*parābat*, [239]*et prīmum ... nectit*, [242]*tum ... capit*)? Why does Virgil (or his figure of Mercury) linger right after Jupiter ordered speed?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the enjambed attribute [240]*aurea*?
- Does the word order in 240–41 make you dizzy? How does it help to convey a sense of Mercury airborne travelling at the speed of light? And what about the fact that we get an image of Mercury up in the air before he takes off?
- Why does Virgil dwell on Mercury's wand (*uirga*) (242–44)? Where and how might Mercury's role as psychopomp (= a guide of souls across the threshold of world and Underworld), of which the wand is a symbol, come into play?
- Compare Mercury's preparations for departure and subsequent descent at 4.239–58 with Homer's description of Mercury's Greek *alter ego* Hermes at *Odyssey* 5.43–49:

So he spoke, and the messenger, the slayer of Argus, did not disobey. Straightway he bound beneath his feet his beautiful sandals, immortal, golden, which were wont to bear him over the waters of the sea and over the boundless earth together with the breeze of the wind. And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber. With this in hand the strong slayer of Argus flew.

- Identify the parallels between the situation of Aeneas in Carthage in *Aeneid* 4 and that of Odysseus on Ogygia in *Odyssey* 5 (cf. Fig. 32) and consider the Dido episode against the Homeric model: what are the similarities, and what are the differences?

MERCVRIVS
Ioan. Strad. inuen.
Ioan. Collaert. sculp.
Dbi Galle excud.
MERCVRIVS Iouis & Maiæ charissima proles, Alatus superis nuncia porto Dijs.

Fig. 27 Jan Collaert (II) (c. 1561 – c. 1620), *Mercury*. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200175606

The caption at the bottom of the engraving (a distich) reads: 'I, winged Mercury, the beloved offspring of Jupiter and Maia, deliver messages to the gods above.' It is part of a series of engravings by the Antwerp-based artist Jan Collaert II covering the seven planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune) in the form of their associated divinities.

➢ What are Mercury's roles in the cosmology of the *Aeneid*? Cf. the image and text of Fig. 27.

245–251: *Stopover on Mountain Man*

illā frētus agit uentōs et turbida trānat
nūbila; iamque uolāns apicem et latera ardua cernit
Atlantis dūrī, caelum quī uertice fulcit,
Atlantis, cinctum adsiduē cui nūbibus ātrīs
pīniferum caput et uentō pulsātur et imbrī;
nix umerōs īnfūsa tegit, tum flūmina mentō
praecipitant senis, et glaciē riget horrida barba.

Grammar & Syntax: 245 What does *illā* refer to? • 245–46 Identify and explain the case of *turbida ...| nūbila*. • 247–48 On what nouns do *Atlantis durī* and *Atlantis* depend? • 247 Explain the syntactical function of *caelum*. • 248 What noun does the participle *cinctum* agree with? • 248 What is the subject of the relative clause introduced by *cui*? • 248 What kind of abl. is *nūbibus ātrīs*? • 249 What words does *et ... et ...* coordinate? • 249 What kind of abl. are *uentō* and *imbrī*? • 250–51 How do these lines connect to what precedes? • 250 Identify and explain the case of *mentō*. • 251 On what noun does the gen. *senis* (from *senex*) depend?

Style & Theme:

- How does Virgil convey the sense of Mercury 'swimming' ([245]*trānat*) through the clouds stylistically?
- Why is the double elision [246]*apice*(*m*) *et later*(*a*) *ardua* thematically fitting?
- Austin (87) does not much like 248–51: 'This description of Atlas (perhaps based on a painting) has power, but is out of place here, and the narrative would run better if it went straight on from 247 to 252. ... The repetition of *Atlantis* gives a curious prominence to the name, which does not seem to need such a stressing; and the similar rhythm of 248, 249, and 251 is noticeably monotonous (249 and 251 are identical, and in each the third-foot caesura is blurred by the monosyllable *et*, so that the effective caesura is in the fourth foot, as in 248).' Do you agree with Austin? Do you think that Virgil might have deleted the lines during a final revision? Can you think of arguments that would rehabilitate the lines as perfectly suited to their context—and to be kept at all costs?
- What makes the diaeresis after the third foot in 251 (after *praecipitant senis*) an effective instance of metrical enactment? What is the effect of Virgil's emphasis on age?

- Discuss Mercury and Atlas—one airy, swift and mobile, the other an immovable rock rooted to the ground—as a complementary couple. How does Virgil bring out their respective qualities? (You may wish to pay particular attention to wind and precipitation.)
- The giant Atlas was turned into a mountain by Perseus with the help of the head of Medusa (Fig. 28). See e.g. Ovid, *Metamorphōsēs* 4.631–62, who describes the encounter thus: 'himself turning his back, Perseus held out from his left hand the ghastly Medusa-head. Straightway Atlas became a mountain huge, as the giant had been; his beard and hair were changed to trees, his shoulders and arms to spreading ridges; what had been his head was now the mountain's top, and his bones were changed to stones. Then he grew to monstrous size in all his parts – for so, O gods, you had willed it – and the whole heaven with all its stars rested upon his head' (655–62). Is Atlas man or mountain in Virgil? What are the anthropomorphic and what are the environmental elements in his description—and where do the two overlap? To what extent does Virgil's text exhibit a proto-Ovidian affinity for the dissolution of boundaries between the environmental and the anthropomorphic?

Fig. 28 Johann Wilhelm Baur, *Perseus and Atlas* (1641). Etching. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2AA-a-31-44

➢ What themes of the myth of Perseus and Atlas (cf. Fig. 28) resonate subliminally in Virgil's narrative?

252–258: *Skyfall*

hīc prīmum paribus nītēns Cyllēnius ālīs
cōnstitit; hinc tōtō praeceps sē corpore ad undās
mīsit auī similis, quae circum lītora, circum
piscōsōs scopulōs humilis uolat aequora iuxtā.
haud aliter terrās inter caelumque uolābat
lītus harēnōsum ad Libyae, uentōsque secābat
māternō ueniēns ab auō Cyllēnia prōlēs.

Grammar & Syntax: 252 What category of word is *hīc*? • 252 What noun does *paribus* modify? • 252 Why does the *-ē-* in *Cyllēnius* scan long? And why does Virgil call Mercury '[the] Cyllenian' (cf. 258 and 276)? • 254 Identify and explain the case of *auī*. • 254 What is the antecedent of *quae*? • 255 How does *humilis* fit into the relative clause? • What noun does the preposition *iuxtā* govern? • 256 What does the *-que* after *caelum* link? • 256–58 Who is the subject of *uolābat*, *secābat* and *ueniēns*? • 257 What noun phrase does the preposition *ad* govern? • 257 What does the *-que* after *uentōs* link?

Style & Theme:

- Why is the enjambment of [253]*cōnstitit* dramatically effective?
- How does word order and verse design in [253]*tōtō praeceps sē corpore ad undās | mīsit* convey the sense of a bungee-like plunge, from cloud nine to coastline?
- What are the thematic implications of the repetition of the preposition in [254–55]*circum lītora, circum | piscōsōs scopulōs*? And how does Virgil play with prepositions more generally in 254–56 ([254]*circum, circum*; [255]*iuxtā*; [256]*inter*)? Discuss [256]*haud aliter terrās inter caelumque uolābat* as a particularly effective instance of mimetic word order.
- Unpack the genealogical information in [258]*māternō ... ab auō, Cyllēnia prōlēs*. Why does Virgil emphasize Mercury's lineage?
- Compare Virgil's passage with his model, *Odyssey* 5.50–54: 'On to Pieria he stepped from the upper air, and swooped down upon the sea, and then sped over the wave like a bird, the cormorant, which hunting fish over the dread gulfs of the unresting sea wets its thick plumage in the brine. In such wise did Hermes ride upon the multitudinous waves.' How does his rewriting of Homer's simile help Virgil to mediate between worlds (Greek and Roman, divine and human, verbal and visual)?

Liber Quartus CCXVII
Nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem:
Ascanio ne pater romanas inuidet arces?
Quid struit? aut cum ipse inimica in gente moratur?
Nec prolem ausonia & laurentia respicit arua?
Nauiget: hec summa est: hic nostri nuncius esto,
CARTHAGO
BYRSA

Fig. 29 *Publij Virgilij Maronis Opera* (1502), woodcut illustrations by Sebastian Brant. Digital image from Heidelberg University Library, public domain, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2443#0450

In the upper left corner, Mercury plunges down from the Atlas mountain-range, propelled by pairs of wings on both his feet and his back. He carries his caduceus in his left hand and a pouch in the right, heading straight for Aeneas at the centre.

- How do Virgil's narrative and Brant's woodcut (Fig. 29) respectively juxtapose and integrate the divine and the human experiences of space and time?

259–264: *Touchdown in Carthage*

ut prīmum ālātīs tetigit māgālia plantīs,
Aenēān fundantem arcēs ac tēcta nouantem
cōnspicit; atque illī stellātus iaspide fuluā
ēnsis erat, Tyriōque ārdēbat mūrice laena
dēmissa ex umerīs, dīues quae mūnera Dīdō
fēcerat, et tenuī tēlās discrēuerat aurō.

Grammar & Syntax: 259 What kind of abl. is *ālātīs ... plantīs*? • 261 What construction does *cōnspicit* govern? • 261 What kind of dat. is *illī*? • 261 What noun does the participle *stellātus* agree with? • 261 What kind of abl. is *iaspide fuluā*? • 262 What kind of abl. is *Tyriō ... mūrice*? • 262 What is the subject of *ārdēbat*? • 263 What noun does *dīues* modify? • 263 What is the antecedent of *quae*? • 263–64 What mental adjustment to the relative pronoun is required for [264]*et tenuī tēlās discrēuerat aurō* to continue the relative clause introduced by [263]*quae*? • 264 What noun does *tenuī* modify?

Style & Theme:

- What are the connotations of the 'huts' ([259]*māgālia*; Fig. 30) on which Mercury lands?
- What does Mercury see ([261]*cōnspicit*) upon touching down in Carthage? Does it match what Jupiter saw earlier? Why does he deem the sight scandalous? What stylistic devices does Virgil use to reinforce the atmosphere of scandal?
- Mercury's gaze moves from action ([260]*Aenēān fundantem arcēs ac tēcta nouantem*) to accoutrements ([261–64]*ēnsis* and *laena*): does the emerging picture cohere?
- What overall image of Aeneas does the emphasis on jewellery ([261]*iaspide fuluā*), the colour purple from Tyrian sea-snails ([262]*Tyriō ... mūrice*) and fine-spun gold ([264]*tenuī ... aurō*) convey?
- What are the associations of the cloak ([262]*laena*) that Aeneas is wearing?
- How does Dido come across in this passage—both rich ([263]*dīues*) and wool-working for her man?

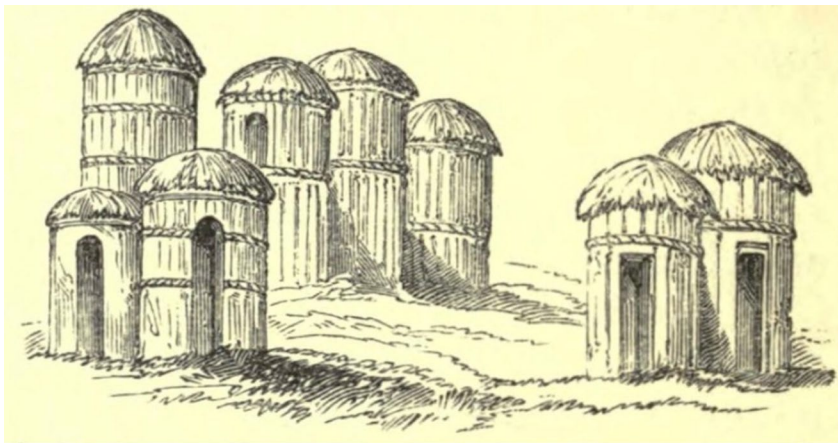

Fig. 30 Anthony Rich (1849), *The illustrated companion to the Latin dictionary, and Greek lexicon: forming a glossary of all the words representing visible objects connected with the arts, manufactures, and everyday life of the Greeks and Romans*, London (p. 402, 'māgālia'). Screenshot from Internet Archive, public domain, https://archive.org/details/illustratedcompa00richuoft

- How does Virgil's deployment of *māgālia* shape the reader's perception of Carthage and its inhabitants, and what larger narrative or ideological work does the term perform within the epic? You may wish to refer to Virgil's first glimpse of 'primitive Rome' at 8.97–101:

> sōl medium caelī cōnscenderat igneus orbem
> cum mūrōs arcemque procul ac rāra domōrum
> tēcta uident, quae nunc Rōmāna potentia caelō
> aequāuit, tum rēs inopēs Euandrus habēbat.
>
> [The fiery sun had scaled the mid arch of heaven, when at a distance they see walls and a citadel, and scattered rooftops which today Roman might has exalted to heaven, but then Evander ruled, a scant domain.]

265–271: *Airborne Indignation*

continuō inuādit: 'Tū nunc Karthāginis altae
fundāmenta locās, pulchramque uxōrius urbem
exstruis, heu rēgnī rērumque oblīte tuārum?
ipse deum tibi mē clārō dēmittit Olympō
rēgnātor, caelum ac terrās quī nūmine torquet,
ipse haec ferre iubet celerīs mandāta per aurās:
quid struis? aut quā spē Libycīs teris ōtia terrīs?

Grammar & Syntax: 266 What does the *-que* after *pulchram* link? • 266 How does *uxōrius* fit into the sentence? • 267 What kind of gen. are *rēgnī* and *rērum ... tuārum*? • 267 Parse *oblīte*. • 268 On what noun does the gen. *deum* depend? • 268 What kind of abl. is *Olympō*? • 269 What kind of abl. is *nūmine*? • 270 What noun does *haec* agree with? • 270 What construction does *iubet* govern? • 271 Parse *teris*.

Style & Theme:

- What makes the elision [265]*continu(ō) inuādit* thematically appropriate?
- Mercury is supposed to deliver Jupiter's message to Aeneas. But he does not simply reproduce Jupiter's speech verbatim to the Trojan hero. What does he add, leave out, adjust? And why?
- What is the tone of Mercury's opening words to Aeneas (265–67)? What does he put into [265]*Tū* and [265]*nunc*?
- What *other* city does the attribute [265]*altae* bring to mind besides Carthage and what does this reminiscence contribute to Mercury's discourse?
- What are the connotations of [266]*uxōrius* and how does the adjective formally and thematically interact with the surrounding *pulchram ... urbem*?
- How does the charge of forgetfulness here [267]*heu rēgnī rērumque oblīte tuārum* compare to [221]*oblītōs fāmae meliōris amantīs*?
- In lines 268–70, Mercury reports that the message comes from Jupiter himself: how does he present the supreme divinity in his speech? Specifically, what stylistic devices does he use to underscore the grandeur of the father of the gods?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the anaphora of *ipse* (268, 270), in asyndetic sequence?
- What is the drama built into the sequence of pronouns [268]*ipse ... tibi mē*?

Fig. 31 *The works of Virgil: containing his Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis. Tr. into English verse; by Mr. Dryden; Adorn'd with above a hundred sculptures v.2* (1709), Plate 52. Screenshot from the digital edition, public domain, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31175035195869

- Which is the most dramatic rendition of the moment of encounter: Virgil's Latin, John Dryden's English (cited below) or the engraving that accompanies Dryden's translation (Fig. 31)?

> Resuming his own shape: 'Degenerate man,
> Thou woman's property, what mak'st thou here,
> These foreign walls and Tyrian tow'rs to rear,
> Forgetful of thy own? ...

272–278: *Mercurial Manoeuvres: Carthage ≠ Rome* (*and Homer ≠ Virgil*)

sī tē nūlla mouet tantārum glōria rērum,
nec super ipse tuā mōlīris laude labōrem,
Ascanium surgentem et spēs hērēdis Iūlī
respice, cui rēgnum Ītaliae Rōmānaque tellūs
dēbētur.' tālī Cyllēnius ōre locūtus
mortālīs uīsūs mediō sermōne relīquit
et procul in tenuem ex oculīs ēuānuit auram.

Grammar & Syntax: 273 How does *super* fit into the sentence? • 273 What kind of abl. is *tuā ... laude*? • 273 Parse *mōlīris*. • 274 Parse *spēs*. • 274 What kind of gen. is *hērēdis Iūlī*? • 275 What kind of dat. is *cui*? • 276 What noun does *tālī* modify? • 276–77 What is the temporal relationship of the participle *locūtus* to the main verb *relīquit*? • 277 Parse *mortālīs*. • 278 What noun does *tenuem* agree with?

Style & Theme:

- Line 272 closely resembles [232]*sī nūlla accendit tantārum glōria rērum* (from Jupiter's speech). What has Mercury changed and why?
- Line 273 is bracketed by many editors, not least since it is virtually identical to [233]*nec super ipse suā mōlītur laude labōrem*. Do you want to keep it?
- Line 274–76 are Mercury's version of Jupiter's [234–36]*Ascaniōne pater Rōmānās inuidet arcēs? | quid struit? aut quā spē inimīcā in gente morātur | nec prōlem Ausoniam et Lāuīnia respicit arua?* (NB: *Ītaliae* picks up *Ausoniam*; *Rōmāna ... tellūs* is synonymous with *Lāuīnia ... arua* and recalls *Rōmānās ... arcēs.*) How has he reworked his father's discourse and why?
- In line 274, Mercury begins with the Trojan name for Aeneas' son (*Ascanius*) and ends with his Roman moniker (*Iūlus*): how do the intervening words (*surgentem*, *spēs*, *hērēdis*) reinforce the implied trajectory?
- What is the force of [276]*tālī*?
- Mercury seems to be mid-speech ([277]*mediō sermōne*) when he disappears. What crucial aspect of Jupiter's orders does he omit to deliver?

- What is the dramatic effect of the perfects [277]*relīquit* and [278]*ēuānuit*?
- How does word order reinforce theme in [278]*et procul in tenuem ex oculīs ēuānuit auram*?

Fig. 32 Gerard Valck, *Hermes Orders Calypso to Release Odysseus* (1670). After design by Gerard de Lairesse. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200214703

➢ Compare Hermes' intervention with Calypso in Homer (*Odyssey* 5.76–148; cf. Fig. 32, which is not entirely faithful to Homer, where Odysseus sits weeping at the beach while Hermes converses with Calypso) with Mercury's intervention with Aeneas in Virgil (cf. Fig. 31). How does the shift in addressee—from host to guest, goddess to human, woman to man—resonate with Virgil's recoding of Homeric epic?

279–295: Back to the Future

279–286: *A Dashing Mind in a Frozen Body*

at uērō Aenēās aspectū obmūtuit āmēns,
arrēctaeque horrōre comae, et uōx faucibus haesit.
ārdet abīre fugā dulcīsque relinquere terrās,
attonitus tantō monitū imperiōque deōrum.
heu quid agat? quō nunc rēgīnam ambīre furentem
audeat adfātū? quae prīma exordia sūmat?
atque animum nunc hūc celerem, nunc dīuidit illūc,
in partīsque rapit uariās perque omnia uersat.

Grammar & Syntax: 279 What kind of abl. is *aspectū*? • 280 What needs to be supplied with *arrēctae* to complete the verb? • 280 Identify and explain the case of *faucibus*. • 281 What kind of abl. is *fugā*? • 281 What does the *-que* after *dulcīs* link? • 282 What does *attonitus* agree with? • 282 What kind of abl. are *monitū* and *imperiō*? • 283–84 Explain the subjunctives *agat*, *audeat* and *sūmat*. • 283 What noun does the interrogative adjective *quō* modify? • 286 What do the *-que* after *partīs* and *per* link? • 286 What noun does *uariās* modify?

Style & Theme:

- What is the overall design of 279–86?
- How does Virgil formally underscore the symptoms of Aeneas' reaction to Mercury's theophany (279–80)?
- What are the thematic implications of the persistent *a*-alliteration in 279–85?
- What does the phrase [281]*dulcīs* ... *terrās* suggest about Aeneas' experiences in Carthage?
- What do we learn about Aeneas' character and values from lines 281–82?
- What formal devices in 282 reinforce the divine command?
- What, precisely, does [283]*ambīre* mean here, and what are its connotations? Does Virgil's use of this verb reflect well or badly on Aeneas?
- How are we supposed to focalize *furentem* as an attribute of Dido here? Is this a narratorial comment on a queen already maddened by limerence, or is it Aeneas anticipating a furious reaction to the news that he will have to leave, or both?

- How does word order in 285–86 enact the frantic activity in Aeneas' brain?
- Here is Austin's take-away from Aeneas' reaction to the appearance of Mercury: 'In contrast to the impulsive, headstrong, passionate Dido, who has gone to all lengths to quell the still small voice of conscience, Aeneas at once recognizes its dictates, and he does not question obedience' (92). Discuss.

Fig. 33 Impression of Aeneas' reaction to Mercury's theophany (created using Copilot). Based on Edvard Munch (1863–1944), *The Scream* (1893).

➢ Discuss the confluence in this passage of sheer terror (cf. Fig. 33), divine mandate, mental turmoil, sense of duty and feelings of guilt with reference to Aeneas' moral agency. Which emotion dominates? What ethical framework would you adopt to evaluate his options (and choices)?

287–295: *Conscious Uncoupling 101: Don't Ghost but Perhaps Rev the Engine?*

haec alternantī potior sententia uīsa est:
Mnēsthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum,
classem aptent tacitī sociōsque ad līitora cōgant,
arma parent et, quae rēbus sit causa nouandīs,
dissimulent; sēsē intereā, quandō optima Dīdō
nesciat et tantōs rumpī nōn spēret amōrēs,
temptātūrum aditūs, et quae mollissima fandī
tempora, quis rēbus dexter modus. ōcius omnēs
imperiō laetī pārent ac iussa facessunt.

Grammar & Syntax: 287 How does *alternantī* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 288 What kind of acc. form is *Mnēsthea*? • 289–91 Explain the subjunctives *aptent*, *cōgant*, *parent* and *dissimulent*. • 290 What type of clause is *quae rēbus sit causa nouandīs*? • 290 What case and construction is *rēbus ... nouandīs*? • 291–93 Explain the syntax of *sēsē ... temptātūrum*. • 292 What construction does *spēret* govern? • 293–94 What forms of *esse* are to be understood with the indirect questions *quae mollissima fandī tempora* and *quis rēbus dexter modus*? • 293 Parse *fandī*; on what noun does it depend? • Identify and explain the case of *rēbus*. • 294 Parse *ōcius*. • 295 What case is *imperiō* and why? • What is the difference between [290]*parent* and [295]*pārent*?

Style & Theme:

- With reference to Aeneas' humming and hawing over what to do in 285–87, O'Hara (52) poses the question: 'Is Aeneas' hesitation a result of concern for breaking the news gently to Dido, or cowardice that worsens the situation by leading her to think he would leave without saying anything?' What do *you* think?
- Who are Mnestheus, Sergestus and Serestus? Why are they singled out?
- Analyse the orders Aeneas gives to his men at 289–91: what does he asks his men to do and why? What is the extent of the deception he plans?
- Austin (94) has the following comment on [291]*optima Dīdō*: '*Optima* is heart-breaking in its context; ... It means what it says, that Dido was all the world to him; it is one of the tiny revelations of Aeneas' true feelings, like *dulcīs terrās*, 281'. Discuss.

- What insights do lines 294–95 afford into how Aeneas' men view their prolonged stay in Carthage?
- Explore the theme of speech and silence in 279–95 (279*obmūtuit*, 280*uōx faucibus haesit*, 283–84*quō ... adfātū*, 284*quae prīma exordia sūmat?*, 288*uocat*, 289*tacitī*, 293–94*mollissima fandī tempora*).

Fig. 34 Nicolas-René Jollain (1732–1804), *Aeneas Leaving Dido*. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:En%C3%A9e_Leaving_Didon_by_Nicolas-Ren%C3%A9_Jollain.jpg

➢ Is there ever a right moment to break up?

➢ Jollain's painting (Fig. 34) centres the break-up between what seems to be a depiction of the parting scene between Hector and Andromache from *Iliad* 6 (on the temple of Juno?) and his men preparing for departure. His attendant wears a legionary standard with *SPQR* (= *Senatus PopulusQue Romanus*). The artist thus positions Aeneas as severing ties with Dido between his Trojan past and his Roman future. To what extent does this capture Aeneas' trajectory in Virgil? And what does the implicit comparison to Andromache and Hector (whose mantle Aeneas carries since the Fall of Troy) add?

296–330: Caught in a One-Sided Good-Bye

296–303: *Data Leaks: Tragedy Follows*

at rēgīna dolōs (quis fallere possit amantem?)
praesēnsit, mōtūsque excēpit prīma futūrōs,
omnia tūta timēns. eadem impia Fāma furentī
dētulit armārī classem cursumque parārī.
saeuit inops animī, tōtamque incēnsa per urbem
bacchātur, quālis commōtīs excita sacrīs
Thȳias, ubi audītō stimulant trietērica Bacchō
orgia, nocturnusque uocat clāmōre Cithaerōn.

Grammar & Syntax: 296 Why is *possit* in the subjunctive? • 297 What does the *-que* after *mōtūs* link? • 298 Is *tūta* acc. n. pl. (agreeing with *omnia*) or nom. f. sg. (agreeing with *rēgīna*)? Or is Virgil ambiguous on purpose? • 298 How does *furentī* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 299 What construction does *dētulit* govern? • 299 Parse *armārī* and *parārī*. • 300 How does *inops* fit into the sentence? • 300 Parse *animī* and explain its syntax. • 301–2 What is the verb of the comparative subordinate clause *quālis ... Thȳias*? • 301 How should we best construe *commōtīs ... sacrīs*? • 302 How does *Thȳias* scan? • 302 What construction is *audītō ... Bacchō*? • 302 What is the subject of *stimulant*? • 303 What noun does *nocturnus* modify? • 303 What kind of abl. is *clāmōre*?

Style & Theme:

- What is the rhetorical effect of the parenthetical rhetorical question [296]*quis fallere possit amantem*? You may want to consider its placement between *dolōs* and *praesēnsit*.
- Dido somehow 'divines' ([297]*praesēnsit*) what Aeneas has in mind, loses control of her rational self (she is [298]*furēns* and [300]*inops animī*), and rages ([300]*saeuit*) and raves ([301]*bacchātur*) through the city, before accosting Aeneas (from 305 onwards). What is the source of her premonition?
- Analyse the stylistic design of *Fāma*'s message ([299]*armārī classem cursumque parārī*).
- Lines 301–3 feature a cluster of phrases 'disjointed' by interspersed word order, hyperbaton, enjambment or anastrophe: [300]*tōtam ... per urbem*, [301]*commōtīs ... sacrīs*, [301–2]*quālis ... excita ... | Thȳias*, [302]*audītō ... Bacchō*, [302–3]*trietērica ... | orgia*, [303]*nocturnus ... Cithaerōn*. Is there a thematic point to the unsettled word order and verse design?

- Lines 301–3 contain several words loaned or transliterated from Greek: *bacchor* (βακχεύω), *Thȳiăs* (Θυιάς), *trietēricus* (τριετηρικός), *Bacchus* (Βάκχος), *orgia* (Ὄργια) and *Cithaerōn* (Κιθαιρών). What are the *thematic* implications of the ensuing linguistic hybridity?
- At its core, the simile in 301–3 is meant to illustrate the way in which Dido rages through the city of Carthage by comparing (and assimilating) her to a maenad on Mt. Cithaeron. But additional 'points of contact' between the simile and the surrounding narrative introduce subtle contrasts: [298]*impia Fāma* (and [296–97]*dolōs* = *mōtūs ... futūrōs*) vs. [301]*commōtīs ... sacrīs*; [299]*dētulit* vs. [302]*audītō ... Bacchō* and [303]*uocat*; [300]*saeuit* vs. [302]*stimulant*; [300]*incēnsa* vs. [301]*excita*; [300]*urbem* vs. [303]*Cithaerōn*; the absence of temporal specification vs. [302–3]*trietērica ... orgia* and *nocturnus*. What do such disparities between Dido and the maenad add to Virgil's portrayal of the Carthaginian queen?
- Both [302]*stimulant* and [303]*uocat* lack a direct object. What does this omission add to the 'mood' generated by the simile?

Fig. 35 Relief with a satyr and a maenad, terracotta plaque (27 BCE–68 CE). Rogers Fund (1912). 12.232.8b. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248707

➢ To what extent does Virgil present maenadic frenzy (cf. Fig. 35) as a 'wholesome' alternative to the (infernal) rage that Dido experiences, even if the symptoms are virtually indistinguishable?

304–313*: Wrecking Ball*

tandem hīs Aenēān compellat uōcibus ultrō:
'dissimulāre etiam spērāstī, perfide, tantum
posse nefās, tacitusque meā dēcēdere terrā?
nec tē noster amor, nec tē data dextera quondam,
nec moritūra tenet crūdēlī fūnere Dīdō?
quīn etiam hībernō mōlīrī sīdere classem
et mediīs properās Aquilōnibus īre per altum,
crūdēlis? quid? sī nōn arua aliēna domōsque
ignōtās peterēs, et Trōia antīqua manēret,
Trōia per undōsum peterētur classibus aequor?

Grammar & Syntax: 305–6 What is the syntactic relationship of the three verbs *dissimulāre*, *spērāstī* and *posse*? • 305 Parse *spērāstī*. • 305 What noun does *tantum* modify? • 306 Explain the (odd) case of *tacitus*. • 306 What does the *-que* after *tacitus* link? • 306 What kind of abl. is *meā ... terrā*? • 307 What noun needs to be supplied with *dextera*? • 308 Parse *moritūra*. What noun does it modify? • 308 What kind of abl. is *crūdēlī fūnere*? • 309–11 What is the main verb of this clause and what does [310]*et* link? • 309 What heavenly constellation might Dido have in mind with *hībernō ... sīdere*? • 310 What kind of abl. is *mediīs ... Aquilōnibus*? From what direction do the *Aquilōnēs* blow? • 311 What case is *crūdēlis*? • 312–13 Identify and explain the tense and mood of *peterēs*, *manēret* and *peterētur*. • 313 What noun does *undōsum* modify?

Style & Theme:

- What do the two adverbs that frame line 304 (*tandem – ultrō*) add to the dramatic impact of the situation?
- How does Virgil use word order to convey insight into Dido's psychology in lines 305–6?
- [305]*dissimulāre etiam spērāstī*: has Dido been eavesdropping on Aeneas' instructions to his men? (Cf. [290–91]*quae rēbus sit causa nouandīs, | dissimulent* and [291–92]*quandō optima Dīdō | nesciat et tantōs rumpī nōn spēret amōrēs*.)
- What is the rhetorical force of [305]*etiam*?
- Why is the insult [305]*perfide* particularly cutting?
- What is the rhetorical force of the enjambed hyperbaton [305–6]*tantum | ... nefas*?
- Lines 307–8 form an ascending tricolon (around *amor*, *dextera* and *Dīdō*), marked by the triple anaphora of *nec*: what is the thematic focus of each colon and what does the overall design tell us about Dido?

- How does Dido marshal environmental imagery in her argument in lines 309–11?
- Conte, Goold and Mynors print [309]*mōlīrī*, while other editors print *mōlīris*. How does this affect the function of [310]*et*? And which reading do you prefer? (Both readings have manuscript support.)
- What is the tone of [311]*crūdēlis*? Does Aeneas merit the label?
- How would you characterize the rhetorical force of [311]*quid?*
- How does Virgil interrelate the protasis and the apodosis of the conditional sequence in 311–13?
- With [312]*Trōia antīqua manēret*, Dido echoes 2.56 (Aeneas speaking: 'if the gods' decrees had not been against it, ... Troy would now be standing, and you, lofty citadel of Priam, would still abide' *Trōiaque nunc stāret, Priamīque arx alta manērēs!*). Does the reuse of elements from Aeneas' discourse help or hinder her emotional appeal?

Fig. 36 Jean-Michel Moreau le jeune (French, 1741 - 1814) Dido Excoriates Aeneas, from Book IV of the "Aeneid", 1803 Pen and brown ink and brown wash Unframed: 22.2 × 15.6 cm (8 3/4 × 6 1/8 in.) The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 99.GA.28. Public Domain. https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108F5X

➢ What is the psychology behind the transformation of emotional trauma into verbal aggression (cf. Fig. 36)?

314–319: *Plea Bargain*

mēne fugis? per ego hās lacrimās dextramque tuam tē
(quandō aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa relīquī)
per cōnūbia nostra, per inceptōs hymenaeōs,
sī bene quid dē tē meruī, fuit aut tibi quicquam
dulce meum, miserēre domūs lābentis, et istam,
ōrō, sī quis adhūc precibus locus, exue mentem.

Grammar & Syntax: 314 Parse *mēne*. • 314 Of what verb are *ego* and *tē* the subject and direct object? • 315 What does *ipsa* agree with? • 317, 319 Explain the grammar of *quid* and *quis*. • 318 Parse *miserēre*. • 318 Why is *domūs lābentis* in the genitive? • 318 What noun does *istam* modify? • 319 How does *ōrō* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 319 Identify and explain the case of *precibus*. • 319 Parse *exue*.

Style & Theme:

- 314–19 form one long sentence: what are the emotional and cognitive registers that Dido brings into play? Is what she says rhetorically effective?
- How does the emphatic position of *mē* heighten Dido's emotional appeal? Dido's first word here echoes Juno's first word in the epic ([1.37–38]'*Mēne inceptō dēsistere | uictam, nec posse Ītaliā Teucrōrum āuertere rēgem?*'). John Henderson asks: 'Get it?'
- Analyse the stylistic design and thematic arrangements of the phrases governed by the three *per* (314, 316). What is the rhetorical impact of the triple use of the preposition?
- In what sequence has Dido arranged the nouns of the prepositional phrases (*lacrimās*, *dextram* sc. *manum*, *cōnūbia*, *hymenaeōs*) and their modifiers (*hās*, *tuam*, *nostra*, *inceptōs*)? What do the phrases tell us about her understanding of their relationship status?
- What does the parenthetical aside in 315 contribute to Virgil's portrayal of Dido?
- After the emphasis on personal suffering ([314]*hās lacrimās*) and 'contractual intimacy' (314–16), Dido introduces 'socio-political reciprocity' ([317]*sī bene quid dē tē meruī*) and 'debt of pleasure' ([317–18]*fuit aut tibi quicquam | dulce meum*) as grounds for pity: which of these arguments carries most weight for you? Do they add up to a coherent whole?

- What is the rhetorical force of the participle [318]*lābentis* (modifying *domūs*)?
- What do you make of Dido's firework of personal (*mē*, *ego*, *tuam*, *tē*, *mihi*, *nostra*, *dē tē*, *tibi*, *meum*) demonstrative (*hās*, *istam*), reflexive (*ipsa*) and indefinite (*aliud*, *quid*, *quicquam*, *quis*) pronouns or pronominal attributes?
- What is the rhetorical force of the hyperbaton [318]*istam* | [319]... *mentem*?

Fig. 37 Andrea Schiavone (c. 1510/1515–1563), *Aeneas Takes Leave of Dido* (1555). Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Andrea_Meldolla,_gen._Schiavone_-_Aeneas_nimmt_Abschied_von_Dido_-_GG_5818_-_Kunsthistorisches_Museum.jpg

➢ *Ut pictura poesis?* How well does the Venetian Mannerist painter Andrea Schiavone (Fig. 37) capture the drama and the emotions of Virgil's text?

320–330: *The Pregnancy that Never Was*

tē propter Libycae gentēs Nomadumque tyrannī
ōdēre, īnfēnsī Tyriī; tē propter eundem
exstīnctus pudor et, quā sōlā sīdera adībam,
fāma prior. cui mē moribundam dēseris, hospes
(hoc sōlum nōmen quoniam dē coniuge restat)?
quid moror? an mea Pygmaliōn dum moenia frāter
dēstruat, aut captam dūcat Gaetūlus Iarbās?
saltem sī qua mihī dē tē suscepta fuisset
ante fugam subolēs, sī quis mihi paruulus aulā
lūderet Aenēās, quī tē tamen ōre referret,
nōn equidem omnīnō capta ac dēserta uidērer.'

Grammar & Syntax: 320 What does *propter* govern? • 321 Parse *ōdēre*. • 321 What verb form needs to be supplied to complete the sentence *īnfēnsī Tyriī*? • 321–23 What verb form needs to be supplied to complete the sentence *tē propter eundem | exstīnctus pudor et ... | fāma prior*? • 322 What is the antecedent of *quā*? • 322 What does *sōlā* agree with? • 322 What does the imperfect *adībam* express? • 323 What case and gender is the interrogative pronoun *cui*? • 324 What idea does the preposition *dē* express here? • 325 What noun does *mea* modify? • 326 What implied pronoun does the participle *captam* agree with? • 327–30 What kind of condition does Dido construct here? (Identify and explain the tenses and mood of *suscepta fuisset*, *lūderet* and *uidērer*.) • 327–28 What is the subject of the first *sī*-clause? • 327 What noun does *qua* (an indefinite pronominal adjective) agree with? • 328 What noun does *quis* (another indefinite pronominal adjective) agree with? • 328 What kind of dat. is *mihi*? • 328 What kind of abl. is *aulā*? • 329 What is the force of *tamen*? • 330 What do the participles *capta ac dēserta* agree with?

Style & Theme:

- Discuss the rhetorical effect of the unusual word order in [320]*tē propter* and [321]*tē propter eundem*.
- Despite her achievements as a colonist and city-foundress, Dido centres her self-worth (and sense of social recognition) almost entirely in her reputation for *pudor*, which she now feels she has compromised for nothing (321–23). Does she have a distorted view of reality or is her viewpoint all too realistic?

- Explore the meta-literary implications of [323]*fāma prior*, which can refer both to Dido's reputation before she caved in to her love for Aeneas and her pre-Virgilian literary identity.
- Dido downgrades Aeneas' status from husband ([324]*dē coniuge*) to guest-friend ([323]*hospes*): what are the expectations of reciprocity built into this label?
- How does word order in 325 express the threat posed by Dido's brother Pygmalion?
- What is the psychology (conscious and/or subconscious) behind Dido's wish to have had a child with Aeneas who resembles him (327–30)?
- What does Dido mean by [330]*capta ac dēserta*?
- Do you find Dido's indictment of Aeneas fair?

Fig. 38 *Adorned Statue of the Goddess Tanit* (5th–3rd centuries BCE), from the necropolis of Puig des Molins, Ibiza, Spain. Archaeology Museum of Catalonia, Barcelona. Photography by Ophelia2. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Representaci%C3%B3_guarnida_de_la_deessa_T%C3%A0nit.JPG

➢ Does the Carthaginian practice of child-sacrifice to the goddess Tanit (Fig. 38), the Punic equivalent of Juno (cf. https://www.ox.ac.uk/news/2014-01-23-ancient-carthaginians-really-did-sacrifice-their-children), affect the reading of 327–30?

331–361: Mandatory Logout

331–339: *I Am Afraid I Have to Leave; Thank You for Your Time*

dīxerat. ille Iouis monitīs immōta tenēbat
lūmina et obnīxus cūram sub corde premēbat.
tandem pauca refert: 'ego tē, quae plūrima fandō
ēnumerāre ualēs, numquam, rēgīna, negābō
prōmeritam, nec mē meminisse pigēbit Elissae,
dum memor ipse meī, dum spīritus hōs regit artūs.
prō rē pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere fūrtō
spērāuī (nē finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam
praetendī taedās aut haec in foedera uēnī.

Grammar & Syntax: 331 What kind of abl. is *monitīs*? • 331 What noun does *immōta* modify? • 331–32 How do you explain the imperfects *tenēbat* and *premēbat*? And how does your interpretation of Virgil's use of tense affect your interpretation of Aeneas' character? • 333 What is the syntactical function of *tē*? (Put differently, what construction does [334]*negābō* govern?) • 333 What is the antecedent of *quae*? • 333 Parse *fandō*. • 335 What needs to be supplied with *prōmeritam*? • 335 Explain the grammatical relation of *mē* and *pigēbit*, of *pigēbit* and *meminisse*, and of *meminisse* and *Elissae*. • 336 What verb form needs to be supplied with *memor*? • 336 On what word does the genitive *meī* depend? • 337 What tense is *loquar*? • 337 What noun does *hanc* modify? • 338 What is the standard way of expressing a negative command in Latin prose (à propos *nē finge*)? • 338 What noun does *coniugis* depend on? • 339 Parse *praetendī*.

Style & Theme:

Aeneas in listening mode:

- In line 332, the alliterative link invites reflections on the relation of *cūra* and *cor* when it comes to Aeneas: what are yours?
- Does 332 tell us his words are 'diplomatic' rhetoric, and it is what he's not saying that should count?
- Compare the force of *tandem* in 304 and 333a.

His one speech in *Aeneid* 4—general questions:

- What is the overall design of Aeneas' speech (333–61)?
- The speech does Aeneas' epithet *pius* proud: it places triple-pronged if unnamed *pietās* (towards gods, country and kin) left, centre and right. How so?
- 'This is Aeneas' only speech, and in making it he is at the bar of judgement before posterity' (Austin: 105): what is *your* verdict?

Aeneas' speech (first part):

- How does Aeneas manipulate syntax, word order and personal pronouns in 333–36 to express appreciation of Dido without committing himself to any obligation towards her?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the anaphoric (and asyndetic) [336]*dum*-clauses?
- How would you translate [337]*prō rē pauca loquar* (lit. 'In relation to the matter at issue, I shall say [only] a few things')? Options include 'A few points in response' (Bartsch), 'For my conduct few words will I say' (Goold), 'Much could be said. I say only a little' (West).
- What is the rhetorical force of the striking hyperbaton [337]*hanc* ... | ... [338]*fugam*?
- What does the *f*-alliteration [338](*nē finge*) *fugam* add to Aeneas' discourse?
- What does the word order add to the rhetorical force of [338–39]*nec coniugis umquam | praetendī taedās*?
- Literally, *praetendere* means 'to hold out, to extend in front' (*OLD* 1–3); figuratively, 'to put forward as a pretext or reason (for something else), allege in excuse, make a pretence of, put forward a claim to' (*OLD* 4–6). What is its meaning here?

Scene of *dextrārum iunctiō* = the ritual joining of hands by bride and groom during the wedding ceremony. Figure crowning the bride: Venus Fēlīx ('Venus the Bringer of Good Fortune'). Figure behind the groom: Genius Populī Rōmānī ('Genius of the Roman People')

Fig. 39 Detail from *Sarcophagus of the Brothers* (mid 3rd-century CE). Naples National Archaeological Museum (Inv. 6603) Farnese Collection. Photography by Marie-Lan Nguyen (2011). CC BY 2.5, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sarcophagus_of_the_brother_MAN_Napoli_Inv6603_n02.jpg

➢ Compare the vision evoked by the sarcophagus (Fig. 39) with the realities of *Aeneid* 4.

340–350: *All I really want to do*

mē sī fāta meīs paterentur dūcere uītam
auspiciīs et sponte meā compōnere cūrās,
urbem Trōiānam prīmum dulcīsque meōrum
rēliquiās colerem, Priamī tēcta alta manērent,
et recidīua manū posuissem Pergama uictīs.
sed nunc Ītaliam magnam Grȳnēus Apollō,
Ītaliam Lyciae iussēre capessere sortēs;
hic amor, haec patria est. sī tē Karthāginis arcēs,
Phoenīssam, Libycaeque aspectus dētinet urbis,
quae tandem Ausoniā Teucrōs cōnsīdere terrā
inuidia est? et nōs fās extera quaerere rēgna.

Grammar & Syntax: 340–44 What kind of condition does Aeneas use here (*sī ... paterentur*, *colerem*, *manērent*, *posuissem*)? • 340 What noun does *meīs* modify? • 341 What does *et* link? • 342 What noun does the adjective *dulcīs* modify? • 342 What does the *-que* after *dulcīs* link? • 344 What kind of abl. is *manū*? • 344 Parse *uictīs*. • 345 What needs to be supplied from the following line to complete the sentence *Ītaliam magnam Grynēus Apollō*? • 347 Explain the case and gender of *hic* and *haec* in *hic amor*, *haec patria est*. • 347 What kind of condition does *sī* introduce? • 347 What case is *arcēs*? • 348 How does *Phoenīssam* fit into the structure of the sentence? • 349 Explain the syntax of *quae*. What noun does it agree with? • 349 What sense does *tandem* have? • 349 What kind of abl. is *Ausoniā ... terrā*? • 350 What verb form needs to be supplied to complete the sentence *et nōs fās extera quaerere rēgna*?

Style & Theme:

- How does Aeneas define his agency (or lack thereof) in lines 340–50?
- What rhetorical emphases get lost if one puts the protasis in 340–41 in prose word order (*sī fāta mē meīs auspiciīs uītam dūcere et sponte meā cūrās compōnere paterentur*...)?
- How does [342–43]*dulcīsque meōrum | rēliquiās* respond to [317–18]*sī ... fuit ... tibi quicquam | dulce meum*?
- Aeneas specifies the reconstruction of Troy as his ultimate if unattainable desire (340–44). What are we to make of his inability to let go of the past?
- Aeneas can't imagine letting Troy go: can you want him to? How can a *pius* patriot swap *patriae*?
- What is the rhetorical effect of the repetition [345]*Ītaliam magnam*, [346]*Ītaliam* and Aeneas' use of the attribute *magnam*?

- When did Aeneas consult 'Grynaen Apollo' and the Lycian oracles (345–46)?
- With reference to [347]*hic amor, haec patria est*, scholars like to speculate on what Aeneas 'really' feels. See e.g. Austin (110): 'this is not his real feeling, as 361 shows – it is only what his "nagging gods" have made him feel', or Maclennan (122): 'sounds more like an expression of what has to be the case than what is.' What is your sense of Aeneas' 'real' feelings?
- In a speech of 29 lines, line 15 (= 347) stands dead centre. Is it a coincidence that it begins *hic amor*, *haec patria est*?
- What is the geopolitical argument built into Aeneas' use of geographical designations in [347–50]*Karthāginis arcēs*, *Phoenīssam*, *Libycae ... urbis*, *Ausoniā ... terrā*, *Teucrōs*?
- 347–50 makes a 'what's sauce for the goose ought to be sauce for the gander' case: does Aeneas have a point?
- What is the force of Aeneas' appeal to [350]*fas*?

Fig. 40 Jacques Callot (1592–1635), *Envy* (probably after 1621). The National Gallery of Art, R.L. Baumfeld Collection, public domain, https://www.nga.gov/artworks/51550-envy

➢ After Jupiter's musings over whether Aeneas remains in Carthage out of *inuidia* for Ascanius' future glory (234), Aeneas here charges Dido with *inuidia*. How does the psychology of resentment/envy function, and what are the implications of using *inuidia* (an 'ugly' emotion: Fig. 40) as a rhetorical or argumentative weapon?

351–361: *Providential Family Business, Inc.*

mē patris Anchīsae, quotiēns ūmentibus umbrīs
nox operit terrās, quotiēns astra ignea surgunt,
admonet in somnīs et turbida terret imāgō;
mē puer Ascanius capitisque iniūria cārī,
quem rēgnō Hesperiae fraudō et fātālibus aruīs.
nunc etiam interpres dīuum Ioue missus ab ipsō
(testor utrumque caput) celerīs mandāta per aurās
dētulit: ipse deum manifēstō in lūmine uīdī
intrantem mūrōs uōcemque hīs auribus hausī.
dēsine mēque tuīs incendere tēque querēlīs:
Ītaliam nōn sponte sequor.'

Grammar & Syntax: 351 On what noun does the genitive *patris Anchīsae* depend? • 351 What kind of abl. is *ūmentibus umbrīs*? • 353 What is the subject of *admonet*? • 353 What does the *et* after *in somnīs* link? • 354 What needs to be supplied from the previous line to complete the clause *mē puer Ascanius capitisque iniūria cārī*? • 354 What does the *-que* after *capitis* link? • 355 What cases does the verb *fraudō* govern? • 355 What does *et* link? • 356 Who is the *interpres dīuum*? • 358 What construction does *uīdī* govern? • 359 What does the *-que* after *uōcem* link? • 359 Parse *hausī*. • 360 Parse *dēsine*.

Style & Theme:

- Reordered in standard prose, 351–53 might read *quotiēns nox terrās umbrīs ūmentibus operit* (*et*) *quotiēns astra ignea surgunt*, *turbida imāgō patris Anchīsae mē in somnīs admonet et terret*. What rhetorical effects does Aeneas create by changing the order the way he does? Is the fact that these lines stand at the very centre of Book 4 meaningful?
- What stylistic devices endow the phrase [351]*ūmentibus umbrīs* with special resonance?
- Who does the phrase [357]*utrumque caput* refer to?
- What rhetorical features does Aeneas use to express in words the divine epiphany he experienced (358–59)?
- What is the tone of [360]*dēsine mēque tuīs incendere tēque querēlīs*: peremptory or pleading? Does Aeneas now blurt what he was heaving to suppress? How would you interpret the emphasis that the word order, verse design and sound pattern (almost exclusively *ē*, *e*, *ī*, *i*)—further reinforced by hyperbaton—places on *tuīs*?

- 'Aeneas has wronged Dido, and he knows it; he has wronged God, and he knows it; atonement either way means pain for ever: and it is our pity that we should give him, not our scorn' (Austin: 106). Do you agree?
- Line 361 is one of the incomplete verses in the poem. Does it stop where it should?

Fig. 41 *Aeneas Flees Troy with his Family*, after print by Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio (c. 1500/1505–1565), based on a design by Raphael, *Fire in the Borgo* [*Stanza dell'Incendio del Borgo*], Vatican. Purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200168943

Haec est Īliacōs pietās spectāta per ignēs
cum uerita est patriōs laedere flamma deōs

[This is dutiful devotion (*pietās*), seen amidst the conflagration of Troy, when the flame feared to hurt the ancestral gods.]

NB: The Latin distich matches the final two lines of Jacopo Sannazaro (1456–1530), *Epigram 16: In Gemmam Suam* ('On His Gem'), except for *patriōs* ('ancestral'; Sannazaro has *profugōs* 'fugitive', 'exiled' as attribute of *deōs*).

➢ Did Anchises ever get off Aeneas' shoulders (cf. Fig. 41)?

362–392: You Brute, I Am Through

362–370: *Tigress-Nursed Stone Baby*

tālia dīcentem iamdūdum āuersa tuētur
hūc illūc uoluēns oculōs tōtumque pererrat
lūminibus tacitīs et sīc accēnsa profātur:
'nec tibi dīua parēns, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed dūrīs genuit tē cautibus horrēns
Caucasus Hyrcānaeque admōrunt ūbera tigrēs.
nam quid dissimulō aut quae mē ad maiōra reseruō?
num flētū ingemuit nostrō? num lūmina flexit?
num lacrimās uictus dedit aut miserātus amantem est?

Grammar & Syntax: 362 What does *dīcentem* agree with? • 362 How does *āuersa* fit into the sentence? • 362 What is the acc. obj. of *tuētur*? • 363 Who does *tōtum* refer to? • 363 What does the *-que* after *tōtum* link? • 365 What is the verb of the sentence coordinated by *nec ... nec* ...? • 365 What kind of dat. is *tibi*? • 365 On what noun does the gen. *generis* depend? • 366 Parse *perfide*. • 366 How does the abl. *dūrīs ... cautibus* fit into the sentence? • 366 What is the subject of *genuit*? • 367 What noun does *Hyrcānae* modify? • 367 Parse *admōrunt*. • 368 What case is the interrogative adj. *quae* and what does it agree with? • 369 What case is *flētū ... nostrō*? • 370 What does *amantem* agree with and to whom does it refer?

Style & Theme:

- What image of Dido does Virgil convey in 362–64 by focusing on her body posture and her eye movement? How can she both be turned away (362*āuersa tuētur*) and look him up and down (363–64*tōtum ... pererrat | lūminibus tacitīs*)?
- Compare Virgil's depiction of Dido's eyes in 362–64 with that Aeneas' at 331–32.
- Lines 362–64 all end on a main verb with Dido as subject (362*tuētur*, 363*pererrat*, 364*profātur*) but also feature participial phrases (362*āuersa*, 363*uoluēns*, 364*accēnsa*). How does the combination of parataxis and hypotaxis help to create the image of Dido in a state of 'explosive stability'?

- In a gendered chiasmus of categorical asymmetry, and using [366]*perfide* as pivot, Dido dismisses Venus as Aeneas' divine mother and Dardanus as his paternal ancestor, and endorses a male-gendered mountain range (*Caucasus*) as his father and big cats (*tīgrēs*) as his wet-nurses (365–67). What is Dido trying to achieve by attacking Aeneas' lineage?
- In the avalanche of questions in 368–71, what is the effect of Dido's sudden switch from 1st pers. sg. present indicative ([368]*dissimulō*, *reseruō*) to 3rd pers. sg. perfect indicative ([369]*ingemuit*, *flexit*; [370]*dedit*, *miserātus ... est*) to 1st pers. sg. present subjunctive ([371]*anteferam*)?
- What does the tricolon of questions introduced by *num* in 369–70 convey: shock? sarcasm? contempt? disbelief? All of the above?

Fig. 42 The Caucasus Mountain Range and Hyrcania. Edited by the author. CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hyrcania-area-map-borders.svg

➢ What are the stories and ethnographic stereotypes that shaped Greek and Roman perceptions of the Caucasus and Hyrcania (Fig. 42)?

371–381: *The Beggar Beggars Belief!*

quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iūnō
nec Sāturnius haec oculīs pater aspicit aequīs.
nusquam tūta fidēs. ēiectum lītore, egentem
excēpī et rēgnī dēmēns in parte locāuī.
āmissam classem, sociōs ā morte redūxī
(heu furiīs incēnsa feror!): nunc augur Apollō,
nunc Lyciae sortēs, nunc et Ioue missus ab ipsō
interpres dīuum fert horrida iussa per aurās.
scīlicet is superīs labor est, ea cūra quiētōs
sollicitat. neque tē teneō neque dicta refellō:
ī, sequere Ītaliam uentīs, pete rēgna per undās.

Grammar & Syntax: • 371 Identify and explain the cases of *quae* and *quibus*. • 371 What type of subjunctive is *anteferam*? • 372 Who is *Sāturnius ... pater*? • 372 What does *haec* refer to? • 373 What verb needs to be supplied to complete the sentence *nusquam tūta fidēs*? • 373 What kind of abl. is *lītore*? • 374 What is the implied acc. obj. of *excēpī* and *locāuī*? *tē* or *eum*? • 374 On what noun does *rēgnī* depend? • 374 What does *dēmēns* agree with? • 376 Is *furiīs* to be construed with *incēnsa* or *feror* or both? • 377 What are the *Lyciae sortēs*? • 377 What is the force of *et*? • [377]What kind of abl. is *Ioue ... ab ipsō*? • 378 Who is the *interpres dīuum*? • 379 What is the rhetorical force of *scīlicet*? • 379 What is the rhetorical force of the demonstratives *is* (*labor*) and *ea* (*cūra*)? • 379 Identify and explain the case of *superīs*. • 381 Parse *sequere*.

Style & Theme:

- Does Dido address herself or Aeneas in 371–80[a]? What difference does it make?
- What is the rhetorical force of Juno's attribute [371]*maxima* here?
- What are the theological implications of Dido's claim that neither Juno nor Jupiter witnesses the events at Carthage [372]*oculīs ... aequīs*?
- Is Dido's gnomic utterance [373]*nusquam tūta fidēs* overdramatic or true? How does it pick up [12]*nec uāna fidēs* and [298]*omnia tūta timēns*?
- Dido has combined charitable first aid to those in dire need with magnificent generosity in offering to share power (373–76). In what sense do her admirable actions entitle her to expect that Aeneas stays?
- How are we to read Dido's self-diagnosis of insanity ([374]*dēmēns*; [376]*heu furiīs incēnsa feror!*)?

- What are the implications of Dido construing three different sources of divine injunctions (376*augur Apollō*, 377*Lyciae sortēs*, 378*interpres dīuum*), coordinated by the triple anaphora of *nunc*, with a single verb (378*fert*) that only fits well with the last?
- What are the stylistic devices that underscore Dido's sarcastic dismissal of Aeneas' insistence that he is following divine orders in 379–80?
- Lines 380–81 feature a bicolon in the 1st person coordinated by *neque ... neque ...* (380*neque tē teneō neque dicta refellō*), followed by an asyndetic tricolon of imperatives (381*ī, sequere ..., pete ...*). The syntax and the rhetorical design are crystal-clear: but did—could?—Dido mean what she says?

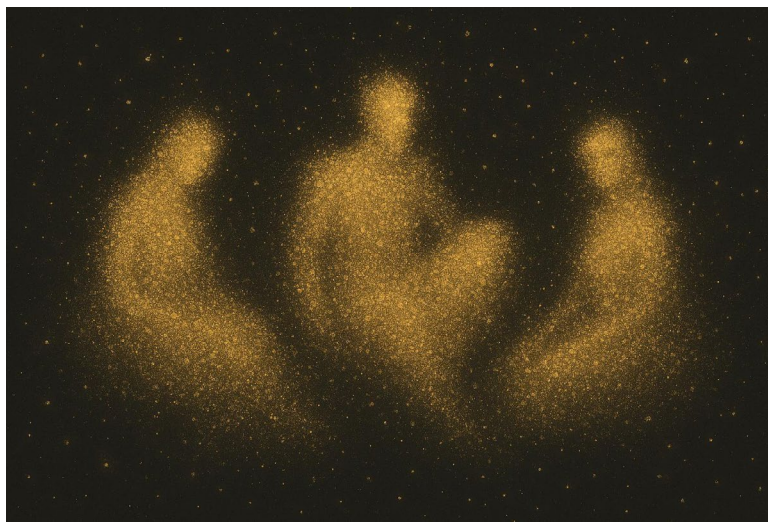

Fig. 43 Impression of Epicurean divinities chilling in the *intermundia* 'spaces between worlds' (created using Copilot).

The Hellenistic philosopher Epicurus (341–270 BCE) endorsed a physics of atoms and void and posited gods that live supremely happy lives in the so-called 'spaces between worlds' (*intermundia*) with no interest whatsoever in human affairs.

➢ At 371–72, Dido questions the justice of Juno and Jupiter; at 379–80, she posits proto-Epicurean divinities who are unbothered by human affairs (cf. Fig. 43). What is the role of reason and what of emotions in her 'theology of despair', which combines a self-referential 'cry of dereliction' with rejection of divine providence regarding Aeneas?

382–392: *Ghosting Aeneas: Dido Follows*

spērō equidem mediīs, sī quid pia nūmina possunt,
supplicia hausūrum scopulīs et nōmine Dīdō
saepe uocātūrum. sequar ātrīs ignibus absēns
et, cum frīgida mors animā sēdūxerit artūs,
omnibus umbra locīs aderō. dabis, improbe, poenās.
audiam et haec Mānīs ueniet mihi fāma sub īmōs.'
hīs medium dictīs sermōnem abrumpit et aurās
aegra fugit sēque ex oculīs āuertit et aufert,
linquēns multa metū cūnctantem et multa parantem
dīcere. suscipiunt famulae conlāpsaque membra
marmoreō referunt thalamō strātīsque repōnunt.

Grammar & Syntax: 382 What is the subj. acc. and what are the infinitives of the indirect statement governed by *spērō*? • 382 What noun does *mediīs* modify? • 382 Parse *quid*. • 383 What kind of abl. is *nōmine*? • 383 How does *Dīdō* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 384 Parse *sequar*. • 384 What kind of abl. is *ātrīs ignibus*? • 385 What kind of abl. is *animā*? • 385 Parse *sēdūxerit*. • 386 What case is *umbra* and how does it fit into the sentence? • 387 Parse *audiam*. • 387 What noun does *haec* modify? • 387 What noun does *īmōs* agree with? • 388 What kind of abl. is *hīs ... dictīs*? • 390 What is the acc. obj. of *linquēns*? • 390 What kind of acc. is the first *multa*, and what kind is the second? • 390 What kind of abl. is *metū*? • 391 What is the acc. obj. of *suscipiunt*? • 392 Identify and explain the case of *marmoreō ... thalamō*.

Style & Theme:

- How does Dido imbricate fantasies of retribution with her own death in 382–87? Specifically, where does Dido think she will be after dying (384–87)?
- Is her hope (382*spērō*) that Aeneas will die in a shipwreck realistic? Does the punishment (383*supplicia*, 386*dabis*, *improbe*, *poenās*) Dido envisions fit the crime?
- After questioning the equity of the supreme Olympians in 371–72 and dismissing instances of divine interest in human affairs as a preposterous fib in 379–80, Dido invokes 382*pia nūmina*: who are they and what does Dido hope they will do?
- How and in what form does Dido imagine following Aeneas (384–86)?
- After her speech, Virgil associates Dido with *a* (388*abrumpit*, 388*aurās*, 389*aegra*, 389*āuertit*, 389*aufert*) and Aeneas with *m* (390*multa metū cunctāntem et multa parāntem*): what does the contrast in sound highlight?
- John Henderson asks: Remember 337*pauca*? What on earth could these 390*multa* consist in? Does *parantem* tell us we are being spared a whole

lot more RHETORIC from him? He's quaking in his boots—for shame? and guilt? or is he actually scared stiff of her? He's too late, but Virgil makes sure that he can't stop us joining up her dots and filling in his blanks...

- Where do the [391]*famulae* come from?
- What do you make of the fact that Dido indulges in a similar revenge fantasy to Juno, previously executed by Minerva? (See 1.39–45 *Pallasne exūrere classem | Argīuum atque ipsōs potuit submergere pontō | ūnius ob noxam et furiās Aiācis Oīlei? | ipsa Iouis rapidum iaculāta ē nūbibus ignem | disiēcitque ratēs ēuertitque aequora uentīs; | illum exspīrantem trānsfīxō pectore flammās | turbine corripuit scopulōque īnfīxit acūtō* 'Had Pallas power to burn up the Argive fleet and sink the sailors in the deep, because of one single man's guilt, and the frenzy of Ajax, son of Oileus? Her own hand hurled from the clouds Jove's swift flame, scattered their ships, and upheaved the sea in tempest; but him, as with pierced breast he breathed forth flame, she caught in a whirlwind and impaled on a spiky crag'.)

Fig. 44 Schelte Adamsz, Bolswert, illustration of *Aeneid* 3.194–97* (the storm that hit Aeneas fleet after leaving Crete). After painting by Peter Paul Rubens. Rijksmuseum, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200395242

*The four Latin hexameters are cited as a caption at the bottom of the engraving: 'then a murky rain cloud loomed overhead, bringing night and tempest, while the wave shuddered darkling. Straightway the winds roll up the waters and great seas rise; we are tossed hither and thither in the vast abyss.'

➢ How does Dido's desire for Aeneas to perish in a shipwreck intersect with broader thematic concerns of the *Aeneid*? In particular, how does her wish relate to the storm Juno unleashed at the outset of the epic and earlier storm experiences of the Trojans during their travels, such as the one Aeneas recounts to Dido at 3.194–97 (see Fig. 44)?

393–449: The Last Ditch

393–400: *Ship Happens*

at pius Aenēās, quamquam lēnīre dolentem
sōlandō cupit et dictīs āuertere cūrās,
multa gemēns magnōque animum labefactus amōre,
iussa tamen dīuum exsequitur classemque reuīsit.
tum uērō Teucrī incumbunt et lītore celsās
dēdūcunt tōtō nāuēs (natat ūncta carīna)
frondentīsque ferunt rēmōs et rōbora siluīs
īnfabricāta fugae studiō.

Grammar & Syntax: 393 What is the acc. obj. of *lēnīre*? • 394 What kind of abl. is *sōlandō*? • 394 What does *et* link? • 395 What kind of abl. is *magnō ... amōre*? • 395 What kind of acc. is *animum*? • 396 Parse *dīuum*. • 397–98 What kind of abl. is *lītore ... tōtō*? • 397 What noun does *celsās* modify? • 399 Parse *frondentīs*. • 399 What is the sense of *et*? • 399 What kind of abl. is *siluīs*? • 400 What kind of abl. is *studiō*?

Style & Theme:

- 393 is the first time since 1.378 that Aeneas sports his epithet *pius*. Why does it reappear at this moment?
- How does Virgil use syntax (parataxis, hypotaxis, finite verbs, participles) and word order in 393–96 to convey a sense of Aeneas' complex psychology while also highlighting his priorities?
- Explore the tension between duty and emotion in 393–96. Is there a necessary conflict between *pietās* and *amor* (cf. [347]*hic amor, haec patria est*)? Is Dido's problem that Aeneas' *amor* towards her is only *magnus* (great, and seriously so: see the hyperbaton) but not *pius* (unconditional)?
- To what extent does the epithet [393]*pius* (which is etymologically related to English 'pity') also relate to the sympathy and care Aeneas feels for Dido (even though he is unable to act on those feelings)—as well as his sense of duty?
- Compare and contrast the syntax Virgil uses to depict Aeneas (393–6) with the syntax he uses for the activities of his men (397–400).
- What is the rhetorical force of *ex-* in [396]*iussa ... dīuum exsequitur*?

- What does the parenthetical inset [398]*natat ūncta carīna* suggest about the ships? And how does it relate to the state of the oars (cf. [399]*frondentīs ... rēmōs*, [399–400]*rōbora siluīs īnfabricāta*)?
- What does the phrase [400]*fugae studiō* suggest about the psychology of Aeneas' crew?

Fig. 45 *Departure of Aeneas from Carthage* (c. 1530). Painted enamel plaque from a set of seventy-four scenes, following Grüninger's 1502 edition of Virgil. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_WB-20

➢ Compare the ethical dynamics that shape Aeneas' departure from Carthage with their visualization in Fig. 45.

401–407: *The Trojans Get Antsy*

migrantīs cernās tōtāque ex urbe ruentīs:
ac uelut ingentem formīcae farris aceruum
cum populant hiemis memorēs tēctōque repōnunt;
it nigrum campīs agmen praedamque per herbās
conuectant calle angustō; pars grandia trūdunt
obnīxae frūmenta umerīs, pars agmina cōgunt
castīgantque morās; opere omnis sēmita feruet.

Grammar & Syntax: 401 Parse *migrantīs* and *ruentīs*. [401]Parse *cernās*. What is its acc. obj.? • 402 Parse *farris*. • 403 What is the subject of the temporal subordinate clause introduced by *cum*? • 403 What is the acc. obj. of *populant* and *repōnunt*? • 403 Identify and explain the case of *hiemis*. • 404–5 What is the subject of *it*, and what of *conuectant*? • 405 What kind of abl. is *calle angustō*? • 405 What noun does *grandia* modify? • 406 Why is *umerīs* in the dative? • 407 Parse *opere*.

Style & Theme:
- Do you feel called out by [401]*cernās*?
- Why does Virgil compare the Trojans to ants (402–7)?
- What words in the ant simile (402–7) carry military connotations?
- Analyse Virgil's play with 'large' ([402]*ingentem*, [405]*grandia*) and 'small' ([402]*formīcae*) in this passage.
- How does metre and intertextuality enhance meaning (and humour) in 404–5[a]? (Virgil is reworking a line from Ennius in which *it nigrum campīs agmen* refers to *eleph/ants*. See page 452)
- Discuss the ants' division of labour in 405–7.
- How does the ant simile read next to the bee simile in Book 1, which describes the Carthaginians building their city? (1.430–36:)

quālis apēs aestāte nouā per flōrea rūra
exercet sub sōle labor, cum gentis adultōs
ēdūcunt fētūs, aut cum liquentia mella
stīpant et dulcī distendunt nectare cellās,
aut onera accipiunt uenientum, aut agmine factō
īgnāuum fūcōs pecus ā praesēpibus arcent;
feruet opus redolentque thymō fragrantia mella.

[Even as bees in early summer, amid flowery fields, ply their task in sunshine, when they lead forth the full-grown young of their race, or pack the fluid honey and strain their cells to bursting with sweet nectar, or receive the burdens of incomers, or in martial formation drive from their folds the drones, a lazy herd; all aglow is the work and the fragrant honey is redolent of thyme.]

Fig. 46 Impression of ants on the march (created using Copilot).

For the science behind this, see Charlotte Corney, 'Why do ants walk in a line? Ants look highly organised when they're on the march, but they're literally just following their noses.' https://www.sciencefocus.com/nature/why-do-ants-walk-in-a-line

- Explore how the tree-felling and the ant simile function within Virgil's 'ecology of labour'—a newish eco-critical concept that brings into focus the relationship between human work and the natural environment—(perhaps with reference to the idea of 'destructive industry)'.

408–415: *Erotic Compulsion*

quis tibi tum, Dīdō, cernentī tālia sēnsus,
quōsue dabās gemitūs, cum līmora feruere lātē
prōspicerēs arce ex summā, tōtumque uidērēs
miscērī ante oculōs tantīs clāmōribus aequor!
improbe Amor, quid nōn mortālia pectora cōgis!
īre iterum in lacrimās, iterum temptāre precandō
cōgitur et supplex animōs submittere amōrī,
nē quid inexpertum frustrā moritūra relinquat.

Grammar & Syntax: 408 What noun does the interrogative adj. *quis* agree with? What is the verb of the clause it introduces? • 408 What kind of dat. is *tibi*? • 408 Parse *cernentī*. What is its acc. obj.? • 409 What noun does the interrogative adj. *quōs* agree with? • 409 Is *feruere* the same verb as [407]*feruet*? • 410 What is the subj. acc. and what is the infinitive of the indirect statement governed by *prōspicerēs*? • 410 Why is *prōspicerēs* (and *uidērēs*) in the imperfect subjunctive? • 410 What noun does *tōtum* modify? • 410 What does the *-que* after *tōtum* link? • 410 What is the subj. acc. and what is the infinitive of the indirect statement governed by *uidērēs*? • 412 What case is *improbe Amor*? • 413–14 How does Virgil coordinate the three infinitive phrases governed by *cōgitur*? • 413 What kind of construction (and what kind of abl.) is *precandō*? • 415 Parse *moritūra*. • 415 What is the acc. obj. of *relinquat*?

Style & Theme:

- After addressing the reader in 401 (*cernās*), Virgil addresses Dido (408) and Amor (412): what is the rhetorical effect of this proliferation of apostrophes? (Here's where love elegy intersects with death elegy to rip through the protocols of epic discourse—and/or where epic discourse manages to appropriate elegy at its utmost.)
- How does Virgil rhetorically underscore the sense of sight and handle the soundtrack in 408–11?
- How does the enormous hyperbaton [409–10]*tōtum ... aequor* enhance the drama and tragedy of the scene?
- Why does Virgil bring an 'anthropological perspective' into play in his address to Cupid ([412]*mortālia pectora*)?

- What does the repetition [412]*cōgis* – [414]*cōgitur* achieve?
- Dido is again involved in obsessive repetition ([413]*iterum..., iterum...*). How does this instance compare to the one at [78–79]*Īliacōsque <u>iterum</u> dēmēns audīre labōres | exposcit, pendetque <u>iterum</u> nārrantis ab ōre*?
- What is the rhetorical force of the future participle [415]*moritūra*?
- Does [415]*frustrā* go with *inexpertum* or *moritūra* or both?

Fig. 47 Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), *The Death of Dido* (c. 1592). Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Annibale_Carracci_-Morte_di_Didone.jpg

- Annibale (!) Carracci's painting 'The Death of Dido' shows Dido on her funeral pyre with Iris appearing from the upper left corner (Fig. 47). The funeral pyre itself rests on an altar with the inscription (at the bottom) *Improbe Amor, quid nōn mortālia pectora cōgis!* (= 412).

- What is Carracci's (and Virgil's?) point about 'building' the end on 412?

416–424: *Triple Trouble*

'Anna, uidēs tōtō properārī lītore circum:
undique conuēnēre; uocat iam carbasus aurās,
puppibus et laetī nautae imposuēre corōnās.
hunc ego sī potuī tantum spērāre dolōrem,
et perferre, soror, poterō. miserae hoc tamen ūnum
exsequere, Anna, mihī: sōlam nam perfidus ille
tē colere, arcānōs etiam tibi crēdere sēnsūs;
sōla uirī mollīs aditūs et tempora nōrās.
ī, soror, atque hostem supplex adfāre superbum.

Grammar & Syntax: 416 What case is *Anna*? • 416 Parse *properārī*. What construction does Virgil use here? • 416 What category of word is *circum*? Preposition or adverb? • 417 Parse *conuēnēre*. • 418 Identify and explain the case of *puppibus*. • 418 What does the *et* link? • 419–20 What kind of conditional sequence does Dido use here (*... sī potuī ..., poterō*)? • 420 What is the sense of *et*? • 420 What does *miserae* agree with? • 420 What is the 'one thing' (*hoc ... ūnum*) that Dido alludes to? • 421 Parse *exsequere*. • 421 What does *sōlam* agree with? • 422 What kind of infinitive are *colere* and *crēdere*? • 423 What kind of genitive is *uirī*? • 423 Parse *mollīs*. What noun does it modify? • 423 Parse *nōrās*. An alternative reading is *nōris*. Which do you favour? • 424 Parse *adfāre*.

Style & Theme:
- Where does Anna come from?
- What is odd about the formulation [417]*uocat iam carbasus aurās* and why is the oddity thematically appropriate?
- Compare and contrast the picture of the activities on the shore that Dido draws for Anna at 416–18 with Virgil's own account at 408–11.
- What are the different ways of construing the conditional sequence in 419–20? And how does the strategic ambiguity help Dido to persuade Anna to do her bidding?
- What is the rhetorical force of the hyperbaton [420]*miserae ...* | *...* [421]*mihī*?
- What is the argumentative point of Dido's repeated emphasis on Anna's unique connection with Aeneas ([421]*sōlam*, [423]*sōla*)?
- What degree—and what kind—of intimacy is implied in the phrase [423]*uirī mollīs aditūs*? What is the effect of the juxtaposition of *uir* and *mollis*?
- Explore the thematic implications of the juxtaposition [424]*hostem supplex* and the rhetorical impact of the delayed attribute *superbum*.

Fig. 48 Jean Jacques François Monanteuil (1785–1860), *Portrait of Anna*. After painting by Pierre Narcisse Guérin. Rijksmusem, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200234745

- At 421–22 Queen Di implies that far from being 'exclusive' with Aeneas after the cave, what transpired was a love triangle including her sister Anna (cf. Fig. 48 for an 'orientalising' portrait): 'There were three of us in this marriage', she seems to be saying with a significant amount of bitterness, even though the ménage à trois now comes in handy since Anna knows the Trojan prince better than anyone and seems to enjoy privileged access to Aeneas' ear. What do you make of the 'special relationship' between Anna and Aeneas?

425–436: *Payback Bargain*

nōn ego cum Danaīs Trōiānam exscindere gentem
Aulide iūrāuī classemue ad Pergama mīsī,
nec patris Anchīsae cinerēs mānīsue reuellī:
cūr mea dicta negat dūrās dēmittere in aurīs?
quō ruit? extrēmum hoc miserae det mūnus amantī:
exspectet facilemque fugam uentōsque ferentīs.
nōn iam coniugium antīquum, quod prōdidit, ōrō,
nec pulchrō ut Latiō careat rēgnumque relinquat:
tempus ināne petō, requiem spatiumque furōrī,
dum mea mē uictam doceat fortūna dolēre.
extrēmam hanc ōrō ueniam (miserēre sorōris),
quam mihi cum dederit, cumulātam morte remittam.'

Grammar & Syntax: 426 Parse *Aulide*. • 427 Parse *mānīs*. • 427 Parse *reuellī*. • 428 What noun does *dūrās* modify? • 429 How do the datives *miserae* and *amantī* fit into the sentence? • 429–30 What type of subjunctive are *det* and *exspectet*? • 431 What two constructions does *ōrō* govern? • 432 How does the connective *nec* work? • 432 What kind of abl. is *pulchrō ... Latiō*? • 433 How does *requiem spatiumque furōrī* fit into the sentence? • 434 What noun does *mea* modify? • 434 Why is *doceat* in the subjunctive? • 435 Parse *miserēre*. • 436 Parse *dederit* and identify its acc. obj. • 436 How does *cumulātam* fit into the relative clause introduced by *quam*? • 436 What kind of abl. is *morte*?

Style & Theme:

- Why might Dido think that Aeneas unjustly blames her for disturbing the ashes and shade of Anchises (427)?
- Explore the psychology behind Dido's question [429]*quō ruit?*
- What are we to make of Dido's concession that she remains in love with Aeneas ([429]*amantī*), if wretchedly so ([429]*miserae*)?
- What stylistic devices make [430]*exspectet facilemque fugam uentōsque ferentīs* sound like an attractive option?
- What is the argumentative force of Dido first spelling out what she renounces ([431–32]*nōn ... ōrō, | nec...*), before specifying what she seeks ([433]*petō*, [435]*ōrō*)?
- What is the rhetorical force of the attribute [432]*pulchrō*?
- Analyse Dido's relation with (her) *fortūna* as expressed at 434, with specific attention to word order.

- What are the respective connotations of [429]*extrēmum ... mūnus* and [435]*extrēmam ... ueniam* and what is the rhetorical impact of the repetition of *extrēmus*?
- What 'payback' in return for a delay in departure does Dido aim for at 436?

Fig. 49 Émile Lassalle, *Furious Medea.* (1859). After painting by Eugène Delacroix. Rijksmuseum, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200398710

➢ What does Dido expect to gain from an 'insignificant delay' in Aeneas' departure ([433]*tempus ināne*)? Some scholars argue that the Medea of Euripides is on her mind, who asks for a day's delay before departing into exile and then uses the time to kill her children and Jason's new consort (cf. Fig. 49). Is Dido cooking up a similar plot?

437–449: *Cruising Attitude*

tālibus ōrābat, tālīsque miserrima flētūs
fertque refertque soror. sed nūllīs ille mouētur
flētibus aut uōcēs ūllās tractābilis audit:
fāta obstant placidāsque uirī deus obstruit aurīs.
ac uelut annōsō ualidam cum rōbore quercum
Alpīnī Boreae nunc hinc nunc flātibus illinc
ēruere inter sē certant; it strīdor, et altae
cōnsternunt terram concussō stīpite frondēs;
ipsa haeret scopulīs et quantum uertice ad aurās
aetheriās, tantum rādīce in Tartara tendit:
haud secus adsiduīs hinc atque hinc uōcibus hērōs
tunditur et magnō persentit pectore cūrās;
mēns immōta manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inānēs.

Grammar & Syntax: 437 What are the implications of the tense of *ōrābat*? Who is the subject? • 437 What noun does *miserrima* agree with? • What is the acc. obj. of [438]*fertque refertque*? • 438–39 What kind of abl. is *nūllīs ... | flētibus*? • 439 Parse *tractābilis*. How does it fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 440 What noun does *placidās* modify? • 441 What kind of abl. is *annōsō ... rōbore*? • 441 Is *cum* conjunction or preposition? • 443 What is the acc. obj. of *ēruere*? • 443 What is the subject of *certant*? • 443 What noun does *altae* modify? • 444 What construction is *concussō stīpite*? • 445 What are the subject and verb of the *quantum*-clause? • 445–46 What kind of abl. are *uertice* and *rādīce*? • 447 What kind of abl. is *adsiduīs ... uōcibus*? • 447 Parse *hērōs*.

Style & Theme:

- How does the soundtrack work across this passage?
- How does Virgil interweave communicative and emotional aspects in the messages that come Aeneas' way in 437–39?
- Virgil already used [439]*tractābilis* at 58. Does this earlier instance resonate here?
- How are we to imagine the (multiple?) divine agency/ies or intervention(s) signalled in [440]*fāta obstant placidāsque uirī deus obstruit aurīs*?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the attribute [440]*placidās* agreeing, in hyperbaton, with *aurīs* 'ears'?

- In what ways does the comparison of Aeneas to a 'cosmic' oak tree in a storm (441–46; cf. Fig. 50) gloss the drama in the narrative? How does Virgil position the oak tree in 'theological space'?
- What is the point of the plural [442]*Boreae* ('the north winds')?
- 447–48 seem to contradict 438–40: does Aeneas remain unruffled or does he not?
- This is the first time Virgil refers to his protagonist with the (Greek) term [447]*hērōs*. Why here? Is this 'unquestionably his moment of greatest heroism in the present book' (Fratantuono–Smith: 651)?
- In what sense is Aeneas' chest/heart 'big' ([447]*magnō ... pectore*)?
- What is the force of the prefix *per-* in [447]*persentit*?
- Whose tears flow in vain (449)? Those of Aeneas? of Anna? of Dido? of all three? of any two? Does Virgil imply an analogy between the falling leaves of the tree ([443–44]*altae | cōnsternunt ... frondēs*) and the falling tears of the hero, while the trunk/mind remains immobile ([449]*mēns immōta manet*)?
- Was Aeneas right not to have yielded an inch? Who shall we ask, expecting which answer?

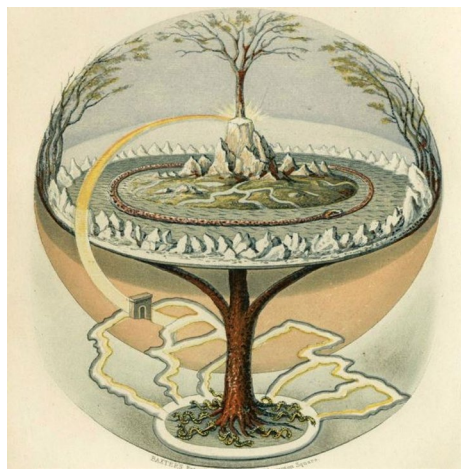

Fig. 50 Yggdrasil, *The World Tree of the Vikings*, from a plate included in the English translation of the *Prose Edda* by Oluf Olufsen Bagge (1847). Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yggdrasil.jpg

➢ The notion of a 'world tree' connecting different realms of the cosmos (and perched on a cliff...) is also found in other mythological traditions (cf. Fig. 50). What physical or symbolic qualities predispose trees for this role?

450–521: Dido's Witch Project

450–456: *The Haunting*

tum uērō īnfēlīx fātīs exterrita Dīdō
mortem ōrat; taedet caelī conuexa tuērī.
quō magis inceptum peragat lūcemque relinquat,
uīdit, tūricremīs cum dōna impōneret ārīs,
(horrendum dictū) laticēs nigrēscere sacrōs
fūsaque in obscēnum sē uertere uīna cruōrem.
hoc uīsum nūllī, nōn ipsī effāta sorōrī.

Grammar & Syntax: 450 What kind of abl. is *fātīs*? • 451 What personal pronoun in the acc. needs to be supplied with *taedet*? • 451 What is the acc. obj. of *tuērī*? • 452 What type of clause does *quō* introduce? • 452 What does *inceptum* refer to? • 452 Explain the tense and mood of *peragat* and *relinquat*. • 453 What are the two parts of the indirect statement governed by *uīdit*? • 453 What noun does *tūricremīs* modify? • 453 What do the *dōna* consist in? • 454 Explain the construction *horrendum dictū*. • 455 What does the *-que* after *fūsa* link? • 455 What noun does *obscēnum* modify? • 456 Explain the datives *nūllī* and *ipsī ... sorōrī*. • 456 What needs to be supplied with *effāta* to complete the verb?

Style & Theme:

- How do word order and metre enhance theme in 450–51?
- What are the [450]*fāta* that have Dido terrified?
- What are the stylistic devices that underscore Dido's world-weariness in [451]*taedet caelī conuexa tuērī*?
- What are the protocols of interaction between Dido and the divine sphere in 452–55 and how do they compare to those in play at 56–64? Do the gods stay honest to their signs?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the parenthetical [453]*horrendum dictū*?
- How does word order enhance the impact of the gruesome signs that appear during Dido's sacrifices in 454–55?
- Explore the symbolism of water turning black and of wine transforming into blood (454–55; cf. Fig. 51).

Fig. 51 Impression of omens (created using Copilot).

- Virgil does not say that the signs were only visible to Dido; but she is the only one who sees them (is present when they appear?) and confides in no-one else, not even her sister (456). Explore the relation of [454]*horrendum dictū* to [456]*nōn ... effāta*, from the point of view of both Dido and the narrator.
- Is it coincidence that 456 scans the same way as 450–51 (spondaic, except for the fifth foot)?

Fig. 52 Impression of Dido conducting a sacrifice (created using Copilot).

➢ To what extent are the prophetic signs that appear to Dido a self-fulfilling externalization of her mindset? Explore the implications of the universe as 'sympathetic' with human psychology (cf. Fig. 52—Dido receiving signs that reinforce her outlook on life).

457–463: *Dido Owl Alone*

praetereā fuit in tēctīs dē marmore templum
coniugis antīquī, mīrō quod honōre colēbat,
uelleribus niueīs et fēstā fronde reuīnctum:
hinc exaudīrī uōcēs et uerba uocantis
uīsa uirī, nox cum terrās obscūra tenēret;
sōlaque culminibus fērālī carmine būbō
saepe querī et longās in flētum dūcere uōcēs;

Grammar & Syntax: 457 What is the sense of the preposition *dē*? • 458 What kind of abl. is *mīrō ... honōre*? • 458 What is the force of the imperfect *colēbat*? • 459 Parse *reuīnctum*. What noun does it agree with? • 460–61 What are the subject and verb of the sentence *hinc exaudīrī uōcēs et uerba uocantis | uīsa uirī*? • 460 Parse *uocantis*. What noun does it agree with? • 462 What noun does *sōla* agree with? • 463 Explain the infinitives *querī* and *dūcere*. • 463 What noun does *longās* modify?

Style & Theme:

- What do we learn about Dido from the fact that she set up a shrine inside her palace to her dead husband Sychaeus (457–59)?
- What is the point of the repetition of the attribute *antīquus* used at 458 of Dido's 'true' husband Sychaeus, now calling to Dido from his cenotaph, but previously used by Dido in reference to her delusional marriage to Aeneas ([431]*coniugium antīquum*)?
- What is the force of [458]*mīrō* as attribute of *honōre*?
- To what themes might the *u*-alliteration in [460–61]*hinc exaudīrī **u**ōcēs et **u**erba **u**ocantis | **u**īsa **u**irī* draw attention?
- What is the force of the prefix *ex-* in [460]*exaudīrī*?
- Is the voice of Sychaeus that Dido hears real or imagined? (Cf. Schiesaro 2005: 88: 'Sychaeus' ghost personifies the feelings of guilt and anxiety which torture Dido at this juncture, and marks a disturbance of her perception of time: Sychaeus is both alive and dead; he died, and yet never did die.' We are bound to compare/contrast with Aeneas' serial monogamy with Creusa and Lavinia. Not forgetting Dido!)
- What does the [462]*b-ū-bō* for *D-ī-dō* contribute to the atmosphere? (Cf. Gowers 2016: 110: '*Būbō* turns out to be one of only two nouns in Latin

with the nominative sequence consonant-vowel-same consonantō. The other noun is *Dīdō*. Could it be, then, that *bubo* is there in the first instance because Virgil is attuned to using the exotic-sounding name of the Carthaginian queen?')

Fig. 53 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michael Wauters, *Dido and Aeneas seek shelter from a storm* (1679). Arrow added. Cleveland Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1915.79.5

- Were Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michael Wauters right in adding an 'owl of evil' (see arrow) to their tapestry illustration of the cave scene? (Cf. Fig. 53, with the description from the CMA website: 'During a hunting party, Dido and Aeneas are caught in a storm and flee to shelter. Cupid and Hymen, the god of marriage, bless them from above. Servants are working to attend to the frightened horses while on a branch, the owl of evil beats his wings ominously.')

464–473: *Tragic Cosplay*

multaque praetereā uātum praedicta priōrum
terribilī monitū horrificant. agit ipse furentem
in somnīs ferus Aenēās, semperque relinquī
sōla sibī, semper longam incomitāta uidētur
īre uiam et Tyriōs dēsertā quaerere terrā,
Eumenidum uelutī dēmēns uidet agmina Pentheus
et sōlem geminum et duplicīs sē ostendere Thēbās,
aut Agamemnonius scaenīs agitātus Orestēs
armātam facibus mātrem et serpentibus ātrīs
cum fugit ultrīcēsque sedent in līmine Dīrae.

Grammar & Syntax: 464 Parse *uātum*. • 465 What is the acc. obj. of *agit*? • 466 What does the *-que* after *semper* link? • 467 What noun does *longam* modify? • 467 What are the three infinitives governed by *uidētur*? • 468 What does the *et* link? • 468 What kind of abl. is *dēsertā ... terrā*? • 469 On what noun does the genitive *Eumenidum* depend? • 469 What constructions does *uidet* govern? • 470 What noun does *duplicīs* modify? • 471 What does *aut* coordinate? • 471–73 What are the subjects and what are the verbs of the subordinate clause introduced by [473]*cum*? • 471 What does the adj. *Agamemnonius* agree with? • 471 What kind of ablative is *scaenīs*? • 472 How do the abl. phrases *facibus ... et serpentibus ātrīs* fit into the sentence? • 473 Who are the *Dīrae* and why do they perch on the threshold?

Style & Theme:

- What is the rhetorical emphasis of the hyperbaton [464]*multa ... praedicta*? Which of the following translations brings it out best: 'many other prophecies' (Bartsch), 'many a saying' (Goold), 'the many prophecies' (McGill and Wright)?
- What *are* the prophecies of the prophets of old ([464]*uātum praedicta priōrum*)? And who are the *uātēs priōrēs*? Are we perhaps dealing with a transferred epithet (or two) ('the prior prophecies of many a seer')? What is there to be said for the rival reading *piōrum* ('the many prophecies of pious seers')?
- How does Virgil bring out Dido's isolation in 465[b]–68?
- What are the implications of Aeneas' attribute [466]*ferus*?
- What is the emotional resonance of the anaphora of [466–67]*semper*?
- How long is the road on which Dido travels in her dreams ([467–68]*longam ... | ... uiam*)?

- Why does Dido imagine herself in search of her own people (468*Tyriōs ... quaerere*)?
- In what ways do the contents of Dido's dreams (465–68) interact with the elements of the simile, drawn from the world of the tragic stage (469–73)?
- Identify the human figures and the supernatural personnel embedded in the simile (469–73) and explore their implications for the Dido story. (Bear in mind that, in-story, Agamemnon has just sacked Troy and returned home for his red-carpet reception.) In matching up the figures of the simile to figures in the narrative, who is who? (Consider multiple and shifting identifications, also with reference to Fig. 54: is Dido pursued by *Dīrae* or a *Dīra* herself—or both?)

Fig. 54 William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825–1905), *Orestes Pursued by the Furies* (1862). Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Orestes_Pursued_by_the_Furies_by_William-Adolphe_Bouguereau_(1862)_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

➢ How do tragic intertexts help to turn Carthage into a space where Dido's limerence-fuelled delusions evolve into a fiendish curse that shapes the rest of the narrative and Rome's future?

474–482: *Up the Garden Path to the End of the World*

ergō ubi concēpit furiās ēuicta dolōre
dēcrēuitque morī, tempus sēcum ipsa modumque
exigit, et maestam dictīs adgressa sorōrem
cōnsilium uultū tegit ac spem fronte serēnat:
'inuēnī, germāna, uiam (grātāre sorōrī)
quae mihi reddat eum uel eō mē soluat amantem.
Ōceanī fīnem iuxtā sōlemque cadentem
ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlās
axem umerō torquet stellīs ārdentibus aptum:

Grammar & Syntax: 474–77 What are the three main verbs of the sentence starting with *ergō*? How are they linked? • 474–75 What are the two verbs of the *ubi*-clause? How are they linked? • 474 What kind of abl. is *dolōre*? • 475 What does the *-que* after *modum* link? • 477 What kind of abl. is *uultū*? • 478 Parse *inuēnī*. • 478 Parse *grātāre*. • 479 What kind of abl. is *eō*? • 479 Does *amantem* agree with *eum*, *mē*, or both? • 480 What phrases does the preposition *iuxtā* + acc. govern? • 481 Parse *Aethiopum*. • 482 How does the abl. *stellīs ārdentibus* fit into the sentence? • 482 What noun does *aptum* agree with?

Style & Theme:

- What is the rhetorical force of [474]*ergō*? And how does the *ergō* here correlate with the *ergō* in 503?
- Does Virgil represent Dido's decision to die as an act of autonomous agency or as the compulsive response to emotional trauma (474–75)?
- How does Dido's 'divided self' here (severe agitation on the inside, performative calm on the outside) compare with Virgil's portrayal of Aeneas in similar situations (e.g. 331–32)?
- What does the double reflexive [475]*sēcum ipsa* say about Dido's outlook on life, especially in light of how she proceeds to approach her sister (476–77)?
- [477]*spem fronte serēnat* seems to invert acc. and abl. Why? Does Dido's dissimulation amount to a betrayal of her sister?
- What are the implications of the echo of [435]*miserēre sorōris* in [478]*grātāre sorōrī*?
- In what sense does the chiasmus of 1st and 3rd person pronouns [479]*mihi ... eum* : *eō mē* reinforce theme?

- What words in 480–82 help to generate the sense of an ending?
- How does Dido's description of Atlas in 481–82 compare to Virgil's at 246–51?
- World maps, whether visual or verbal, transform (limited) geographical knowledge into ideological representations, particularly when it comes to defining 'centre' and 'periphery'. Why does Dido (in her imagination?) visit the outer limits of the *oikoumene* (= the 'inhabited world', from a Greek and Roman point of view)?

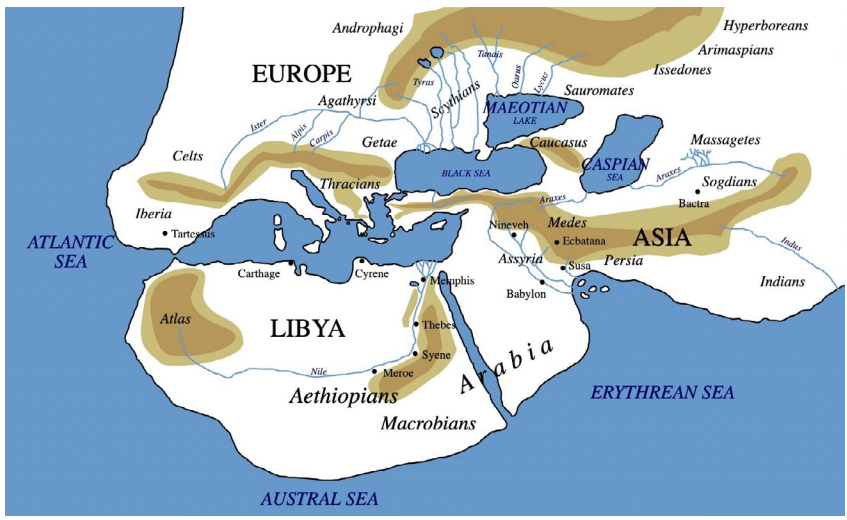

Fig. 55 The world according to Herodotus. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Herodotus_world_map-en.svg

➢ Limited by an incomplete knowledge of the wider world, the Greeks and Romans used 'imaginary mapping' to describe remote regions. The Aethiopians ended up in different locales: Homer split them between the far East and the far West (*Odyssey* 1.22–24), while Herodotus (*Histories* 2.29–30 and 3.17; cf. James S. Romm (1992), *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton, NJ) and Sallust (*Bellum Jugurthīnum* 19.5–6, cited 237–38) placed them in the far South (cf. Fig. 55). Does it matter that Virgil prioritizes Homer's poetic geography over historiographical accounts?

483–493: *Shades of Medea*

hinc mihi Massȳlae gentis mōnstrāta sacerdōs,
Hesperidum templī custōs, epulāsque dracōnī
quae dabat et sacrōs seruābat in arbore rāmōs,
spargēns ūmida mella sopōriferumque papāuer.
haec sē carminibus prōmittit soluere mentēs
quās uelit, ast aliīs dūrās immittere cūrās,
sistere aquam fluuiīs et uertere sīdera retrō,
nocturnōsque mouet Mānīs; mūgīre uidēbis
sub pedibus terram et dēscendere montibus ornōs.
testor, cāra, deōs et tē, germāna, tuumque
dulce caput, magicās inuītam accingier artīs.

Grammar & Syntax: 483 What is the subject and what is the verb in *hinc mihi Massȳlae gentis mōnstrāta sacerdōs*? • 484 How does *Hesperidum templī custōs* fit into the sentence? • 484 What does the *-que* after *epulās* help to coordinate? • 485 What is the antecedent of the relative pronoun *quae*? • 485 What is the sense of the imperfect tense of *dabat* and *seruābat*? • 486 What are the acc. objects of *spargēns*? • 487 Parse *haec*. Who does the demonstrative pronoun refer to? • 487 What kind of abl. is *carminibus*? What is the meaning of *carmina* here? • 487 What is the subj. acc. and what are the infinitives of the indirect statement governed by *prōmittit*? • 488 Parse *uelit*. Why is it in the subjunctive? • 488 What noun is to be mentally supplied with *aliīs*? Why is it in the dative? • 489 Identify and explain the case of *fluuiīs*. • 490 What does the *-que* after *nocturnōs* link? What noun does the adjective modify? • 490 What are the subj. accusatives and what are the infinitives of the indirect statement governed by *uidēbis*? • 492 What is the subj. acc. and what is the inf. of the indirect statement introduced by *testor*? What other construction does the verb govern? • 492 What noun does *cāra* modify? • 492 What case is *germāna*? • 492 What does the *-que* after *tuum* link? • 493 How does *inuītam* fit into the sentence? • 493 Parse *accingier*. What is its acc. obj.?

Style & Theme:

- Dido claims that the priestess/witch comes from the *Massȳla gēns*, which also supplied horsemen who joined the fateful hunt ([132]*Massȳlī ... ruunt equitēs*). At 6.60 Aeneas, newly arrived in Italy, in a prayer to

Apollo thanks the god for guidance while visiting 'the far remote Massylian tribes' (6.59–60*penitus ... repostās | Massȳlum gentēs*), among other far-flung places. What role do these ethnographic vistas play in positioning Dido in geopolitical space?

- What formal features help to make line 486 soporific?
- Dido promises her sister that she will see (490*uidēbis*) a spectacle that combines sound (*mūgīre*) with sight (*dēscendere*): what is the rhetorical effect of this 'synaesthetic' experience? And what themes does the inversion of subj. accusatives and infinitives in 490–91 (*mūgīre ... terram*, *dēscendere ... ornōs*) underscore?
- How does Dido introduce her own prospective use of magic in 492–93?

Fig. 56 Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), *Hercules steals the Apples of the Hesperides* (after 1537). Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum Braunschweig. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lucas_Cranach_d.%C3%84._-_Herkules_raubt_die_%C3%84pfel_der_Hesperiden_(Herzog_Anton_Ulrich-Museum).jpg

➢ Dido references one of the canonical labours of Hercules: harvesting golden apples from the tree of the Hesperides, which was guarded by a dragon (Fig. 56; the pentameter in the upper left corner reads HESPERIDUM CAESŌ MĀLA DRACŌNE RAPIT 'with the dragon slain, he steals the apples of the Hesperides'). But the combination of 'sorceress-priestess', 'drowsy drops' and 'sentinel dragon' (483–86) also brings Medea to mind, who used her witchcraft to help Jason steal the golden fleece watched over by a guardian dragon. Explore the implications of this 'mythic syncretism'.

494–503: *Brûlez l'Énéide*

tū sēcrēta pyram tēctō interiōre sub aurās
ērige et arma uirī, thalamō quae fīxa relīquit
impius, exuuiāsque omnīs lectumque iugālem,
quō periī, super impōnās: abolēre nefandī
cūncta uirī monumenta iuuat mōnstratque sacerdōs.'
haec effāta silet, pallor simul occupat ōra.
nōn tamen Anna nouīs praetexere fūnera sacrīs
germānam crēdit, nec tantōs mente furōrēs
concipit aut grauiōra timet quam morte Sychaeī.
ergō iussa parat.

Grammar & Syntax: 494 Parse *sēcrēta*. What does it agree with? • 495 What does the *et* after *ērige* link? • 495 Identify the case of *thalamō*. • 496 What do the *-que* after *exuuiās* and *lectum* link? • 497 What kind of abl. is *quō*? • 497 What are the three acc. objects of *impōnās*? • 497 What noun does *nefandī* modify? • 498 What is the subject of *iuuat*? • 499 Parse *haec*. • 501 What is the subj. acc. and what is the inf. of the indirect statement governed by *crēdit*? • 501 What are the *tantōs ... furōrēs* Anna finds inconceivable? • 502 What kind of abl. is *morte*?

Style & Theme:

- Dido's palace must have boasted impressive interior architecture, including the banquet hall where the welcome dinner took place, the bridal chamber where Dido readies herself for the hunt (133–34), and the shrine for Sychaeus (457–58*praetereā fuit in tēctīs dē marmore templum | coniugis antīquī*). Her instructions to Anna (494–95*tū sēcrēta pyram tēctō interiōre sub aurās | ērige*) indicate that it also featured a roofless courtyard sufficiently spacious for the erection of a pyre. Is it possible to visualize the overall layout? Or are we dealing with an imaginary space ultimately as inaccessible as the psyche of its owner?
- Why does Dido swear Anna to secrecy (494*tū sēcrēta*)?
- What are we to make of the fact that the 495*arma uirī* Dido wishes to burn on the pyre recalls the opening of the *Aeneid* (1.1*arma uirumque canō*)?
- What are the implications of Dido calling Aeneas 496*impius* and 497–98*nefandus uir*?
- What are the thematic implications of the intratextual link between 497–98*abolēre nefandi | cūncta uirī monumenta iuuat* and 1.719–21*at memor ille | mātris Acīdaliae paulātim abolēre Sychaeum | incipit* 'but he [= Cupid],

mindful of his Acidalian mother [= Venus], little by little begins to efface Sychaeus [sc. in Dido's mind]'?

- What is the rhetorical force of the echo [483]... *mōnstrāta sacerdōs* and [498]*mōnstrat ... sacerdōs*?
- Why does Dido turn pale when she stops speaking (499)?
- What does it say about Anna that Dido could so easily deceive her (500–3)? How well does she know her sister, especially in light of [500]*praetexere* echoing [172]*coniugium uocat, hōc praetexit nōmine culpam* and the contrast between [474]*concēpit furiās ēuicta dolōre* and [501–2]*nec tantōs mente furōrēs | concipit*?
- Does [501]*mente* refer to Anna's or Dido's mind, or that of either sister?

Fig. 57 *The Works of Virgil* (1709), translated by John Dryden, Plate 53. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Virgil_translated_by_Dryden_(1709)-volume_2-sheet_288.png

➢ Dido informs Anna that the priestess advised burning all remnants of her affair with Aeneas on a pyre to break her love addiction. In the event, she also adds an effigy of Aeneas himself (see [508]*effigiem ... torō locat*; cf. Fig. 57). Explore the psychology of destroying tokens of unrequited love ('ritual of release', 'clean slate', 'breaking the dopamine loop', 'ending the chase', 'purging the past', etc.).

504–511: *Summoning Divine Legions to the Power of Three*

at rēgīna, pyrā penetrālī in sēde sub aurās
ērēctā ingentī taedīs atque īlice sectā,
intenditque locum sertīs et fronde corōnat
fūnereā; super exuuiās ēnsemque relictum
effigiemque torō locat, haud ignāra futūrī.
stant ārae circum et crīnēs effūsa sacerdōs
ter centum tonat ōre deōs, Erebumque Chaosque,
tergeminamque Hecatēn, tria uirginis ōra Diānae.

Grammar & Syntax: 504–5 What construction is *pyrā ... ērēctā*? • 505 What noun does *ingentī* agree with? • 505 What kind of abl. are *taedīs* and *īlice* (*sectā*)? • 506 What does the *-que* after *intendit* help to coordinate? • 506 What is the acc. obj. of *corōnat*? • 507 What noun does *fūnereā* modify? • 507 What category of word is *super*? Preposition or adverb? • 508 What kind of genitive is *futūrī*? • 509 Identify and explain the case of *crīnēs*. • 509 Who is the *sacerdōs*? • 510 What noun does the indeclinable numeral *centum* modify? • 510–11 How do the phrases *Erebumque Chaosque*, | *tergeminamque Hecatēn* and [510]*tria uirginis ōra Diānae* fit into the sentence?

Style & Theme:

- [504]*at rēgīna* is the third iteration of this phrase (after 1 and 296). It's 'Light's Up on Act Three' of Dido's Tragedy: how would you label it?
- What is the sense of Dido's pyre conveyed by Virgil's syntax and verse design (504–7)? Can you visualize the architectural setting of the pyre (504–5)? How does word order in the abl. abs. construction [504–5]*pyrā penetrālī in sēde sub aurās | ērectā ingentī taedīs atque īlice sectā* emphasize its enormous (cf. [505]*ingentī*) size?
- Discuss how stylistic devices, word order and verse design help to enhance the ominous sense of [507]*fūnereā*.
- In 507–8, Dido executes her own orders from 496–97, though with variations: what has changed and why?
- How does the declaration of Dido's epistemological empowerment [508]*haud ignāra futūrī* fit into the trajectory of learning she undergoes over the course of the book? How does it relate to [65]*heu uātum ignārae mēntēs!*?
- Why has Dido loosened her hair ([509]*crīnēs effūsa*) before praying?
- What is the effect of Virgil designating her a [509]*sacerdōs*?
- Who are the gods whom she evokes (510–11)?

- How (often) does Virgil work the number 'three' into the invocation of Hecate (510–11)?
- Dido already mentioned Erebus during her self-imprecation (24–27). What is the rhetorical force of the intratextual reminiscence here?

Fig. 58 Relief of triplicate Hekate. Three female figures framed in *aedicula*, with high *poloi* on their heads, dressed in chiton and peplos, holding torches in their hands. Marble (small), Hadrian classicism. NG Prague, Kinský Palace, NM-H10 4742. Photography by Zde. CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Relief_triplicate_Hekate_marble,_Hadrian_clasicism,_Prague_Kinsky,_NM-H10_4742,_140995.jpg

➢ Witch-queen Hecate (cf. Fig. 58), who self-identifies as 'close contriver of all harms' in Shakespeare, *Macbeth* 3.5, is a liminal figure who lives on the edges, operating across the realms of heaven, earth and hell, often in defiance of the patriarchal constraints of the Olympian pantheon. What is she doing in Virgil's epic?

512–521: *Recipe for Disaster, or How to Cook Up a Curse*

sparserat et laticēs simulātōs fontis Auernī;
falcibus et messae ad lūnam quaeruntur aēnīs
pūbentēs herbae nigrī cum lacte uenēnī;
quaeritur et nāscentis equī dē fronte reuulsus
et mātrī praereptus amor.
ipsa molā manibusque piīs altāria iuxtā,
ūnum exūta pedem uinclīs, in ueste recincta,
testātur moritūra deōs et cōnscia fātī
sīdera; tum, sī quod nōn aequō foedere amantēs
cūrae nūmen habet iūstumque memorque, precātur.

Grammar & Syntax: 512 Parse *sparserat*. • 512 What is the *fōns Auernus*? • 513 What kind of abl. is *falcibus*? What is its attribute? • 513 What noun does the participle *messae* (from *metō*, *metere* 'to reap') agree with? • 513 What is the subject of *quaeruntur*? • 515 What noun does the genitive phrase *nāscentis equī* depend on? • 515–16 What noun do the participles *reuulsus* and *praereptus* agree with? • 516 What does the *et* link? • 516 Identify and explain the case of *mātrī*. • 516 What is the (special) meaning of *amor* here? • 517 What does the *-que* after *manibus* link? • 517 What noun does the preposition *iuxtā* govern? • 518 Explain the acc. *ūnum ... pedem*. • 518 What kind of abl. is *uinclīs*? • 519 What are the two acc. objects of *testātur*? • 519 What does the *et* link? • 520 How does the condition introduced by *sī* work? • 520 Parse *quod*. What noun does it modify? • 520 What kind of abl. is *aequō foedere*? • 520 How does *amantēs* fit into the sentence? • 521 Identify and explain the case of *cūrae*. • 521 How does *iūstumque memorque* fit into the sentence?

Style & Theme:

- What three ingredients does Dido use in her magic (512–16)? What accounts for their magical qualities?
- What are the implications of [512]*laticēs* <u>*simulātōs*</u>?
- What is the rhetorical effect of the hyperbaton [513]*falcibus ... aēnīs*? What does the jumbled word order in 513–14 contribute to the overall impact of the description? (Reordered in prose, the sentence might run: *et herbae cum lacte nigrī uenēnī pūbentēs, ad lūnam falcibus aēnīs*

messae, *quaeruntur*.)

- What is the rhetorical effect of the inverted placement of verb ([515]*quaeritur*) and subject ([516]*amor*) at opposite ends of the sentence?
- What does Dido do to ensure that her prayer will be efficacious (517–20)? How does Virgil's syntax reflect the desired qualities?
- What does the momentary syntactical ambiguity caused by the hyperbaton + enjambment [519–20]*cōnscia fātī* | *sīdera* contribute to the overall impact of the scene?
- What does Dido pray for in 520–21?
- What is the rhetorical force of the two postponed attributes of *nūmen*, i.e. [521]*iūstum* and *memor*?

Fig. 59 Hippomanes of a cow. Photography by Cécile GK (2014), CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hippomane_face_1.jpg

➢ *amor* in 516 refers to 'hippomanes' or 'foal's bread' (= 'brownish or olive-greenish, elastic formations that arise physiologically in female bovines and equines during pregnancy', https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippomanes; see Fig. 59). Why might this substance be associated with desperate, unnatural or forced love in erotic magic?

522–583: The Great Escape

522–532: *Night Always Comes*

nox erat et placidum carpēbant fessa sopōrem
corpora per terrās, siluaeque et saeua quiērant
aequora, cum mediō uoluuntur sīdera lāpsū,
cum tacet omnis ager, pecudēs pictaeque uolucrēs,
quaeque lacūs lātē liquidōs, quaeque aspera dūmīs
rūra tenent, somnō positae sub nocte silentī.
[lēnībant cūrās et corda oblīta labōrum.]
at nōn īnfēlīx animī Phoenīssa, nec umquam
soluitur in somnōs oculīsue aut pectore noctem
accipit: ingeminant cūrae, rūrsusque resurgēns
saeuit amor magnōque īrārum fluctuat aestū.

Grammar & Syntax: 522 What is the subject of *carpēbant*? • 522 What noun does *fessa* modify? • 523 What does the *-que* after *siluae* link? • 523 What noun does *saeua* modify? • 523 Parse *quiērant*. • 524 What noun does *mediō* modify? • 525 What verb is to be supplied with *pecudēs pictaeque uolucrēs*? • 526 What verb is to be supplied with *quaeque lacūs lātē liquidōs*? • 527 What noun does the participle *positae* agree with? • 529 What verb needs to be supplied/understood with *at nōn īnfēlīx animī Phoenīssa*? • 529 Identify and explain the case of *animī*. • 530 Parse *soluitur*. • 530 What do the *-ue* after *oculīs* and the *aut* coordinate? • 532 What noun does *magnō* modify? • 532 What is the subject of *fluctuat*?

Style & Theme:

- How does Virgil use word order, verse design, stylistic figures and syntax to put 'all the world asleep' in 522–27/8? By what means does he evoke a sense of cosmic universality?
- What is the force of the imperfect [522]*carpēbant*? What is the effect of the subsequent switch to the present ([524]*uoluuntur*, [525]*tacet*, [527]*tenent*)? What of the reversion to the imperfect [528]*lēnībant* (if the line is to be retained: see next question)?
- Most editors bracket line 528 as an interpolation. What might arguments in favour of its authenticity look like?
- By means of which stylistic devices does Virgil heighten the

contrast between universal slumber in 522–27/8 and Dido's agitated wakefulness in 529–32? What are the implications of isolating Dido as an extreme ([529]*umquam*) exception to the otherwise universal benefits of sleep?

- What images and metaphors does Virgil use to portray Dido's state of psychological upheaval in 531–32?
- What causes Dido's cares to double ([531]*ingeminant*)?
- What is the force of the pleonastic [531]*rūrsusque resurgēns*?
- What are the implications of the fact that Dido feels *amor* and *īrae* (why plural?) in seemingly equal measure (531–32)?

Fig. 60 Evelyn De Morgan (1855–1919), *Night and Sleep* (1878). Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton, England. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Night_%26_Sleep.jpg

➢ On one level, the passage offers a sharp contrast between 'cosmic repose' (522–28; cf. Fig. 60) and Dido's restiveness (529–32). But what are we to make of the resurgence of the calmed savagery of nature ([523–24]*saeua quiērant | aequora*) in Dido's psyche ([532]*saeuit amor magnōque īrārum fluctuat aestū*)?

533–542: *When All Options Stink*

sīc adeō īnsistit, sēcumque ita corde uolūtat:
'ēn, quid agō? rūrsusne procōs inrīsa priōrēs
experiar, Nomadumque petam cōnūbia supplex,
quōs ego sim totiēns iam dēdignāta marītōs?
Īliacās igitur classēs atque ultima Teucrum
iussa sequar? quiane auxiliō iuuat ante leuātōs,
et bene apud memorēs ueteris stat grātia factī?
quis mē autem, fac uelle, sinet ratibusue superbīs
inuīsam accipiet? nescīs heu, perdita, necdum
Lāomedontēae sentīs periūria gentis?

Grammar & Syntax: 533 Who is the subject of *īnsistit* and *uolūtat*? • 535 Identify and explain the mood of *experiar* and *petam*. • 535 Parse *Nomadum*. • 535 How does *supplex* fit into the sentence? • 536 What is the verb of the relative clause introduced by *quōs*? Why is it in the subjunctive? • 536 How does *marītōs* fit into the sentence? • 537 What noun does *ultima* modify? • 537 Parse *Teucrum*. • 538 Parse *sequar*. • 538 How does the clause introduced by *quia* continue the thought of the previous sentence? • 538 Identify and explain the case of *auxiliō*. • 538 What acc. is implied with *iuuat* (*eōs* = the Trojans or *mē* = Dido, or both in deliberate ambiguity)? And what are the subj. acc. and the inf. of the indirect statement governed by *iuuat*? • 539 What does the genitive *ueteris ... factī* depend on? • 540 What construction does *fac* govern? • 540–41 What tense are *sinet* and *accipiet*? • 540 What does *-ue* after *ratibus* link? • 541 How does *inuīsam* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 541–42 What is the acc. obj. of *nescīs* and *sentīs*? • 541 What case is *perdita*?

Style & Theme:

- What is the effect of the double introduction to Dido's monologue (533*sīc adeō īnsistit*, *sēcumque ita corde uolūtat*)?
- Maclennan (149) calls the interjection 534*ēn* 'a barely translatable expression of shocked indignation'. How would you render *ēn*, *quid agō?* into English? Options include 'What now?' (Bartsch), '*See*, what am I to do?' (Goold), '*So then*, what am I to do?' (West) or, with an un-epic drop in stylistic register, 'What the heck am I gonna do?'
- Is 534*inrīsa* retrospective (= 'having been turned into a laughingstock by Aeneas and the Trojans') or prospective (= 'to be turned into a

laughingstock if I go wooing wooers I once rejected')? Do we need to decide?

- How would you characterize Dido's stance on marriage with a local chieftain (534–36)?
- What is the tone of the question [538–39]*quiane auxiliō iuuat ante leuātōs, | et bene apud memorēs ueteris stat grātia factī?*
- How would you describe Dido's attitude towards Option B (following the Trojans) (537–46)?
- Dido thinks of herself as 'hated' ([541]*inuīsam*) by the Trojans. Is she projecting?
- What are 'the treacheries of the race of Laomedon' ([542]*Lāomedontēae ... periūria gentis*; cf. Fig. 61)?

Below the caption on the bottom right ('Laomedon, King of Troy, detected by Neptune and Apollo') is a reference to Homer, *Iliad* 21, where Poseidon recapitulates the full tale to Apollo (436–60).

The Latin citation on the bottom left is from Horace, *Ode* 3.3.18–24 (Juno speaking): *Īlion, Īlion fātālis incestusque iūdex | et mulier peregrina uertit | in puluerem, ex quō dēstituit deōs | mercēde pactā Lāomedon, | mihi castaeque damnātum Mineruae | cum populō et duce fraudulentō.* '"Ilium, Ilium, has been reduced to rubble by that calamitous and polluted judge [= Paris] and a foreign woman [= Helen] – Ilium which was given over to me and chaste Minerva for punishment along with its people and its treacherous king ever since Laomedon cheated the gods [= Apollo and Neptune], even though their wages had been agreed.'

Fig. 61 Robert Strange, *Laomedon, King of Troy, detected by Neptune and Apollo* (1775). After painting by Salvator Rosa. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200260204

➢ Is it entirely fair of Dido to implicate Aeneas in the treacheries of Laomedon (the father of Priam) in particular?

543–553: *Hitting a Dead End*

quid tum? sōla fugā nautās comitābor ouantēs?
an Tyriīs omnīque manū stīpāta meōrum
īnferar et, quōs Sīdoniā uix urbe reuellī,
rūrsus agam pelagō et uentīs dare uēla iubēbō?
quīn morere ut merita es, ferrōque āuerte dolōrem.
tū lacrimīs ēuicta meīs, tū prīma furentem
hīs, germāna, malīs onerās atque obicis hostī.
nōn licuit thalamī expertem sine crīmine uītam
dēgere mōre ferae, tālīs nec tangere cūrās;
nōn seruāta fidēs cinerī prōmissa Sychaeō!'
tantōs illa suō rumpēbat pectore questūs.

Grammar & Syntax: 543 What does *sōla* agree with? • 543 What does the participle *ouantēs* agree with? • 544 What kind of abl. are *Tyriīs* and *omnī ... manū*? • 544 What does the participle *stīpāta* agree with? • 545 What voice is *īnferar*? • 545–46 What is the (implied) acc. obj. of *agam* and antecedent of *quōs*? • 545 What kind of abl. is *Sīdoniā ... urbe*? • 545 Parse *reuellī*. • 546 Identify and explain the case of *pelagō*. • 546 Identify and the explain the case of *uentīs*. • 547 Parse *morere*. • 548 What does the participle *furentem* agree with? • 549 What is the (implied) acc. obj. of *onerās* and *obicis*? • 549 Identify and explain the case of *hostī*. • 550 What does *expertem* agree with? • 551 What is the meaning of *ferae*? • 551 What noun does *tālīs* modify? • 551 What does *nec* link? • 552 What is the verb in the sentence? • 552 Identify and explain the case of *cinerī*. • 552 Is *Sychaeō* an adj. or a noun? • 553 What noun does *tantōs* agree with?

Style & Theme:

- How does the scenario Dido imagines in [543]*sōla fugā nautās comitābor ouantēs?* differ from the scenario she considered (and seemed to have thought better of) in 537–42?
- Compare and contrast the joining of Carthaginian and Trojan forces before the hunt (esp. [142]*īnfert sē socium Aenēās atque agmina iungit*) with the scenario Dido imagines in 544–46. What does the switch from reflective active (*īnfert sē*) to medio-passive ([544]*īnferar*) signify?
- Does Dido deserve to die ([547]*quīn morere ut merita es*)?
- Does Dido strike a fair balance between blaming her sister and blaming herself in 548–49?
- To what extent is Dido's use of the present tense at 549 (*onerās*, *obicis*) charged with psychological insight? (Cf. Schiesaro 2005: 88: 'When

she reproaches Anna for her insistence that she yield to the passion for Aeneas, the use of present tenses shows that – for Dido – the offence, the pain, are still in the here and now (and always)', with reference to Freud's notion of the 'eternal present' of anger.)

- How would you characterize the lifestyle Dido hankers after in 550–51? (Cf. Fig. 62, though Kauffman's painting offers a rather 'civilized' evocation of the wild woodlands.) What do you make of her implicit equation of 'marriage' (cf. [550]*thalamī*) with crime (cf. [550]*sine crīmine*) and a significant degree of emotional anguish (cf. [551]*tālīs ... cūrās*)? And does she think primarily of her marriage to Sychaeus (which ended in the crime of his murder) or her 'marriage' to Aeneas, which arguably involves a 'partnership in crime' (Dido betraying Sychaeus and Aeneas betraying Dido)?
- How does verse design help to enact meaning in 553?

Fig. 62 Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807), *Diana and her nymphs bathing* (c. 1778). Art Gallery of South Australia. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Angelica_Kauffmann_-_Diana_and_her_nymphs_bathing_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

➢ What about the (pre-political, anti-marital) lifestyle represented by Diana (cf. Fig. 62) appeals to Dido? (NB: Virgil compares Dido to Diana when the queen first enters the narrative at 1.498–504.)

554–559: *Mercurial Vision: Replica or Real?*

Aenēās celsā in puppī iam certus eundī
carpēbat somnōs rēbus iam rīte parātīs. 555
huic sē fōrma deī uultū redeuntis eōdem
obtulit in somnīs rūrsusque ita uīsa monēre est,
omnia Mercuriō similis, uōcemque colōremque
et crīnīs flāuōs et membra decōra iuuentā:

Grammar & Syntax: 554 Parse *eundī* and explain how it fits into the sentence. • 555 What is the force of the imperfect *carpēbat*? • 555 What construction is *rēbus ... parātīs*? • 556 What is the subject that the reflexive pronoun *sē* refers to? • 556 What kind of abl. is *uultū ... eōdem*? • 556 Parse *redeuntis*. What noun does the participle agree with? • 557 What is the subject of *uīsa ... est*? • 558 What kind of acc. is *omnia*? • 558 Identify and explain the case of *Mercuriō*. • 558 How does *similis* fit into the sentence? • 558–59 How does the list of accusatives (*uōcem*, *colōrem*, *crīnīs*, *membra*) fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 559 What kind of abl. is *iuuentā*?

Style & Theme:

- What are the thematic implications of the juxtaposition of *Aenēās* and *celsā* achieved by way of the anastrophe [554]*celsā in puppī*?
- What are the thematic implications of the alliterative sequence [554–55]***c**elsā – **c**ertus – **c**arpēbat*?
- Explore the rhetorical significance of the anaphora [554–55]*iam, iam.*
- What are the implications of [555]*rīte*?
- What are we to make of a hero caught ill-advisedly napping at a crucial moment (554–55)? Where in epic has that happened before?
- Why does Virgil depict his hero as both fast asleep and [554]*certus eundī*? Is it a sign of resolution (he has made up his mind and is at peace with his decision) or blindness/irresponsibility (he has no clue what his imminent departure means for Dido)—or both?
- What is the rhetorical force of [557]*rūrsus*?
- How does the syntax and word order of 558–59 facilitate the visualization of the apparition of the god or his image?
- Scan line 558: what is peculiar about it? What might explain the peculiarity?
- Why does Virgil lead off the catalogue of characteristics with the proleptic [558]*uōcem*? And how has he organized the list overall?

- How does this dream appearance compare to Mercury's daytime theophany at 265–78?
- Who/what appears to Aeneas? Mercury or a facsimile (556–59)? Does it matter?

Fig. 63 William Blake, *Aeneas aroused by Mercury*, from 'The Aeneid', iv, 554; Aeneas naked and reclining while Mercury swoops down from above (c. 1790–1795). Red chalk, over charcoal, on buff paper. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1874-1212-111

➢ To what extent has Blake (Fig. 63) succeeded in capturing the drama of Virgil's text?

560–570: *Go Now!*

‘nāte deā, potes hōc sub cāsū dūcere somnōs,
nec quae tē circum stent deinde perīcula cernis,
dēmēns, nec Zephyrōs audīs spīrāre secundōs?
illa dolōs dīrumque nefās in pectore uersat,
certa morī, uariōsque īrārum concitat aestūs.
nōn fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitāre potestās?
iam mare turbārī trabibus saeuāsque uidēbis
conlūcēre facēs, iam feruere lītora flammīs,
sī tē hīs attigerit terrīs Aurōra morantem.
heia age, rumpe morās. uarium et mūtābile semper
fēmina.’ sīc fātus, noctī sē immiscuit ātrae.

Grammar & Syntax: 560 Parse *nāte*. • 560 What kind of abl. is *deā*? • 561 What does *nec* link? • 561 What kind of clause does *quae* introduce (i.e. why is *stent* in the subjunctive)? • 561 What does *circum* govern? • 562 What case is *dēmēns*? • 562 What construction does *audīs* govern? • 563 What does *dolōs dīrumque nefās* refer to? • 564 How does *certa morī* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 564 What noun does *uariōs* modify? • 565 What is the verb of the *dum*-clause? • 566–68 What type of conditional sequence does Mercury use here? • 566 What noun does *saeuās* modify? • 566 What are the three components of the indirect statement governed by *uidēbis* and how are they coordinated? • 568 Parse *attigerit*. • 568 What does the participle *morāntem* agree with? • 569–70 What is the verb in the sentence *uarium et mūtābile semper | fēmina*? • 570 Parse *fātus*.

Style & Theme:

- What is the rhetorical force of Mercury addressing Aeneas as [560]*nāte deā* and [562]*dēmēns*?
- Do *you* hear ([562]*audīs*) the breeze of the Zephyrs?
- How would you characterize Mercury’s portrayal of Dido in 563–64? Is it fair?
- What is the rhetorical force of Mercury’s reference to Dido as [563]*illa*?
- Discuss the correlation of [554]*certus eundī* and [564]*certa morī*.
- What is the significance of the echo of [532]*magnō ... īrārum fluctuat aestū* in [564]*uariōs ... īrārum concitat aestūs*?
- What stylistic devices in 565 reinforce Mercury’s message that Aeneas must leave right away?
- How would you characterize the consequences Mercury sketches for Aeneas in 566–67, should he fail to depart imminently?
- Does [568]*Aurōra **mor**āntem* imply that Aeneas dawdles because of continued love for Dido? And why does Mercury use Aurora where

we might expect a reference to Dido?

- Does Virgil present Mercury as a liar in 569–70? (Cf. Austin: 168: 'Mercury is lying, as he lied in 563, and Virgil makes it clear that his Dido was the sport of the gods. In spite of her wild moods she had never ceased deep within her to love Aeneas, and she had not plotted against him to do him personal injury.')
- *uarium et mūtābile semper | fēmina* (569–70): 'this utterance of Mercury's constitutes an ideological test for readers concerning women's inherent value: are readers to accept or be appalled by Mercury's view?' (Perkell 2021: 131).
- [569–70]*uarium et mūtābile semper | fēmina* literally says 'a fickle and changeful thing always (is) – woman'. What (if anything) of Mercury's misogyny is lost if the singular *femina* is rendered as plural? (Bartsch: 'Females are a fickle thing, always prone to change'; McGill and Wright: 'For women are unstable things and always change their minds'; West: 'Women are unstable creatures, always changing').
- What is the rhetorical point and dramatic impact of Mercury abruptly ending his speech on the first metrical foot of 570?
- What are the associations of the colour term *āter, ātra, ātrum* ([570]*noctī sē immiscuit ātrae*)?

Fig. 64 Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–1780), *The Roman Fleet Victorious over the Carthaginians at the Battle of Cape Ecnomus* (c. 1763). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2006.23, public domain, https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109915

➢ Lines 566–67 evoke future sea-battles between Carthaginians and Romans, such as the Battle of Cape Ecnomus (256 BCE, off Southern Sicily; see Fig. 64). Discuss the *Aeneid* as an epic of prefiguration that provides an aetiology for all of Roman history.

571–583: *Cutting the Cord*

tum uērō Aenēās subitīs exterritus umbrīs
corripit ē somnō corpus sociōsque fatīgat
praecipitēs: 'uigilāte, uirī, et cōnsīdite trānstrīs;
soluite uēla citī. deus aethere missus ab altō
festīnāre fugam tortōsque incīdere fūnīs
ecce iterum īnstimulat. sequimur tē, sancte deōrum,
quisquis es, imperiōque iterum pārēmus ouantēs.
adsīs ō placidusque iuuēs et sīdera caelō
dextra ferās.' dīxit uāgīnāque ēripit ēnsem
fulmineum strictōque ferit retinācula ferrō.
īdem omnēs simul ārdor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;
lītora dēseruēre, latet sub classibus aequor;
adnīxī torquent spūmās et caerula uerrunt.

Grammar & Syntax: 571 What kind of abl. is *subitīs ... umbrīs*? • 572–73 As presented here, [573]*praecipitēs* modifies [572]*sociōs*. Should it instead be construed with [573]*uirī*, with punctuation as follows: ... *sociōsque fatīgat*: | '*praecipitēs uigilāte, uirī* ...'? • 574 How does *citī* fit into the syntax of the sentence? • 575 What does the *-que* after *tortōs* link? • 575 Parse *fūnīs*. • 576 Parse *sancte*. • 577 Identify and explain the case of *imperiō*. • 578–79 What type of subjunctive are *adsīs*, *iuuēs* and *ferās*? • 578 What class of word is *ō*? • 578 What kind of abl. is *caelō*? • 579 What kind of abl. is *uāgīnā*? • 580 What construction is *strictō ... ferrō*? • 581 What noun does *īdem* modify? • 582 Parse *dēseruēre*. • 583 What does the participle *adnīxī* agree with?

Style & Theme:

- What does [571]*subitīs ... umbrīs* refer to: Mercury's apparition? Or the *nox ātra* (cf. 570) that remains behind after his disappearance?
- What are the implications of Aeneas being panic-stricken ([571]*exterritus*)?
- What model of the self does the alliterative phrasing [572]*corripit ē somnō corpus* suggest?
- What are the rhetorical devices that support Aeneas' wake-up call (573–74)?
- Discuss Aeneas' references to and interactions with the supernatural in 574–77, with attention to the switch from 3rd-person descriptive ([576]*īnstimulat*) to 1st-person responsive ([576]*sequimur*, [577]*pārēmus*) to 2nd-person invocative ([578]*adsīs*, *iuuēs*, [579]*ferās*).

- How does metre reinforce theme in 574?
- Is Aeneas over-interpreting when he considers Mercury 'sent' from on high ([574]*aethere missus ab altō*)?
- What is the psychology behind Aeneas' iteration of *iterum* ([576]*iterum īnstimulat*, [577]*iterum pārēmus*)? To what extent is repeated obeisance of the same command a self-destructing idea?
- In what ways might the self-characterization of Aeneas and his men as [577]*ouantēs* after Dido's [543]*nautās ... ouantēs* be meaningful? Does Aeneas show any lingering hesitation at the moment of leaving?
- How does Virgil dramatize the moment at which Aeneas cuts the 'umbilical cord' that keeps him attached to Carthage (579–80)? (Consider, among other things, enjambment, word choice and *f*-alliteration.)
- How does [581]*īdem omnēs simul ārdor habet* convey the sense of a unified collective response of passionate intensity?
- What does Virgil achieve with the hyperbole [582]*latet sub classibus aequor*?
- In what way does metre reinforce action in 583?

Figs 65 and 66 Illustrations of Aeneas' outlook at lines 361 (left) and 576 (right) (created using Copilot).

➢ Compare Aeneas' emotional and mental state at line 361 (Fig. 65) and line 576 (Fig. 66).

584–629: Lady Vengeance

584–594: *Aeneas at Large!*

et iam prīma nouō spargēbat lūmine terrās
Tīthōnī croceum linquēns Aurōra cubīle.
rēgīna ē speculīs ut prīmum albēscere lūcem
uīdit et aequātīs classem prōcēdere uēlīs,
lītoraque et uacuōs sēnsit sine rēmige portūs,
terque quaterque manū pectus percussa decōrum
flāuentīsque abscissa comās 'prō Iuppiter! ībit
hic,' ait 'et nostrīs inlūserit aduena rēgnīs?
nōn arma expedient tōtāque ex urbe sequentur,
dīripientque ratēs aliī nāuālibus? īte,
ferte citī flammās, date tēla, impellite rēmōs!

Grammar & Syntax: 584 What noun does *prīma* modify? • 584 Identify and explain the tense of *spargēbat*. • 584 What kind of abl. is *nouō ... lūmine*? • 585 What noun does *croceum* modify? • 586 What is the main verb of the sentence starting with *rēgīna*? • 586 What are the two verbs of the temporal subordinate clause introduced by *ut prīmum*? • 587 What are the two subj. accusatives and what are the two infinitives of the indirect statement governed by *uīdit*? • 587 What does the *et* after *uīdit* link? • 588 What do the *-que* after *līitora* and the *et* after *līitoraque* link? • 588 What are the two subj. accusatives and what is the infinitive of the indirect statement governed by *sēnsit*? • 589 What kind of abl. is *manū*? • 589–90 Identify and explain the case of *pectus* and *comās*. • 589 What noun does *decōrum* modify? • 590 What noun does *flāuentīs* agree with? • 590 What does the *-que* after *flāuentīs* link? • 590 What is the sense of *prō*? • 591 What noun does *hic* agree with? • 591 Identify and explain the case of *nostrīs ... rēgnīs*. • 591 Parse *inlūserit*. • 591 Parse *aduena*. • 592–93 What is the subject of *expedient* and *sequentur*, and what is the tense of *expedient*, *sequentur* and *dīripient*? • 593 What kind of abl. is *nāuālibus*? • 593–94 Identify the four imperatives.

Style & Theme:

- In what ways does the allusion to the myth of Aurora and Tithonus (584–85) interact with the surrounding narrative?
- What is the thematic point of the enormous hyperbaton [584]*prīma* ... |[585] ... *Aurōra*?
- How does Virgil use syntax and word order to dramatize the moment when Dido catches sight of the departing fleet (586–91)?

- How are we to visualize [587]*aequātīs classem prōcēdere uēlīs*?
- What rhetorical emphasis does the hyperbaton [591]*hic ... aduena* achieve?
- What is the psychology behind [591]*inlūserit*?
- What does the initial use of connectives (and subsequent lack thereof) contribute to Dido's outburst about the absence of a communal response in 592–94, and what does the switch from 3rd-person plural verbs to imperatives contribute?

Fig. 67 *Dido, in Despair* (6 February 1801). Hand-coloured etching. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/456933001

'Ah, where, & ah where, is my gallant Sailor gone?
He's gone to Fight the Frenchmen, for George upon the Throne
He's gone to Fight ye Frenchmen, t'loose t'other Arm & Eye
And left me with the old Antiques, to lay me down, & Cry.'

➢ A satirical print of 1801 uses the Dido-Aeneas affair to ridicule the affair between Lady Emma Hamilton (1765–1815) and Horatio Nelson (1758–1805), sailing off to fight Napoleon (Hamilton's husband, Sir William Hamilton, slumbers behind her) (Fig. 67). What makes Virgil's tragedy of Dido an attractive point of reference for later authors and artists? Discuss with reference to Fig. 67 or any other such instance of reception.

595–606: *Missed Opportunities: When the Ships Have Sailed...*

quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem īnsānia mūtat? 595
īnfēlīx Dīdō, nunc tē facta impia tangunt?
tum decuit, cum scēptra dabās. ēn dextra fidēsque,
quem sēcum patriōs aiunt portāre penātēs,
quem subiīsse umerīs cōnfectum aetāte parentem!
nōn potuī abreptum dīuellere corpus et undīs 600
spargere? nōn sociōs, nōn ipsum absūmere ferrō
Ascanium patriīsque epulandum pōnere mēnsīs?
uērum anceps pugnae fuerat fortūna. fuisset:
quem metuī moritūra? facēs in castra tulissem,
implēssemque forōs flammīs nātumque patremque 605
cum genere exstīnxem, mēmet super ipsa dedissem.

Grammar & Syntax: 597 What has to be notionally supplied with *tum decuit* to complete the thought? • 597 What is the force of the imperfect *dabās*? • 597 What is the verb of the sentence *ēn dextra fidēsque*? • 598–99 What is the antecedent of *quem* (2x)? Why are the relative pronouns in the accusative? • 599 Identify and explain the case of *umerīs*. • 599 What kind of abl. is *aetāte*? • 600 What are the four supplementary infinitives governed by *potuī* and how are they coordinated? • 600 What kind of abl. is *undīs*? • 601 What noun does *ipsum* modify? • 602 Parse *epulandum* and identify the construction it is a part of. • 603 What kind of clause is *uērum anceps pugnae fuerat fortūna*? • 603 Explain the tense and mood of *fuisset*. • 604 Parse *moritūra*. • 604–6 What kind of subjunctive are *tulissem*, *implēssem*, *exstīnxem* and *dedissem*? • What do the *-que* after *nātum* and the *-que* after *patrem* link? • 606 Parse *mēmet*.

Style & Theme:

- Analyse the dynamic built into the tricolon of questions that Virgil uses to give rhetorical expression to Dido coming to her senses at 595.
- What is the rhetorical force of Dido's self-apostrophe as [596]*īnfēlīx Dīdō*?
- What (and whose) are the [596]*facta impia* that now affect Dido?
- What moment(s) does Dido refer to with [597]*tum decuit*, *cum scēptra dabās*?
- How would you characterize Dido's rhetorical take on key elements of the Aeneas legend in 597–99? How does she handle the paradox that, from her point of view, his reputation for paternal loyalty (= instantiations of *fidēs* and *pietās*) is outstanding, but his conduct

towards her is despicable (= instantiations of *perfidia* and *impietās*)?

- What is the rhetorical force of the interjection [597]*ēn*?
- [598]*aiunt*: who says what?
- From where does Dido draw inspiration for her savage revenge fantasies (600–2)? (Cf. Figs 68 and 69.)
- What does the indicative [603]*fuerat*, where a subjunctive might have been expected, add to Dido's counterfactual desire for a historic battle with Aeneas?
- Unpack the logic behind Dido's use of the perfect tense with a future participle in [604]*quem metuī moritūra?*
- Discuss the (paradoxical?) imagery ([604]*facēs*, [605]*flammīs*, [606]*exstīnxem*) Dido uses to imagine her lost chance to destroy Aeneas, his family and his people.

Fig. 68 Detail from René Boyvin, *Medea kills her brother Absyrtus and throws his body parts into the sea* (1563). After drawing by Léonard Thiry. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200165419

Fig. 69 Antonio Tempesta, *Procne shows the head of Itys to Tereus* (1608–1638). Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200263092

Illustration of Ovid, *Metamorphōsēs* 6.636–52. The Latin reads: 'Procne kills Itys [= left background] and offers him to Tereus to be eaten [= right foreground]'.

➢ What is the cultural logic behind the frequent occurrence of extreme violence in Greek myth, not least in family settings (cf. Figs 68 and 69)?

607–614: *Phone Call with the Universe*

Sōl, quī terrārum flammīs opera omnia lūstrās,
tūque hārum interpres cūrārum et cōnscia Iūnō,
nocturnīsque Hecatē triuiīs ululāta per urbēs
et Dīrae ultrīcēs et dī morientis Elissae
accipite haec, meritumque malīs aduertite nūmen
et nostrās audīte precēs. sī tangere portūs
īnfandum caput ac terrīs adnāre necesse est,
et sīc fāta Iouis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:

Grammar & Syntax: 607 On what noun does the gen. *terrārum* depend? • 607 Parse *lūstrās*. • 608 What does the *et* link? • 609 What kind of abl. is *nocturnīs ... triuiīs*? • 610 Parse *morientis*. • 611 What does *haec* refer to? • 611 How is *malīs* best construed? As dat. with *aduertite*, abl. with *meritum*, or both? • 612 What kind of conditional sequence does *sī* introduce? What is the apodosis? • 613 What is the syntactical function of *īnfandum caput*? • 613 What does *ac* link? • 613 Identify and explain the case of *terrīs*.

Style & Theme:

- Who are the divinities whom Dido invokes in 607–12? Do they form a coherent set? What is the gender distribution?
- The last time Dido mentioned Juno, she questioned the goddess' commitment to justice (370–71*iam iam nec maxima Iūnō | nec Sāturnius haec oculīs pater aspicit aequīs*): does she continue to hold Juno to account here? What precisely is meant by 608*hārum interpres cūrārum et cōnscia*?
- In what ways does the earlier simile involving the powers of divine retribution (473*ultrīcēs ... sedent in līmine Dīrae*) serve as precursor to Dido's active summoning of them here (610 *Dīrae ultrīcēs*)?
- Who are 'the gods of dying Elissa' (610*dī morientis Elissae*)?
- What is the rhetorical impact of the alliterative tricolon of imperatives (611*accipite* – 611*aduertite* – 612*audīte*)?
- How does the idea of merit that Dido invokes (611*meritum ... nūmen*) work?
- How does Dido use conditional logic to position herself vis-à-vis historical necessity (613*necesse est*), the 614*fāta Iouis*, and the force of teleology (614*hic terminus haeret*) in 612–14, to gain a measure of control over the future?

Fig. 70 Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/1498–1543), design for a stained-glass window with Terminus. Pen and ink and brush, grey wash, watercolour, over preliminary chalk drawing, 31.5 × 25 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel. From Christian Müller, Stephan Kemperdick, Maryan Ainsworth, et al. (2006), *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515–1532*, Munich. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Design_for_a_Stained_Glass_Window_with_Terminus,_by_Hans_Holbein_the_Younger.jpg

- Legend has it that when the Romans tried to clear a site on the Capitol of prior religious claims for a temple dedicated to Jupiter, only the god Terminus refused to budge (hence his motto *concēdō nūllī*: 'I yield to no-one'; see Fig. 70). The Romans interpreted the refusal favourably: 'the fact that the seat of Terminus was not moved, and that of all the gods he alone was not called away from the place consecrated to him, meant that the whole kingdom would be firm and steadfast' (Livy 1.55.4–5). What does it say about the degree of insight into the workings of history Dido has now acquired that she can allude to key aspects of Roman imperial ideology?

615–621: *Woe Betide Aeneas!*

at bellō audācis populī uexātus et armīs,
fīnibus extorris, complexū āuulsus Iūlī
auxilium implōret uideatque indigna suōrum
fūnera; nec, cum sē sub lēgēs pācis inīquae
trādiderit, rēgnō aut optātā lūce fruātur,
sed cadat ante diem mediāque inhumātus harēnā.
haec precor, hanc uōcem extrēmam cum sanguine fundō.

Grammar & Syntax: 615 What is the main verb of the sentence starting with *at*? • 615 What does the *et* after *uexātus* link? • 616 Identify and explain the case of *fīnibus*. • 616 Parse *extorris*. • 616 What kind of abl. is *complexū*? • 617 Parse *implōret*. • 617 What is the acc. obj. of *uideat*? • 617 What noun does *indigna* modify? • 618 What is the function and meaning of *cum*? • 619 Parse *trādiderit*. • 619 Identify and explain the case of *rēgnō* and *lūce*. • 620 What is the verb that needs to be supplied with *mediā ... inhumātus harēnā*? • 620 What does the *-que* after *mediā* link?

Style & Theme:

- In 615–29, Dido expresses a wish-list of disasters that could befall Aeneas within the parameters set by fate. What are they, and in which order does Dido enumerate them? What are the key themes involved (think of physical and emotional trauma, of harm to both Aeneas himself and his nearest and dearest, of both personal and political distress, in this life and beyond)?
- What events in the second half of the *Aeneid* might the curses in 615–18[a] help shape?
- What is the rhetorical force of the particle [615]*at* in Dido's reasoning with the divine powers she has summoned?
- Who is the [615]*audāx populus*? What are the connotations of the attribute *audāx*?
- How does word order enact meaning in [616]*complexū āuulsus Iūlī*?
- How does Dido weaponize key terms of Roman political culture to curse into existence humiliation for Aeneas in [618–19]*cum sē sub lēgēs pācis inīquae | trādiderit*? What are the 'politics of peace' she envisions?

- What renders the idea of premature death and lack of burial (620) particularly shocking?
- What renders the idea of 'last words signed in blood' ([621]*hanc uōcem extrēmam cum sanguine fundō*) so powerful?

Fig. 71 Franz Valentin Durmer (1776–1835), *Pallas Evander's Son Killed by Turnus*. After painting by Angelica Kauffmann. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200187272

➢ The Engraving in Fig. 71 illustrates *Aeneid* 11.72–77 (the loose translation in German hexameters at centre left reads: 'Now Aeneas took two robes decorated with gold and purple, wherewith he covered the young man as a final act of respect and enveloped his hair ah! about to blaze up'). Virgil is explicit that these robes were made by Dido (72–75: 'Aeneas brought forth two robes, stiff with gold and purple, *which Sidonian Dido*, delighting in the toil, *had once herself with her own hands wrought for him...*'). What does Dido's reappearance at Aeneas' lowest moment mean for the *Aeneid*'s overall vision of the world?

622–629: *Spawning Retribution*

tum uōs, ō Tyriī, stirpem et genus omne futūrum
exercēte odiīs, cinerīque haec mittite nostrō
mūnera. nūllus amor populīs nec foedera suntō.
exoriāre aliquis nostrīs ex ossibus ultor, 625
quī face Dardaniōs ferrōque sequāre colōnōs,
nunc, ōlim, quōcumque dabunt sē tempore uīrēs.
lītora lītoribus contrāria, fluctibus undās
imprecor, arma armīs: pugnent ipsīque nepōtēsque.'

Grammar & Syntax: 622 What case is *uōs*? • 623 Why is *cinerī ... nostrō* in the dative? • 623 What does the *-que* after *cinerī* link? • 623 What noun does *haec* modify? • 624 Parse *suntō*. • 625 Parse *exoriāre*. • 626 What does the *-que* after *ferrō* link? • 626 Parse *sequāre*. • 627 What is the temporal reference of *ōlim* here? • 627 What noun does *quōcumque* modify? • 627 What is the subject of *dabunt*? • 628–29 Why are *lītoribus*, *fluctibus* and *armīs* in the dative? • 629 What type of subjunctive is *pugnent*?

Style & Theme:

- How are we to imagine Dido's communication with her people (622*uōs, ō Tyriī*)? How does this address to future generations of Carthaginians compare with her delusional orders at 593–94?
- Who is the referent of 622*stirpem et genus omne futūrum*? The Carthaginians or the Romans? How does this change the meaning of 623*exercēte*? Do such parallels as 1.6*... genus unde Latīnum* 'whence came the Latin race' or 8.628–29*illīc* [sc. *fēcerat īgnipotēns*] *genus omne futūrae | stirpis ab Ascaniō pugnātaque in ōrdine bella* 'there [= on the shield of Aeneas] had the Lord of Fire fashioned every generation of the stock to spring from Ascanius, and the wars they fought in their sequence' affect the reading of the passage here?
- How does Dido's concern with offerings to the deceased (in this case, herself) at 623–24*cinerī ... haec mittite nostrō | mūnera* square with Anna's dismissal at the outset that the dead are sentient or care about the doings of the living (34*id cinerem aut Mānīs crēdis cūrāre sepultōs?* 'Do you think that dust or buried shades give heed to that?')?
- Discuss Dido's veto of both 'passionate affection' (*amor*) and 'treaties' (*foedera*) between Carthaginians and Romans (624) as a distinctively autocratic blurring of the personal and the political.
- The Italian scholar Sebastiano Timpanaro considered Dido's direct address to/invocation of Hannibal (cf. Fig. 72) at 625 virtually

untranslatable (his argument is cited in full in the commentary, page 540): 'Something has to be sacrificed: either one wishes to bring out the character of a mysteriously indeterminate augury, which means rendering *exoriare* by the third person singular rather than the second person (" ... let some Avenger arise"); or one prefers to conserve the immediacy and directly evocative power of the second person singular, which means modifying somewhat, if not suppressing outright, the *aliquis* ("Arise, o Avenger, whoever you may be ..." ; "Arise, unknown Avenger ...")' What's your preference?

- What is the rhetorical force of the coincidence of *ex* as both prefix and preposition in [625]*exoriāre ... nostrīs ex ossibus*?
- How does word order reinforce theme in 626? Discuss with particular attention to the hyperbata *face ... ferrōque* and *Dardaniōs ... colōnōs*.
- What stylistic devices does Virgil use in 627 to heighten the ominous temporality of Dido's imprecation?
- Scan 629 and discuss the thematic implications of the metrical peculiarity.

Fig. 72 Charles Turner (1774–1857), *Hannibal as a child, swearing enmity to the Romans* (c. 1850). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hannibal_as_a_child,_accompanied_by_a_Roman_soldier.jpg

➢ How do 628–29 stylistically enact the lethal enmity between Carthaginians and Romans (cf. Fig. 72) that Dido here curses into being?

630–705: The End (Protracted)

630–641: *Enlisting the Nurse's Aid*

Haec ait, et partīs animum uersābat in omnīs,
inuīsam quaerēns quam prīmum abrumpere lūcem.
tum breuiter Barcēn nūtrīcem adfāta Sychaeī,
namque suam patriā antīquā cinis āter habēbat:
'Annam, cāra mihī nūtrīx, hūc siste sorōrem;
dīc corpus properet fluuiālī spargere lymphā,
et pecudēs sēcum et mōnstrāta piācula dūcat:
sīc ueniat, tūque ipsa piā tege tempora uittā.
sacra Iouī Stygiō, quae rīte incepta parāuī,
perficere est animus, fīnemque impōnere cūrīs
Dardaniīque rogum capitis permittere flammae.'
sīc ait. illa gradum studiō celerābat anīlī.

Grammar & Syntax: 630 Parse *partīs*. • 630 What does the imperfect *uersābat* express? • 631 What noun does *inuīsam* modify? • 631 What is the sense of *quam* here? • 631 What meaning does *lūcem* have here? • 632 How does *nūtrīcem ... Sychaeī* fit into the sentence? • 632 What needs to be supplied with *adfāta* to complete the verb? • 633 What noun is notionally understood with *suam*? • 633 What is the acc. obj. of *habēbat*? • 634 What case is *cāra ... nūtrīx*? • 634 What kind of dat. is *mihī*? • 635 What construction does *dīc* govern? • 635 Parse *properet*. • 635 What noun does *fluuiālī* modify? • 635 What is the acc. obj. of *spargere*? • 636 What does the first, what does the second *et* link? • 637 What type of subjunctive is *ueniat*? • 637 Is *ipsa* best understood as nom. f. sg. or acc. n. pl.? • 638 Identify and explain the case of *Iouī Stygiō*. Who is 'Stygian Jove'? • 638 Parse *incepta*. • 639 What does the *-que* after *fīnem* link? • 640 What is the sense of *Dardaniī ... capitis*? • 641 What does the imperfect *celerābat* express?

Style & Theme:

- Discuss the blend of emotional manipulation and deceit that enables Dido to recruit Barce as an unwitting collaborator in her plans for vengeful suicide.
- What is the rhetorical point of the anastrophe + hyperbaton [630]*partīs ... in omnīs*?
- How does Virgil use word order to enhance shock value in 631?

- Why does Virgil introduce Barce, the nurse of Dido's dead husband Sychaeus, at this point in the narrative (632–33)? Cf. Sharrock (2021: 106): 'Servius, on 4.42, says that Cyrene and Barce were queens who gave their names to these individual cities (DS+S ad 4.42). So this Phoenician slave (or, at least, person who lived, almost certainly as a slave, for a substantial part of her life in Tyre) somehow manages to be the eponym of an African city. Has she come full circle? Or is her name a coincidence which elegantly foreshadows the vengeance that will arise from Dido's ashes?'
- What insights might the design of 634 yield into how Dido feels about her relationships with Barce and Anna?
- What is the significance of Dido's use of the attribute *pius* with regard to the headband she commands Barce to wear? ([637]... *piā tege tempora uittā*)? What are the wider implications of Dido using ritual language associated with death for her religious role in the *Aeneid* (and Roman history more generally)?

Fig. 73 Impression of Barce with a piously worn headband (created using Copilot).

➢ Discuss Barce (cf. Fig. 73) as a symbol of Dido's past and Carthage's future.

642–650: *Final Final Steps*

at trepida et coeptīs immānibus effera Dīdō
sanguineam uoluēns aciem, maculīsque trementīs
interfūsa genās et pallida morte futūrā,
interiōra domūs inrumpit līmina, et altōs
cōnscendit furibunda rogōs ēnsemque reclūdit
Dardanium, nōn hōs quaesītum mūnus in ūsūs.
hīc, postquam Īliacās uestēs nōtumque cubīle
cōnspexit, paulum lacrimīs et mente morāta
incubuitque torō dīxitque nouissima uerba:

Grammar & Syntax: 642–47 What are the three main verbs in the five-line sentence [642]*at* ... [647]*... ūsūs*? • 642 What kind of abl. is *coeptīs immānibus*? • 643 What does the *-que* after *maculīs* link? • 643 What noun does the participle *trementīs* agree with? • 644 Identify and explain the case of *genās*. • 644 What kind of abl. is *morte futūrā*? • 645 Parse *domūs*. • 645 What noun does *altōs* modify? • 647 How does *nōn hōs quaesītum mūnus in ūsūs* fit into the sentence? • 647 What noun does *hōs* modify? • 648 What class of word is *hīc*? • 649 What kind of abl. is *lacrimīs et mente*? • 650 What do the *-que* after *incubuit* and *dīxit* coordinate? • 650 Identify and explain the case of *torō*.

Style & Theme:

- How does Virgil dramatize Dido's state of mind, physical appearance and actions during the final preparations for her suicide (642–47)? Pay particular attention to the sequence of adjectives and participles used to describe her (*trepida*, *effera*, *uoluēns*, *interfūsa*, *pallida*, *furibunda*).
- How does Virgil use colour to enhance the vividness of his portrayal of [642]*effera Dīdō* (the last time her name occurs in the book)? (Cf. [643]*sanguineam ... aciem*, [643]*maculīs*, [644]*pallida*.)
- How are we to interpret Dido's resemblance to Cleopatra in flight after Actium on the shield of Aeneas (cf. [8.709–10]*illam inter caedēs pallentem morte futūrā | fēcerat īgnipotēns* 'Amid the carnage, the Lord of Fire had fashioned her pale at the coming of death')?
- Explore the resonances of [645]*interiōra domūs inrumpit līmina*, by which Dido returns to her inner sanctum, with the geopolitical scope of her

curse (625*exoriāre ... nostrīs ex ossibus*).

- Was the Dardanian sword mentioned in 646–47 a gift from Aeneas to Dido or vice versa?
- How does Virgil highlight Dido's inner conflict, emotional pain and defiance of fate in 648–50?
- For a recording of 4.642–54 set to music by Jacques Arcadelt (1507–1568), 'At trepida et coeptīs immānibus effera Dīdō', see https://dcc.dickinson.edu/vergil-aeneid/musical-settings/arcadelt. Does the music capture Virgil's pathos? (See further Wilson 2024.)

Fig. 74 *Publij Virgilij Maronis Opera* (1502), woodcut illustrations by Sebastian Brant. Synoptic view of the suicide sequence: Anna, Dido and Iris are labelled; the couch with Aeneas' effigy is placed on top of the burning pyre; the woman between Anna and Dido, who are marked as sisters by their streaming hair, is most likely Barce. Digital image from Heidelberg University Library (detail), public domain, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2443#0472

➢ Compare Brant's visualization of the final sequence (Fig. 74) with Virgil's narrative.

651–658: *Auto-Obituary*

‘dulcēs exuuiae, dum fāta deusque sinēbat,
accipite hanc animam mēque hīs exsoluite cūrīs.
uīxī et quem dederat cursum fortūna perēgī,
et nunc magna meī sub terrās ībit imāgō.
urbem praeclāram statuī, mea moenia uīdī, 655
ulta uirum poenās inimīcō ā frātre recēpī;
fēlīx, heu nimium fēlīx, sī līttora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carīnae!’

Grammar & Syntax: 651 What case is *dulcēs exuuiae*? • 652 What kind of abl. is *hīs ... cūrīs*? • 653 What is the antecedent of *quem*? • 653 Should *fortūna* be capitalized? • 654 What noun does *magna* modify? • 654 On what noun does the genitive *meī* depend? • 654 Parse *ībit*. • 656 Parse *ulta*. • 656 What is the sense of *uirum*? • 657 What form of *esse* needs to be supplied with *fēlīx*, *heu nimium fēlīx*? • 657 What type of condition does *sī* introduce? • 658 What noun does *nostra* modify?

Style & Theme:

- What is the emotional force of Dido’s address to the (personified) relics (651*exuuiae*) of her time with Aeneas? Despair? Longing? Bitterness? Grief? All of the above? And what are the theological implications of her glossing 651*dulcēs* with 651*dum fāta deusque sinēbat*? Which specific god (if any) does she have in mind alongside fate?
- In 653–56, Dido composes her own epitaph. What are the contents, and what is the form? What does the contrast in connectives (a polysyndetic tricolon in 653–54, an asyndetic tricolon in 655–56) add? What achievements is Dido proud of? Does Aeneas figure in her CV?
- How would you characterize Dido’s understanding of the life she has lived and the conception of her ‘self’ (pre- and post-mortem) in 653–54? What, specifically, are the implications of *magna meī... imāgō* (enhanced by alliteration and hyperbaton)?
- What theology does Dido endorse for herself with 653*quem dederat cursum fortūna perēgī*?
- How does Virgil use word order and chiasmus to reinforce the impact of 655?
- Did Dido truly achieve fitting vengeance for her brother’s murder of Sychaeus (656*uirum ulta*, *poenās* ... *recēpī*)? Does she inflate her resume? (Compare and contrast the retribution exacted by other characters, such as Medea, who is allusively invoked in the following

lines.) Or is this moment of retrospective satisfaction mainly a foil for the unfinished business she goes on to mention in a moment (659*moriēmur inultae*)?

- What do the intertextual shades of Medea and Ariadne add to her counterfactual exclamation in 657–58? (Cf. Euripides, *Medea* 1–2 'Would that the Argo had never winged its way to the land of Colchis through the dark blue Symplegades!'; and Catullus 64.171–72 *Iuppiter omnipotēns, utinam nē tempore prīmō | Cnōsia Cecropiae tetigissent lītora puppēs* 'Almighty Jupiter, I would the Attic ships had never touched Cnosian shores'.)
- What idea does the adverb 657*nimium* express? (The idea recurs at the very centre of the *Aeneid* when Anchises comments on the premature death of Augustus' nephew and heir apparent Marcellus: 6.870–71 ... *nimium uōbīs Rōmāna prōpāgō | uīsa potēns, superī, propria haec sī dōna fuissent* 'Too powerful, O gods above, you deemed the Roman people, had these gifts [= Marcellus] of yours been lasting.')

Fig. 75 Jacobus Gallus (1550–1591), 'Dulcēs Exuviae' (651–54 set to music), from **Moralia Jacobi Handl Carnioli, musici praestantissimi, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinnata, atque tam seriis quam festivis cantibus voluptati humanae accommodata, et nunc primum in lucem apud Belgas edita* (1603). See Skei (1976) for context and, for a recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=37kAXMbr5ss.

**Madrigals by the most distinguished composer Jacob Handl of Carniola, arranged for five, six, and eight voices, set to both serious and festive music for human pleasure, and now published for the first time in the Low Countries* (early modern titles can be a mouthful).

➢ Can you jazz Gallus' 'Dulcēs Exuviae' (Fig. 75) up a bit?

659–666: *Fire and Fame: Dido's Death Notice*

dīxit, et ōs impressa torō 'moriēmur inultae,
sed moriāmur' ait. 'sīc, sīc iuuat īre sub umbrās.
hauriat hunc oculīs ignem crūdēlis ab altō
Dardanus et nostrae sēcum ferat ōmina mortis.'
dīxerat, atque illam media inter tālia ferrō
conlāpsam aspiciunt comitēs, ēnsemque cruōre
spūmantem sparsāsque manūs. it clāmor ad alta
ātria: concussam bacchātur Fāma per urbem.

Grammar & Syntax: 659 Identify and explain the case of *ōs*. • 659–60 Parse *moriēmur* and *moriāmur*. • 659 Parse *inultae*. • 661–62 What type of subjunctive are *hauriat* and *ferat*? • 661 What does *hunc ... ignem* refer to? • 661 What noun does *crūdēlis* modify? • 662 What noun does *nostrae* modify? • 663 What kind of abl. is *ferrō*? • 664 What are the three acc. objects of *aspiciunt*? • 664 What does the *-que* after *ēnsem* link? • 665 Parse *it*. • 666 What noun does *concussam* modify?

Style & Theme:

- How would you describe Dido's moment of tender intimacy with the couch (659*ōs impressa torō*) just before her suicide? (Cf. 650*incubuit ... torō*, picking up on 82–83*strātīs ... relictīs incubat*.)
- Dido feels she dies 'unavenged' (659*inultae*). Does she stay unavenged?
- Dido's final words eerily echo words of Aeneas during the fall of Troy (2.353*... moriāmur et in media arma ruāmus* 'Let us die, and rush into the battle's midst!', 670*... numquam omnēs hodiē moriēmur inultī* 'Never this day shall we all die unavenged!'). What is the significance of these intratextual reminiscences?
- 660*sub umbrās* are the final two words of the *Aeneid*. In what ways does the end resonate here (and vice versa)?
- How does word order in 661–62 contrast and interrelate Dido and Aeneas?
- 663–64*illam media inter tālia ferrō | conlāpsam* indicates that Dido stabbed herself 'midway' (*media inter tālia*) through her speech. When, precisely, does this happen?
- What is the rhetorical tone of Dido referring to Aeneas as 661–62*crūdēlis ... | Dardanus*?

- To what extent do Dido's final words [662](*nostrae*) ... *ōmina mortis* 'harbinger of death' capture what she has become? And is *nostrae* royal or genuine plural?
- Who are Dido's [664]*comitēs*?
- How does the rhetorical design of [666]*concussam bacchātur Fāma per urbem* enhance the image of *Fāma* rampaging through Carthage?

Lib. 5
Postquam iam cineres flammam preßere furentis
Didus, Trinacriam triſtior hoſpes abit
Hinc cogit naues incendere Troiadas Iris.
Anchiſæ faciunt dum pia iuſta viri.

Fig. 76 Crispijn van de Passe (I), *The Death of Dido* (*Speculum Aeneidis Virgilianae*) (1612). Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200384381

The two Latin distichs at the bottom read:

Postquam iam cinerēs flammam pressēre furentis
Dīdūs, Trīnacriam trīstior hospes abit
Hinc cōgit nāuēs incendere Trōiadas Īris.
Anchīsae faciunt dum pia iūsta virī.

[After the ashes had just quenched the fire of raging Dido, the guest departs profoundly saddened for Sicily. Whence Iris compels the Trojan women to burn the ships, while the men perform dutiful funeral rites for Anchises.]

➢ In what ways does Crispijn van de Passe's synoptic vision of the end of Book 4 and key events in Book 5 (Fig. 76) visualize Dido's jussive that Aeneas carry with him the portents of death ([662]*ōmina mortis*)?

667–674: *Pyromania*: *From Pyre Panic to Foe-Fire Frenzy*

lāmentīs gemitūque et fēmineō ululātū
tēcta fremunt, resonat magnīs plangōribus aethēr,
nōn aliter quam sī immissīs ruat hostibus omnis
Karthāgō aut antīqua Tyros, flammaeque furentēs 670
culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deōrum.
audiit exanimis trepidōque exterrita cursū
unguibus ōra soror foedāns et pectora pugnīs
per mediōs ruit, ac morientem nōmine clāmat:

Grammar & Syntax: 667–68 What are the differences in meaning between the four nouns expressing modes of lamentation (*lāmentīs*, *gemitū*, *ululātū*, *plangōribus*)? • 669 What type of conditional sequence does *sī* introduce? • 669 What construction is *immissīs ... hostibus*? • 669–71 What type of subjunctive are *ruat* and *uoluāntur*? • 670 What does the *-que* after *flammae* link? • 671 What phrases do the two *per* govern? • 671 On what noun does the genitive *deōrum* depend? • 672 Parse *audiit*. What is its subject? • 672 What does the *-que* after *trepidō* link? • 674 What is the acc. obj. of *clāmat*?

Style & Theme:

- How do verse design and word choice in 667–68 interrelate the domestic and the cosmic response to Dido's suicide?
- What does the fifth-foot hiatus [667]*fēmĭnĕō | ŭlŭlātū* add to the soundscape of wailing? This is the third instance of howling in *Aeneid* 4, after [168]*summō ... ululārunt uertice nymphae* and [609]*nocturnīs ... Hecatē triuiīs ululāta per urbēs*: do they add up to a pattern?
- What does the intertextual reminiscence from Pyrrhus' attack on Priam add to the thematic economy of the passage? (See 2.486–88: *at domus interior gemitū miserōque tumultū | miscētur, penitusque cauae plangōribus aedēs | fēmineīs ululant; ferit aurea sīdera clāmor* 'But within, amid shrieks and woeful uproar, the house is in confusion, and at its heart the vaulted halls ring with women's wails; the din strikes the golden stars.')
- In *Iliad* 22.405–11, Homer describes reactions to the death of Hector, including a simile that compares the mourning for the one fallen warrior to the mourning during the sack of the entire city ('...his mother tore her hair and from her flung far her gleaming veil and uttered a cry exceeding loud at sight of her son. And a piteous groan did his father utter, and around them the people were given over to wailing and groaning throughout the city. *To this was it most like, as if all beetling Ilios were utterly burning with fire*'). How does awareness of Virgil's Homeric model increase the paradigmatic significance of the passage?

- What is the rhetorical force of the iteration of [671]*perque*?
- How does Virgil use syntax and word order in 672–74 to dramatize Anna's reaction to the news of Dido's suicide?

Fig. 77 Barbara van den Broeck, *The Capture of Carthage* (*146* BCE) (c. 1585). After drawing by Chrispijn van den Broeck. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/20015726

The engraving features three captions, in Latin (left), French (centre), and Dutch (right). The Latin one consists of three hexameters:

Prīmā lūce ferās dīr[a]e Carthāginis arcēs
mārtius armātā vīcit prope littora turmā
Scīpiō, et oblātum metit īnsatiābilis agmen.

At dawn Mars-like Scipio conquered the fierce citadels of dread Carthage with an armed squadron near the shore and insatiably mows down the opposing ranks.

Fun Fact: The third line is lifted verbatim from Silius Italicus, *Pūnica* 13.217–18 (*ruit obuia in arma*) | <u>*Scīpiō et oblātum metit īnsatiābilis agmen*</u> 'Scipio (rushes to meet their onset) and insatiably mows down the opposing ranks' (from the capture of Capua during the Second Punic War, 211 BCE). The Scipio in question is Scipio Africanus Maior. The Scipio in the engraving is Scipio Africanus (Aemilianus) Minor, who sacked Carthage during the Third Punic War in 146 BCE.

➢ The simile at 669–71 compares grief-stricken Carthage to the sack of Tyre (Dido's native city) by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE and the sack of Carthage by Scipio Aemilianus in 146 BCE (cf. Fig. 77). Explore the historical logic behind Virgil's use of Dido's death as proxy and prefiguration of the historical deaths of her cities.

675–681: *An(n)agnorisis*

‘hoc illud, germāna, fuit? mē fraude petēbas? 675
hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignēs āraeque parābant?
quid prīmum dēserta querar? comitemne sorōrem
sprēuistī moriēns? eadem mē ad fāta uocāssēs,
īdem ambās ferrō dolor atque eadem hōra tulisset.
hīs etiam strūxī manibus, patriōsque uocāuī 680
uōce deōs, sīc tē ut positā crūdēlis abessem?

Grammar & Syntax: 675–76 Explain the syntax of the three *hoc*. (NB: they are not all in the same case.) • 675 What does *hoc* refer to, and what does *illud* refer to? What is subject, what is predicate? • 675 What kind of abl. is *fraude*? • 675–76 Identify and explain the tense of *petēbas* and *parābant*. • 676 What verb needs to be understood with *hoc rogus iste mihi*? • 677 What type of subjunctive is *querar*? • 677 How does *comitem* fit into the sentence? • 678 Parse *sprēuistī*. • 678 What noun does *eadem* modify? • 678–79 Identify and explain the tense and mood of *uocāssēs* and *tulisset*. • 679 Identify and explain the case of *ferrō*. • 680 What is the acc. obj. of *strūxī*? • 680 What noun does *patriōs* modify? • 681 What construction is *sīc tē ... positā*? • 681 What type of clause does *ut* introduce? • 681 Is *crūdēlis* nominative (referring to Anna), vocative (referring to Dido) or deliberately ambiguous (referring to both)?

Style & Theme:

- What is the overall design of Anna’s speech? Can you parcel it up into distinct parts? How would you describe Anna’s mental outlook at the start and its development over the course of the speech? How much is devoted to reproaching Dido, how much to self-blame?
- How many ‘formal triplets’ can you identify in 675–81, above and beyond the triple anaphora of [675–76]*hoc*?
- What is the rhetorical effect of the smorgasbord of demonstrative pronouns or adjectives in the opening part of Anna’s speech ([675]*hoc*, *illud*, [676]*hoc*, *iste*, *hoc*, [678]*eadem*, [679]*īdem*, *eadem*, [680]*hīs*)?
- What makes line 676 difficult to scan? What is the rhetorical effect?
- What is the psychology behind [677]*prīmum*?
- In 677–79, Anna blames Dido for proceeding to commit suicide by herself. How does she stylistically underscore the alternative

scenario of a double suicide? How seriously are we to take her counterfactual wishes?

- What is the rhetorical charge of [681]*crūdēlis*?

For visual representations of eye contact (or the absence thereof) between the two sisters, compare Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), *The Death of Dido* (Fig. 78), with, for instance Gerard de Lairesse (1641–1711), *Dood van Dido* ('The Death of Dido') (1668). Rijksmuseum, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200214690.

Fig. 78 Ferdinand Bol, *The Death of Dido* (ca. 1668-69). Oil on canvas, 169 x 167.5 cm, FB-103. Image courtesy of The Leiden Collection, New York.

➢ Aristotle defines 'anagnorisis' as the passage from ignorance to insight. Explore the cognitive and emotional state of Anna when she truly 'sees' her sister.

682–692: *Death in Progress*

exstīnxtī tē mēque, soror, populumque patrēsque
Sīdoniōs urbemque tuam. date uulnera lymphīs
abluam, et, extrēmus sī quis super hālitus errat,
ōre legam.' sīc fāta gradūs ēuāserat altōs,
sēmianimemque sinū germānam amplexa fouēbat
cum gemitū atque ātrōs siccābat ueste cruōrēs.
illa grauīs oculōs cōnāta attollere rūrsus
dēficit; īnfīxum strīdit sub pectore uulnus.
ter sēsē attollēns cubitōque adnīxa leuāuit,
ter reuolūta torō est oculīsque errantibus altō
quaesīuit caelō lūcem ingemuitque repertā.

Grammar & Syntax: 682 Parse *exstīnxtī*. • 682–83 What three thematic units do the four *-que* create? • 684–85 Identify and explain the tense and mood of *abluam* and *legam*. • 684 Parse *quis*. • 685 Parse *fāta*. • 686 *sēmianimem ... germānam* serves as acc. obj. of both *amplexa* and *fouēbat*: what is the technical term for this phenomenon? • 687 Identify and explain the tense of *fouēbat* and *siccābat*. • 691–92 What kind of abl. is *oculīs ... errāntibus*, and what kind is *altō ... caelō*? • 692 What (implied) noun goes with the participle *repertā* to complete the abl. abs.?

Style & Theme:

- What is the significance of the resonance of Dido's counterfactual desire [605–6]*nātumque patremque | cum genere* <u>*exstīnxem*</u> in 682–83? Whom and what, according to Anna, did Dido manage to 'extinguish'?
- What story does Anna's use of personal pronouns tell ([682]*tē mēque*, following on from [675]*mē*, [676]*mihī*, [678]*mē*, [681]*tē*?)
- Scholars debate how to construe [683–84]*date uulnera lymphīs | abluam...*: does *date* govern *abluam* (and [685]*legam*) (= 'bring me water to bathe her wounds', with *abluam* and *legam* in the present subjunctive), or do *date* and *abluam* (and *legam*) stand in asyndetic juxtaposition (= 'Bring...; I shall ...', with *abluam* and *legam* in the future indicative)? (A further difficulty is the apparent inversion in *date uulnera lymphīs*—lit. 'give the wounds to water'—rather than vice versa.) Should we perhaps assume that the syntactical oddities are expressive of Anna's disintegrating mental faculties?

- Discuss the rhetorical impact of the fact that the sisters are reduced to communicating with each other by groans (687*cum gemitū*; 692*ingemuit*).
- How do word order, verse design and stylistic devices in 688–92 help to dramatize and add pathos to Dido's reaction to Anna's presence?
- What are the implications of 689*īnfīxum strīdit sub pectore uulnus* recalling 67*et tacitum uīuit sub pectore uulnus*?
- What do the oblique references to the significance of Dido's name (= 'the wanderer') with 684*errat* and 691*oculīs ... errantibus* add to her final moments?

Fig. 79 Impression of The Last Breath (created using Copilot).

➢ Why is the 'last breath' (Fig. 79) so significant across different cultures?

693–699: *Merit-Based Admissions Only*

Tum Iūnō omnipotēns longum miserāta dolōrem
difficilīsque obitūs Īrim dēmīsit Olympō
quae luctantem animam nexōsque resolueret artūs.
nam quia nec fātō meritā nec morte perībat,
sed misera ante diem subitōque accēnsa furōre,
nōndum illī flāuum Prōserpina uertice crīnem
abstulerat Stygiōque caput damnāuerat Orcō.

Grammar & Syntax: 693 Explain the temporal aspect of *miserāta*. • 694 What does the *-que* after *difficilīs* link? • 694 Parse *obitūs*. • 694 What kind of abl. is *Olympō*? • 695 What does the *-que* after *nexōs* link? • 695 Why is *resolueret* in the subjunctive? • 696 What noun does *meritā* modify? • 696 What does the imperfect *perībat* express? • 697 What does the *-que* after *subitō* link? • 698 What kind of dative is *illī* and to whom does it refer? • 698 What kind of abl. is *uertice*? • 699 Parse *abstulerat* and *damnāuerat* and explain the tense. • 699 Identify and explain the case of *Stygiō ... Orcō*.

Style & Theme:

- The participle *miserāta* governs two noun phrases (*longum ... dolōrem* and *difficilīs ... obitūs*), as does the verb *resolueret* (*luctantem animam* and *nexōs ... artūs*). How do these four phrases relate to one another?
- What is the effect of the mythological apparatus here ([693]*Iūnō omnipotēns*: why that epithet here?; [694]*Īrim*, *Olympō*; [698]*Prōserpina*; [699]*Stygiō ... Orcō*; further, [700]*Īris*; [702]*Dītī*)?
- What may the attributes [693]*longum* and [694]*difficilīs* tell us about Juno's capacity for pity?
- What are we to make of Virgil's (unusual) choice of *obitus* in the plural ([694]*obitūs*) to refer to Dido's death?
- What is the effect of the repetition of key words or synonyms in the final sections of the poem ([695]*resolueret* ~ [703]*soluō*; [698]*uertice* ~ [699]*caput* ~ [702]*suprā caput*; [698]*crīnem* ~ [704]*crīnem*)?

Fig. 80 Pluto, Proserpina and Cerberus. Julie Hoffmann (1864), *Mythologie der Griechen und Römer für die reifere und gebildete weibliche Jugend* [*Mythology of the Greeks and Romans for the more mature and educated female youth*], Breslau. Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aidoneus_%26_Persephone.png

- How does Virgil turn Dido's suicide into the most striking assertion of (human and divine) agency and free will in the poem (696–97)? Discuss with reference to Proserpina's (cf. Fig. 80) refusal to pluck one of Dido's hairs (here assumed to be a requisite for entering the Underworld) since her suicide went against *fātum* and was unmerited, necessitating Juno's (and Iris') intervention.

700–705: *At the End of the Rainbow*

ergō Īris croceīs per caelum rōscida pennīs
mīlle trahēns uariōs aduersō sōle colōrēs
dēuolat et suprā caput astitit. 'hunc ego Dītī
sacrum iussa ferō tēque istō corpore soluō':
sīc ait et dextrā crīnem secat, omnis et ūnā
dīlāpsus calor atque in uentōs uīta recessit.

Grammar & Syntax: 700 What noun does *rōscida* modify? • 701 What noun do *mīlle* and *uariōs* agree with? • 702 Identify and explain the tense of *astitit*. • 702–3 What does Iris refer to with *hunc... | sacrum*? • 702 Identify and explain the case of *Dītī*. • 703 Parse *iussa*. What does it agree with? • 703 Whom does Iris refer to with *tē*? • 703 What kind of abl. is *istō corpore*? • 704 What noun needs to be supplied with *dextrā*? • 704 What noun does *omnis* modify? • 705 What needs to be supplied with *dīlāpsus*?

Style & Theme:

- 700–2 (*ergō ... dēuolat*): how does Virgil's verse design enact both the descent of Iris from Olympus to Earth and the simultaneous appearance of a rainbow?
- Explore Virgil's use of colour in this passage.
- What 'model(s) of the self' does the passage presuppose?
- How does word order and verse design in 704–5 dramatize the moment of Dido's death?
- Where is Dido at the end of her book? And is Juno in charge at the close (cf. Fig. 81, upper right hand corner)?

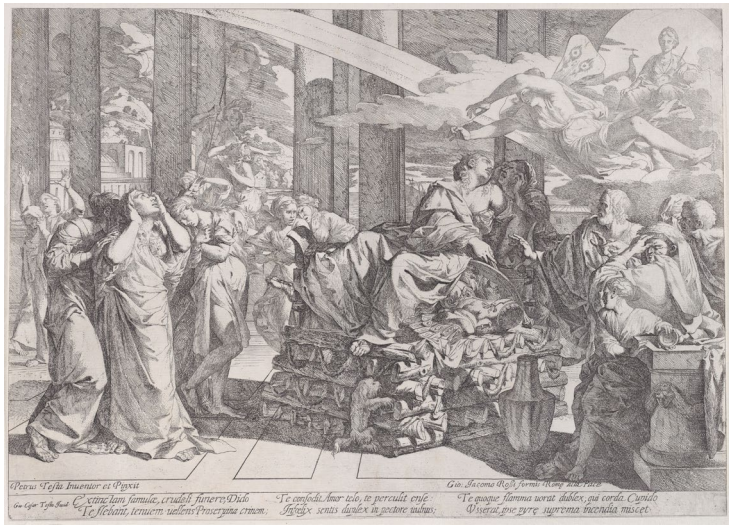
Petrus Testa Inuentor et Pyxit
Gio: Iacomo Rossi formis Romæ Ad Pasq.
Extinctam famulæ, crudeli funere Dido
Te flebant, tenuem uellens Proserpina crinem.
Te confodit Amor telo, te perculit ense
Infoelix sentis duplex in pectore uulnus;
Te quoque flamma uorat dublex, qui corda Cupido
Vsserat ipse pyræ suprema incendia miscet.

Fig. 81 Giovanni Cesare Testa (ca. 1630–1655; after Pietro Testa), *The suicide of Dido who reclines on a pyre in centre, surrounded by many figures* (1650–55). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund (1951), public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/400122

The six hexameters (with liberties in punctuation, spelling, grammar and theme) read:

> Extīnctam famulae, crūdēlī fūnere, Dīdō
> Tē flēbant tenuem uellēns Prōserpina crīnem.
> Tē cōnfōdit Amor tēlō, tē perculit ēnse
> Īnfoelīx sentīs duplex in pectore uulnus;
> Tē quoque flamma uorat dublex, quī corda Cupīdō
> Vsserat ipse pyrae suprēma incendia miscet.
>
> Your handmaidens were weeping for you, Dido, extinguished by a cruel death, with Proserpina plucking a wispy lock of your hair. Love pierced you right through with his arrow and struck you down with his sword; unhappy one, you feel a double wound in your chest. A double flame also devours you: the very Cupid who had scorched your heart now stirs up the funeral fires of your pyre.

- In forcing a rupture of *fātum*, 'Virgil's Dido has earned impossibility, the privilege of radically incoherent exceptionalism' (John Henderson). Discuss.

After the Tragedy, the Satyr Play: The Death of Dido and the Peeing Putto

DIDOOS DOOD,
Boertig in Hollandſche kleedy afgebeeld.
Onnoozle DIDO ſterft, van haar Galant verlaaten:
Zy heeft in 't geheel ernſt zich tót de dood bereid,
En drinkt, ſtellentlyk, taſch en ſpeetels afgeleid.
Hoe AENEA zwymt van vreugt, maar wat kan 't zuchten baaten?
ENEAS vlucht naar zee, en hoopt op béter kans.
Och, Vrouwtjes, vreucht u wel over de ontrouw van de Mans.
L.P.
LA MORT DE DIDON,
Repreſentée en burlesque, à la Hollandoiſe.
La pauvre DIDON meurt: ſon Amant l'abandonne.
Elle a mis tout en ordre avant de ſe tuer,
En quittant de ſang froid ſa bourſe et ſon clavier.
La Sœur s'eſanouit: mais qu'y faire, ma Bonne?
ENEE fuit, et vole à d'autres paſſe-tems.
Mesdames, gardez-vous des piéges des Galants.
H.J.R.

Fig. 82 Simon Fokke, *Didoos Dood, Boertig in Hollandsche kleedy afgebeeld / La Mort de Didon, Representée en burlesque, à la Hollandoise* (1758). After design by Cornelis Troost. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200886504

Text (with translation) of the Dutch and French at the bottom of Fig. 82

DIDOOS DOOD, Boertig in
Hollandsche kleedy afgebeeld.

Onnoozle DIDO sterst, van haar
Galant verlaaten:
Zy heest in goeden ernst zich tot de
dood bereid,
En eerst, ordentlyk, tasch en fleutels
afgeleid.
Zus ANNA zwymt van rouw: maar
wat kan't zuchten baaten?
ENEAS vlucht naar zee, en hoopt op
beter kans.
Och, Vrouwtjes! wacht u wel voor de
ontrouw van de Mans.

LA MORT DE DIDON, Representée
en burlesque, à la Hollandoise.

La pauvre DIDON meurt: son Amant
l'abandonne.
Elle a mis tout en ordre avant de se
túer,
en quittant de sang froid sa bourse et
son clavier.
La Soeur s'evanouit: mais qu'y faire,
ma Bonne?
ENEE fuit, et vole à d'autres passe-
tems.
Mesdames! gardez-vous des pièges
des Galants.

THE DEATH OF DIDO, depicted as
burlesque in Dutch dress

Innocent Dido dies, abandoned by
her lover;
She has solemnly prepared for death,
letting go of her purse and keys in
orderly fashion.
Sister Anna faints with mourning,
but what good can sighing do?
Aeneas flees to sea, hoping for a
better chance.
Oh ladies, beware man's
faithlessness!

THE DEATH OF DIDO, Presented as
burlesque, in the Dutch style.

Poor Dido dies: her Lover abandons
her.
She put everything in order before
killing herself,
Calmly leaving behind her purse and
her key.
Her sister faints: but what can be
done, my Dear?
AENEAS flees, and flies off to other
diversions.
Ladies! Beware the traps of Gallants.

COMMENTARY

Visual and Verbal Summary of *Aeneid* 1

AEOLVS IMMITTIT VENTOS IVNONE PRECANTE
SOLATVR VENEREM DICTIS PATER IPSE DOLENTEM
TROIANOSQ VAGOS LIBYCAS EXPELLIT IN ORAS
AENEAM RECIPIT PVLCHRA CARTHAGINE DIDO
CVI VENVS ASCANII SVB IMAGINE MITTIT AMOREM

Fig. 83 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Neptune quieting the storm, 'quos ego'* (*Aeneid* 1.135) (1515–1516). After design by Rafaël. Rijksmuseum, public domain, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200123943

Map of Fig. 83

<table>
<tr><td>Juno in a chariot drawn by peacocks addresses the wind-god Aeolus to get him to unleash a storm on the Trojan fleet (~ 1.50–80)</td><td>Jupiter enthroned in a circle featuring the twelve signs of the zodiac, carrying sceptre and thunderbolts, with a pleading Venus to his right and a departing Mercury to his left (~ 1.223–304)</td><td>Venus in a chariot drawn by doves addresses her son Cupid to get him to make Dido fall in love with Aeneas (= 1.664–88)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aeolus immittit ventōs Ivnōne precante ‘Aeolus lets loose the winds at Juno’s behest’ (= 1.81–83)</td><td rowspan="4">Neptune intervening in the storm that is wrecking the Trojan fleet (he addresses the winds with [135]Quōs ego – a conventional title for the engraving) (~ 1.81–156)</td><td>sōlātvr Venerem dictīs pater ipse dolentem ‘Jupiter [= pater ipse] provides words of comfort to grieving Venus’ (= 1.254–96)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aeneas encouraging his men (in their Phrygian caps) after landfall in Africa (~ 1.157–222)</td><td>Ilioneus addressing Dido (~ 1.494–585)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Venus in disguise pointing out the omen of the swans to Aeneas and Achates (~ 1.305–417)</td><td>Dido welcomes Aeneas (~ 1.586–656)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Trōiānōsque vagōs Lybicās expellit in ōrās ‘and drives the wandering Trojans onto Libyan shores’ (= 1.157–58)</td><td>Aenēām recipit pulchrā Carthāgine Dīdō ‘Dido receives Aeneas in beautiful Carthage’ (~ 1.586–656)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aeneas and Achates view the temple of Juno (~ 1.418–93)</td><td>cvi Venvs Ascaniī svb imāgine mittit Amōrem ‘to whom [= Dido] Venus sends Cupid in the guise of Ascanius’ (= 1.657–722)</td><td>Welcoming Banquet (= 1.695–756)</td></tr>
</table>

The Latin verses come from medieval summaries of the *Aeneid* (so-called ‘*argumenta*’). For a discussion of the different elements of this composition and their background, see Pon (2021).

1–30: Sister Act I

One would not start a novel at Chapter 4 without speed-reading the first three chapters. So, here is a brief recap of what has happened so far (cf. Fig. 83). When the narrative portion of the *Aeneid* opens at 1.34, we are in year seven of Aeneas' travels after his flight from Troy. His father Anchises (so we learn at the end of Book 3) has just died, and the Trojan fleet is setting out from the island of Sicily for their final destination: Italy. At this point, Juno—Aeneas' divine antagonist—parachutes into the narrative, blows off steam, and, with the help of the wind-god Aeolus, unleashes an almighty storm (—> ***TD*** 'Content and Form' for Aeolus and the cave of the winds as a miniature of Virgil's literary cosmos). It drives the Trojans way off course: their next landfall is in Africa. Most of *Aeneid* 1–4 is set in and around Carthage (located in modern-day Tunisia). It takes until Book 5 for Aeneas to get back to Sicily and until Book 6 before he finally reaches Italy.

After Aeneas' unplanned arrival in Africa, his mother Venus, none too pleased at seeing her son tossed about by vindictive Juno, seeks out Jupiter to protest. To reassure his daughter, Jupiter recites passages from the scrolls of fate, revealing the impressive future that lies in store for Aeneas and his descendants, the Romans, lords of the world, the toga-wearing people ([1.282]*Rōmānōs*, *rērum dominōs*, *gentemque togātam*). He also issues instructions to Mercury to soothe the fierce spirit of the Carthaginians, to ensure the Trojans a friendly welcome (297–304). But Venus—whether still worried or, on the contrary, reassured and hence keen on mischief—decides to meddle. She devises a scheme that involves her son Cupid (Aeneas' divine half-brother) impersonating Aeneas' son (and Cupid's nephew) Ascanius and, thus disguised, infecting queen Dido during her welcome cuddle with passionate desire for the Trojan hero. At the end of the Book, Carthaginians and Trojans settle down to a magnificent banquet, at which Dido requests of her

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guest a comprehensive account of his labours ([1.753]*... ā prīmā dīc, hospes, orīgine nōbīs* 'Tell us, guest, from the first beginning....'), inviting Aeneas to relive his traumas on her couch ([2.3]*'īnfandum, rēgīna, iubēs renouāre dolōrem*... 'Unspeakable is the grief you bid me renew, o queen...'). He does so for two full books, before finally drawing his narration to a close (3.716–18):

> Sīc pater Aenēās intentīs omnibus ūnus
> fāta renarrābat dīuum cursūsque docēbat.
> conticuit tandem factōque hīc fīne quiēuit.
>
> [Thus father Aeneas, with everyone listening eagerly, was alone recounting the destinies ordained by the gods and was teaching of his travels. At last he fell silent and, having come to a stop here, rested.]

This marks the end of Aeneas' narrative of the fall of Troy (Book 2) and his subsequent odyssey (Book 3). There can be few more apposite uses of *tandem* ('finally', 'at last'). Virgil gives the finish triple emphasis: *conticuit*, *factō ... hīc fīne*, referring both to the action *in* the poem (= the deictic *hīc* in a temporal sense: at this moment) and to this particular point *of* the poem: the end of Book 3 (= *hīc* in a spatial sense; at this point in the scroll), and *quiēuit*. The silence that settles in has funerary finality: the last event Aeneas recounted before ceasing to speak was the death of his father Anchises (3.708–11).

While Aeneas has finally come to rest by the end of Book 3, the opposite is true of Dido at the opening of Book 4:

1–2: At rēgīna grauī iamdūdum saucia cūrā | uulnus alit uēnīs et caecō carpitur ignī: the initial *at* startles: rather than announcing a new beginning, the adversative particle points back, setting up a contrast to what came immediately before. At the end of Book 3, Virgil refers to the 'eager crowd' that listened to Aeneas ([716]*intentīs <u>omnibus</u>*); at the opening of Book 4, he singles out Dido only. This is her book. The queen ([1]*rēgīna*)—modified by the adj. *saucia* in predicative position, which in turn governs *grauī ... cūrā*—feeds her wound with the blood in her veins and is consumed by hidden fire. [2]*uulnus alit uēnīs* and *caecō carpitur ignī* are two carefully balanced phrases of three words each, with the verbs (*alit*, *carpitur*: *rēgīna* is subject of both) in the middle and involving *u-*

and *c*-alliteration. But Virgil alternates the construction. The first clause consists of an active verb, a direct obj. (*uulnus*) and an abl. of either place or instrument (*uēnīs* 'in or with her bloodstreams'), the second of a passive verb and an abl. of agency (*caecō ... īgnī*, as often in poetry without the preposition *ā/ab*). *caecus* has both an active (blind, i.e. unable to see) and a passive (hidden, i.e. invisible) sense. Here, the latter is paramount: the consuming fire of Dido's passion does its damage out of sight, more specifically in or through her bloodstreams (*uēnīs* and *caecō* are thematically linked). Virgil may be alluding to Lucretius' Epicurean diatribe against love at *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 4.1120 *usque adeō incertī tābēscunt uulnere caecō* 'in such uncertain state they waste away with a wound invisible'. (According to Epicurus, love is a romantic delusion, as opposed to sex, which he considered an acceptable activity in response to a natural urge.) And he certainly has in mind Book 3 of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, which features Medea burning in secret love for Jason after being hit by one of Eros' arrows. (—> ***TD*** 'Allusion'.)

Virgil headlines the book with an artful interweaving of nouns and adjectives: *rēgīna* (noun[1]) agrees with *saucia* (adj.[2]), *grauī* (adj.[1]) with *cūrā* (noun[2]), in what amounts to a chiasmus of grammatical categories (noun adj. : adj. noun). The set-up foregrounds the temporal adv. at its centre (*iamdūdum* 'some while ago now'), which serves as reminder of what happened before Aeneas started speaking: Dido has been on fire with love ever since Cupid's stealth attack on the unsuspecting queen in the guise of Aeneas' son Ascanius. (1.719–22 *at memor ille | mātris Acīdaliae paulātim abolēre Sychaeum | incipit et uīuō temptat praeuertere amōre | iam prīdem residēs animōs dēsuētaque corda* 'But he [sc. Cupid], mindful of his Acidalian mother [sc. Venus], little by little begins to efface Sychaeus [i.e. Dido's deceased former husband], and attempts to incite with live passion her long-inactive soul and her heart that had unlearned to love'). *iamdūdum* thus bridges Books 1 and 4 and, like *tandem* at the end of Book 3 (above 202), tartly underscores the length of Aeneas' narration.

[1]*At*: the adversative particle is a pointed antithetical gesture across book boundaries. It reinforces the status of Aeneas and Dido as a complementary couple. As Austin (25) notes, *at* 'not only shows that the story now turns from Aeneas and the Trojans to Dido, but also points the antithesis between Aeneas' sufferings that are now past, a mere tale that is told ..., and Dido's sufferings that are already beginning, between

his composed silence and her agitation'—though one may debate in what sense the trials and tribulations of Aeneas 'are now past'. A more ambivalent reading of *at*, which recognizes that the moment of closure Aeneas experiences is ephemeral, could start by considering to what extent Dido's mental unrest highlights Aeneas' failure to understand and communicate with the Carthaginian queen. Presumably, the last thing he wished to do was to mentally unsettle his gracious hostess?

[1]*rēgīna*: the label brings Dido back into focus via her social role. It recalls her magnificent entry into the epic: [1.496–97] *rēgīna ad templum, formā pulcherrima Dīdō, | incessit* 'queen Dido, of surpassing beauty, approached the temple'. The contrast between her first appearance and her state now is stark: whereas she is 'surrounded by a large throng of followers' in Book 1 ([497]*māgnā iuuenum stīpante cateruā*), at the outset of Book 4 she is all alone. If Dido thrived on discharging civic responsibilities in Book 1, she has since become a victim of desire: the spotlight has moved from her impressive public persona to her tormented inner self. Yet Virgil's programmatic use of *rēgīna* at a moment when she is, above all, a woman suffering from limerence invites appraisal of her not just as a desiring individual, but *as a queen*: that is, as someone who has a key political role to perform and may do so well or badly. The question of what makes a good ruler was a topic of hot debate in antiquity (it still is now), to which literary genres made important contributions. Epic poetry offered reflection on leadership, good and bad, from Homer onwards. (He was considered the fountainhead of every conceivable type of discourse, including political theory, and his epics explore salient issues in politics in a proto-philosophical spirit: Murray 1965.) Virgil's handling of the topic is characteristically complex, insofar as he encourages assessment of his royal personnel against various and often conflicting benchmarks, deriving from literary predecessors (Greek and Roman), philosophical discourse (especially Stoicism), and lived experience, republican and early-imperial. Both Dido and Aeneas experience conflicts between personal feelings and the responsibilities and role-expectations that come with being royal leaders, which are compounded in Dido's case on account of her gender, not least for male observers such as king Iarbas (see 4.206–18; further Cairns 1989).

[1]*cūrā*: the meaning of *cūra* ranges from 'anxiety' to (public) 'task' or 'responsibility', to be carried out with diligence and care. Here the former sense is most prominent, but in signifying love pangs the term negatively evokes its public-political meaning: Dido's real *cūra* ought to be the prudent governance of her city's affairs. Some passages to consider for the semantics of *cūra* in the *Aeneid* include: 1.227 (the first occurrence of the word in the epic, referring to the cosmic administrative responsibilities of Jupiter); 1.562 (Dido replying to Ilioneus' impassioned plea for support: ... *sēclūdite cūrās* 'set aside your cares', which resonates ironically here); 1.662 (Venus feeling anxiety over Juno's intentions); 1.678 (Venus referring to Ascanius as *mea maxima cūra*); and the trail of further instances of the word in Book 4 (5, 59, 332, 341, 379, 394, 448, 488, 521, 531, 551, and 608).

3–4[a]: multa uirī uirtūs animō multusque recursat | gentis honōs: a switch in subject from Dido to the contents of her thoughts. Two assets of Aeneas are foremost in her mind, captured in the pair of grammatically identical phrases linked by *-que* after *multus*: *multa uirī uirtūs* 'the excellence of the man' and *multus ... | gentis honos* 'the distinction of his lineage'. The adjectives *multa* and *multus* stand in place of adverbs and combine with the frequentative verb *recursat* in highlighting the obsessive nature of Dido's mental activity: thoughts of Aeneas' manliness and family prestige render peace of mind unattainable.

The pointed polyptoton *multa*/*multus* recalls both the beginning and the end of Book 1. In the proem, Aeneas is introduced as someone '*much* thrown around on sea and land by violence of the gods ... and also *much* enduring in war' ([1.3–5]*multum ille et terrīs iactātus et altō | uī superum ... | multa quoque et bellō passus*). And during the concluding banquet, Dido 'drank deeply of love, asking *much* of Priam, *much* of Hector' ([1.749–50]*longumque bibēbat amōrem, | multa super Priamō rogitāns super Hectore multa*). Likewise, *recursat* harks back to [1.662]*ūrit atrōx Iūnō, et sub noctem cūra recursat* 'fierce Juno burns her [= Venus], and at nightfall her [= Venus'] care rushes back', triggering her intervention via Cupid: her *cūra* becomes Dido's. The lexical reminiscences assimilate Aeneas and Dido, highlight the shift from intersubjective communication to solipsistic brooding, and emphasize the transference of divine worries onto a victimized human.

[3]*uirī uirtūs*: an alliterative *figūra etymologica*: *uirtūs* is what distinguishes the *uir*. See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 2.43 *appellāta est enim ex uirō uirtūs* 'for the word for excellence [*uirtūs*] is derived from the word for man [*uir*]'. Originally, *uirtūs* seems to have indicated martial prowess above all. But with the Roman assimilation of Greek philosophical thought, the semantics of the term expanded: *uirtūs* became the preferred Latin word to render the Greek ἀρετή/*aretē*, which denotes ethical excellence as well (McDonnell 2006 with Kaster 2007). Over time, it evolved into a general term for positive qualities. The English 'virtue', while deriving from *uirtūs*, inevitably carries moral connotations and hence does not well capture the semantic range of the Latin concept. 'Excellence' (*uirtūs*) or 'excellences' (*uirtūtēs*) is frequently the better option in translating. Not all excellences need have a moral dimension.

[4]*gentis honōs*: in enjambment. The phrase yields a metrical pattern (– u u –) called the choriamb, which enhances its unity and impact. Dido here repays Aeneas the compliment Aeneas had paid her earlier: [1.609–10]*semper honōs nōmenque tuum laudēsque manēbunt, | quae mē cumque uocant terrae* 'forever shall your honour, your name, and your praises abide, whatever lands summon me', especially given that *nōmen* is a virtual synonym of *gēns* (via the phrase *nōmen gentīle*: see, e.g., 6.756–59 with ***TD*** Gildenhard 373–75). She knew of his partly divine lineage already before his arrival. As soon as she realizes who has just walked into her city, she addresses Aeneas as [1.615]*nāte deā* ('goddess-born') before demonstrating detailed knowledge of his parentage and the circumstances of his birth: [1.617–18]*tūne ille Aenēās, quem Dardaniō Anchīsae | alma Venus Phrygiī genuit Simoentis ad undam?* 'Are you that Aeneas, whom nurturing Venus bore to Dardanian Anchises by the wave of Phrygian Simois?'

Extra information

Both *gēns* and *honōs* are crucial components of the political culture of republican Rome. Latin authors tend to contrast the *populus Rōmānus* with foreign people (*gentēs*). But with reference to Rome itself the term *gēns* invariably designates one of the noble families (*gentēs*) that formed the polycentric core of Rome's ruling elite. Examples include the *gēns Claudia* (giving us the *Claudiī*), the *gēns Cornēlia* (to which the *Cornēliī* belonged) or the *gēns Fabia* (the kin-group of the *Fabiī*). Julius Caesar

and hence also his adopted son Caesar Octavianus (later to be known under the honorific name 'Augustus') were part of the *gēns Iūlia*, which derived its name from Aeneas' son Ascanius, also named Ilus—from Ilion, the Greek name of Troy (hence *Iliad*)—and renamed *Iūlus* after the sack of the city. Compare Jupiter's comments on this nomenclature in his magisterial un-scrolling of destiny: [1.267–68]*at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognōmen Iūlō | additur* (*Īlus erat, dum rēs stetit Īlia rēgnō*) ... 'But the boy Ascanius, now surnamed Iulus (Ilus he was, while the Ilian state stood firm in its kingdom) ...' During the years of the republic (and under altered circumstances in imperial times), members of the various *gentēs* vied with each other for public offices (*honōs*/*honōrēs*). In so doing, they could draw on the prestige of their *gēns* in making themselves attractive to voters. (Hence the difficulties 'new men' (*hominēs nouī*) such as Marcus Tullius Cicero faced, who hailed from the *gēns Tullia*: they were called 'new' since they belonged to *gentēs* that had no prior consulship to their credit.)

Against the republican background of a plurality of *gentēs*, Virgil promotes a semantic reorientation of the term in the *Aeneid*. From the proem onwards, he integrates the multiple *gentēs* into a single, overarching *gēns*, the *gēns Rōmāna*, first brought into play at the end of the extended proem ([1.33]*tantae mōlis erat Rōmānam condere gentem!* 'So vast was the effort to found the Roman race!'). The shift from a plurality of aristocratic *gentēs* to one Roman *gēns* is programmatic: Virgil uses the language of blood-descent to intimate an overlap approximating identity between the family of Anchises and Aeneas (the *gēns Iūlia*) and the entire Roman people, conceived not as *populus Rōmānus* but *gēns Rōmāna*.

This spin aligns the *Aeneid* with the ideological preoccupations of the Augustan principate. Emphasis on lineage and ethnicity allows Virgil to centre the story of Rome in the one *gēns* to which Aeneas and Iulus, Julius Caesar and Caesar Octavianus belong. The idiom of blood-descent enters the epic for the first time in the extended proem: [1.19–20]*prōgeniem sed enim Trōiānō ā sanguine dūcī | audierat* [sc. Juno], *Tyriās ōlim quae uerteret arcēs* 'Yet in truth she had heard that a *race* was springing *from Trojan blood*, to overthrow some day the Tyrian towers'. It then recurs at prominent places, such as Venus' address to Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1 ([235–37]*hinc fore ductōrēs, reuocātō ā sanguine Teucrī ... pollicitus*

[sc. *es*, i.e. Jupiter] 'you promised that from *Teucer's* restored *blood-line* should come leaders...') or the so-called 'parade of heroes' (6.756–886). Fictions of lineage and kinship were part of a complex reality: 'adoption, along with other relations (affinal, fostering, alliance...), turns out to be cardinal in the perpetuation of Rome and Roman tradition: Octavian, *Claudius* Marcellus, Agrippa, Pallas – all the social sons of the *pater patriae* throughout the *gēns Rōmāna*. Within the idea of blood-descent, the crucial clash will be thoroughbred Iulus, Trojan on both sides, so "autochthonous" vs. the hybrid Italian-Trojan son of Aeneas and Lavinia. This is the excruciation of "dynastic royalty", and Augustans knew that already' (Henderson). —> ***TD*** Gildenhard; for the Roman clan more generally, see Smith (2006).

4^{b}–5: haerent īnfīxī pectore uultūs | uerbaque nec placidam membrīs dat cūra quiētem: the first main clause systematically inverts standard word order: the verb (*haerent*) precedes the subjects (the alliterative *uultūs | uerbaque*) and the participle *īnfīxī* precedes its adverbial qualification *pectore*. *uultūs* (in the 'poetic plural') refers to Aeneas' appearance, *uerba* to his speech: he is one handsome hero and a spell-binding speaker on top. Together, these two qualities affect Dido profoundly and stay fixed deep within her heart. Unlike the enjambment of *gentis honōs*, which was set up by *multus* (left 'dangling' without referent in the previous line), the enjambed *uerbaque* comes as a surprise. It is tagged on, as afterthought or for special emphasis: the design could suggest that it does not really matter what, precisely, Aeneas is saying since Dido is smitten to her core regardless by his striking good looks; or it could mean that the verbal stimuli top the visual ones. The subject of the second main clause (*cūra*) recalls ^{1}*cūrā*, with the switch from abl. to nom. suggesting an increase in Dido's anxiety. The unsettled word order that results from the hyperbaton *placidam ... quiētem* enacts her inability to achieve a peaceful state of mind.

The opening five lines contain a veritable anatomy of Dido: after hailing her wholesale as queen (^{1}*rēgīna*), Virgil focuses in turn on her veins (^{2}*uēnīs*), her mind (^{3}*animō*), her heart or chest (^{4}*pectore*), and the rest of her limbs (^{5}*membrīs*): she is clearly coming apart.

uultūs and *uerba* are the third pair of words linked by *u*-alliteration in the opening lines, after ^{2}*uulnus* ~ *uēnīs* and ^{3}*uirī* ~ *uirtūs*. The formal device seems to be hinting at a link between the *uulnus* of Dido and

the *uirtūs*, *uultūs*, and *uerba* of the *uir* Aeneas, a nexus reinforced if we take into consideration the erotic *uenēnum* (poison) that Cupid uses to assault Dido at the behest of his mother *Venus* (Venus speaking: [1.688]*occultum īnspīrēs ignem fallāsque uenēnō*; the poison-metaphor continues at [1.749]*longumque bibēbat amōrem*). (For a word of caution on the etymological connection between *Venus* and *uenēnum*, see O'Hara (1996: 106): '... ancient awareness of the perhaps genuine connection between *Venus* and *venēnum* is not clearly attested, and wordplay in Vergil here is not certain.') But the diction here certainly recalls 1.717–19, where Dido cuddles Cupid disguised as Ascanius: *haec oculīs, haec pectore tōtō | haeret et interdum gremiō fouet, īnscia Dīdō, | īnsīdat quantus miserae deus* 'with her eyes, with all her heart Dido hangs on him and from time to time fondles him in her lap, unknowing how great a divinity sits there to her sorrow'. As planned by Venus, the physical affection Dido displays for Aeneas' insidious 'son' has evolved into mental obsession with the father.

6–8: postera Phoebēā lūstrābat lampade terrās | [7]**ūmentemq(ue) Aurōra polō dīmōuerat umbram,** | [8]**cum sīc ūnanim(am) adloquitur male sāna sorōrem:** the main clause (6–7) offers an elaborate description of dawn or Dawn, the goddess Aurora, the subj. of both *lūstrābat* and *dīmōuerat*, linked by *-que* after *ūmentem*. It features two hyperbata: *postera ... Aurōra* ('the following ... dawn', which is *very* long in the coming: Dido tosses and turns for ages) and *ūmentem ... umbram*, linked by the *um*-alliteration and containing a touch of paronomasia that suggests a thematic affinity between *ūmēns* 'being moist' and *umbra* 'shadow'. They are part of the overall symmetry of line 7. Subject (*Aurōra*) and verb (*dīmōuerat*) function as buffers around *polō* (an abl. of separation), having banished the dewy (*ūmentem*) darkness (*umbram*) from the sky: the verbal architecture reproduces the result of the reported action. (Myth has it that Aurora fell in love with Tithonus, a mortal, a son of the Trojan king Laomedon. She prevailed upon Jupiter to grant her beloved immortality but forgot to request eternal youth as well. The tragic tale constitutes an ever-present cosmic correlative to Dido's ill-fated love: see further 584–85 and, more generally, Cianciosi 2025.)

In the *cum-inversum* clause ('inverted' because the background action, here sunrise, comes in the main clause, whereas the main action is put in the subordinate *cum*-clause), Dido—the implied subject of *adloquitur*—approaches her sister Anna to share confidences. Anna,

who is not named until the following line, appears out of nowhere with *ūnanimam ... sorōrem*. Formal instances of bonding obliquely stress the strong attachment that unites the siblings: the adj. *ūnanimus* enacts its meaning by merging the words *ūnus* and *animus* into one (cf. Plautus, *Stichus* 731 *ego tū sum, tū es ego*: *ūnanimī sumus*; Valentine material, to be sure, though the context is best ignored); and the elision of *ūnanim(am) adloquitur* generates a bond via prosody. The ideal of 'like-mindedness' (ὁμοφροσύνη) goes back to Homer: it forms the basis of Odysseus' and Penelope's marriage. After Dido has mortally wounded herself on her funeral pyre, Virgil stages a last encounter between her and her sister Anna, using language that refers the reader back to the beginning of Book 4. [686]*sēmianimem* ... *germānam amplexa* 'embracing her dying sister' constitutes a tragic gloss on 8. Since Dido and Anna are each a *ūnanima soror* to the other, the phrase *sēmianimis germāna* not only captures Dido's limbo state between life and death, but also the fact that Anna and Dido, who were unanimous, are now split in half: half of Anna dies with Dido. (—> ***TD*** 'Allusion' explores the dialogue with Catullus and Callimachus via the adjective *ūnanima*.)

[6]*Phoebēā lūstrābat lampade*: alliteration (*lu-*, *la-*) and assonance (*-bēā*, *-ba-*, *-pade*) endow the string of words with formal coherence. *Phoebēus* 'of or associated with Phoebus Apollo; of Phoebus, belonging or sacred to him' is a calque on Greek Φοίβειος/*Phoibeios*, which explains why *-ē-* scans long: it represents the Greek diphthong -ει-. Virgil here uses *lampas* in the poetic sense of 'the light of the sun'. But its primary meaning is 'torch' or 'firebrand'. As such, it foreshadows the tragic turn of events, specifically Dido's funeral pyre: Aeneas' last image of Carthage are the city walls aglow with flames (5.3–4). The primary meanings of *lūstrāre* are 'to purify ceremonially with rituals usually involving a procession' and hence 'to walk around, to circle'; here it means 'to spread light over or around, to irradiate' (*OLD* 4). Maclennan (74) suggests that the primary meaning also registers 'because Dido feels in some way polluted by her feelings for Aeneas'. But sunrise does not alter the religious quality of Dido's feelings, and the main thematic contrast is between night/ darkness/ secrecy/ solitude and day/ light/ confession/ company. Virgil here develops an idiom pioneered by Cicero, *Dē Rēpūblicā* 6.17, where Sol is described as being of such magnitude 'that he illuminates and fills all things with his light' (*ut cūncta suā lūce lūstret et compleat*)

and Lucretius *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 5.693, where the sun is described as 'illuminating lands and sky with oblique light' (*oblīquō terrās et caelum lūmine lūstrāns*). Cf. 7.148–49.

[8]*male sāna*: the phrase stands in predicative position to the subject of the *cum*-clause, i.e. Dido: 'she addressed her sister, in a state of ill-health/mentally disturbed'. The periphrasis is a colloquial way of saying *īnsāna*, though *male* is not simply a synonym for *nōn*: combined with *sāna*, the negation results in an oxymoron.

9–30: Following a sleepless night, Dido seeks out her sister Anna for advice. Despite the distress, her speech is well crafted:

(a) Comprising 21 lines in all, it falls into two halves of near-equal length (11/10), marked by two direct addresses to her sister Anna: [9]*Anna soror*; [20]*Anna*. Those who count along and expect the second half to be equal in length to the first will be disappointed: in line 30, which could have been the 11th line of the second half, Dido bursts into tears instead. The seemingly premature end underscores her lack of composure.

(b) In thematic terms, the structure is tripartite, in admirable symmetry (6/9/6):

- 9–14: Dido's struggle to verbalize her thoughts and feelings for Aeneas
- 15–23: Exploration of a 'what-if'
- 24–29: Rejection of the 'what-if'

9–14: Dido opens her speech by trying to articulate the profound impact Aeneas has made on her. She thus retraces from a personal point of view the same ground the narrator has just covered. Overpowered by emotions (ranging from reverence to erotic attraction and incipient sexual desire), she appears to be 'gushing': the Latin is palpably out of control. Features that underscore the intensity of the feelings Dido is trying to put into speech include the sequence of exclamations [9]*quae*, [10]*quis*, [11]*quem*, *quam*, [13]*quibus*, [14]*quae*; the overemphatic string [10]*quis nouus hic*; and the contorted expression [11]*sēsē ōre ferēns*. She reaches the height of her pathos-dripping outburst with the exclamation [13]*heu*, a profound expression of empathy for the trials and tribulations her hero has suffered, but also indicative of her own yearning and passion-driven

anxiety. (From line 15 onwards, she sobers down to a more measured mode of discourse.)

9: 'Anna soror, quae mē suspēns(am) īnsomnia terrent!: *suspēnsam* 'in a state of anxious uncertainty or suspense, on tenterhooks' (*OLD*) modifies *mē*. *īnsomnium*, usually in the plural, can mean both 'sleeplessness' (*OLD* 1) and 'an apparition seen in a trance or dream' (*OLD* 2). Virgil plays with both possibilities to convey a sense of Dido's 'altered' state of mind: she cannot sleep and begins to hallucinate as if dreaming. The condition of hovering between wakefulness and sleep is bound to blur the distinction between sense perceptions and figments of the imagination. The emotive and unexpected verb *terrent* raises similar issues of interpretation: why should Dido feel fear? She has fallen in love. But the notion that she experiences 'erotic nightmares' is psychologically insightful: Dido betrays awareness of the impact these *īnsomnia* have on her resolve to remain faithful to her dead husband Sychaeus, and she fears the consequences. In other words, Dido is afraid of herself, afraid of what she will do: the verb thus carries a strong sense of foreboding about what will happen later in the book. See esp. the moment when Dido embraces death: [450–51]*tum uērō īnfēlīx fātīs exterrita Dīdō | mortem ōrat* 'Then, indeed, shocked and awed by her doom, luckless Dido prays for death'. Goold's 'what dreams *thrill* me *with fears*?' deftly captures Dido's paradoxical state of mind.

Neither Dido nor Aeneas is a stranger to nightmares: see Introduction 5, and further Newman and Newman (2005: 169–88, 'Dido and Virgilian Nightmares').

10–11: quis nouus hic nostrīs successit sēdibus hospes, | quem sēs(ē) ōre ferēns, quam fortī pector(e) et armīs!: the design of 10 is symmetrical: *quis nouus hic* agrees with *hospes* and *nostrīs* with *sēdibus*, leaving the verb *successit* at the centre. The use of *quis* as an exclamation together with the demonstrative *hic* makes a literal translation challenging. The attribute *nouus* also poses difficulties. Goold 'Who is this stranger guest…?' and Maclennan 'What a strange visitor…' translate it with 'strange', but Aeneas is no stranger to Dido. She is familiar with his story: part of it is even on display in her temple of Juno. He just happens to have arrived out of the blue. The sense is rather 'coming as a surprise, unforeseen' (*OLD* 4): 'What an unexpected visitor, this, who has entered our house!'

Neither Dido (nor anyone else: Aeneas' stayover in Carthage is Virgil's invention) saw this coming! The position of *successit* 'has entered into' between *nostrīs* and *sēdibus* enacts its meaning, as at 1.627 (cited in next note). The two constructions in 11—a present participle (*ferēns*), followed by ablatives of quality or description (*fortī pectore et armīs*)—stand in apposition to *hospes.*

[10]*hospes*: Dido grants the status of 'guest-friends' to the Trojans at [1.627]*quārē agite, ō tēctīs, iuuenēs, succēdite nostrīs* 'Come therefore, young men, and pass within our halls'. At 1.732, she prays to Jupiter in his incarnation as *Zeus Xenios,* and at 1.753 she addresses Aeneas as *hospes* (–> ***TD*** Gibson).

Virgil repeats the phrasing of 1.627 and 4.10 with minor variation at [8.123]*nostrīs succēde penātibus hospes* 'come as a guest beneath our roof'. The speaker is Pallas, the son of Evander, addressing Aeneas and about to go to war with the Trojan leader only to have his life cut short by Turnus. The correspondence in diction draws attention to parallels in plot (both Dido and Pallas end up dead after hosting Aeneas), which are poignantly underscored by Aeneas covering the corpse of Pallas with the cloak of gold and purple Dido had made him (11.72–75; for the cloak, see below 4.262–64). Does playing host to Aeneas inevitably entail tragedy? Or is the point of these parallels that Aeneas, just like Dido, is a tragic figure who deserves our respect and sympathy?

[11]*quem sēsē ōre ferēns*: the phrase *ōre ferre* means 'to exhibit or display in one's features or expression' (*OLD ferō* 9c). A painfully literal translation would go something like: 'as whom (*quem*) displaying (*ferēns*) himself (*sēsē*) in his mien (*ōre*)!' Virgil used the expression *sē ferre* in the Diana-simile that marks Dido's entrance into the narrative: [1.503–4]*tālem sē laeta ferēbat | per mediōs* 'so moved she joyously through their midst'. A similar formulation recurs when Dido wishes that Aeneas had made her pregnant before setting sail (327–30).

[11]*quam fortī pectore et armīs!*: 'with how brave a chest and arms/shoulders!' *pectore* recalls [4]*haerent īnfīxī pectore uultūs*. But whereas in the earlier passage *pectus* means Dido's heart, here *pectus* seems to be referring to Aeneas' musculature, specifically his pecs. *armīs* could come either from *armus* 'shoulder' or from *arma* 'arms'. While *armus* is a possibility (Dido

in her limerence swooning over the buff chest *and* bulked-up deltoids of her heroic beefcake), *arma* has the benefit of helping to form a chiastic paraphrase of the opening words of the poem *Arma uirumque*, with *forte pectus* a metonym, or *pars prō tōtō*, of *uir*.

12: crēd(ō) equidem, nec uāna fidēs, genus esse deōrum: *crēdō* governs the indirect statement *genus esse deōrum*, with *nec uāna fidēs* [*sc. est*] a parenthetical exclamation. Dido's assertion that she believes in Aeneas' divine ancestry is strategically placed between her appreciation of his appearance (11) and a sympathetic recapitulation of and reaction to his tale of adventures (13–14): both his looks and his account of his deeds confirm his supernatural lineage, which she already took for granted at 1.615–18. The use of *fidēs* hints at the desirability of a third quality, in addition to appearance and bravery, namely trustworthiness and reliability in social relations, which Aeneas, from Dido's point of view, ultimately reveals himself as conspicuously lacking. Her vote of confidence here functions as ironic foil for the aspersion she casts on Aeneas at 365–67, following news of his imminent departure. In light of this radical change of heart, the parenthesis *nec uāna fidēs* acquires a touch of tragic irony. The trust (*fidēs*) that Dido invests in Aeneas (and not just his DNA) turns out to be misplaced (*uāna*): for her, he does not turn out to be *fīdus* 'trustworthy, loyal' but *perfidus* 'treacherous' (the very quality the Romans were wont to project onto the Carthaginians).

13[a]: dēgenerēs animōs timor arguit: a *dēgener* is a person who has fallen short of the standards of excellence set by his ancestors, indicating a worsening of the bloodline. Given that a few lines earlier Dido had confessed to suffering from a significant amount of fear ([9]*īnsomnia mē ... terrent*), the causal link she asserts between fear and degeneracy surprises. The gnomic formulation, delivered in breathless dactyls and ending in a bucolic diaeresis, is a curiously abstract and negative way of making the positive point that Aeneas has shown *no* fear and hence is *not* 'degenerate'. Put differently, in Dido's appraisal Aeneas lives up to his illustrious ancestry. This negative proof—*arguere*, in its basic sense, means 'to show, demonstrate', and also, in legal court settings, 'to convict, prove guilty'—recalls [4]*gentis honōs* and continues the thought of the previous line, *genus esse deōrum*, in a kind of chiastic paronomasia: the prefix *dē-* playfully alludes to *deōrum* (though pointing downwards,

rather than upwards), whereas -*generēs* picks up *gentis* and *genus*. It is almost as if Dido tries her best to think of ways to put Aeneas down, to diagnose some holes in his impeccable armour and appearance, but without apparent success (Henderson). In time, Aeneas will oscillate between quasi-divine and lowly brute in Dido's perception: she beastializes him at 365–67, once he has failed to live up to the Roman value of *fidēs* 'trustworthiness'.

The term *dēgener* occurs only one other time in the *Aeneid* (2.549, with reference to Achilles' son Neoptolemus) but becomes a favourite of Lucan, with thirteen instances in his *Bellum Cīvīle*, which chronicles the decline and fall of Rome in civil war.

13[b]–14: heu, quibus ille | iactātus fātīs! quae bell(a) exhausta canēbat!: Dido continues to speak of Aeneas in an 'authorial' idiom: *quibus ille | iactātus fātīs* recalls [1.2]*fātō profugus* and [1.3]*multum ille et terrīs iactātus et altō*; and *quae bella exhausta* harks back to [1.1]*arma* [= *bella*] and [1.5]*multa quoque et bellō passus*. The attribute *exhausta*, which here has the sense of 'down to the bitter end', comes with proleptic irony in light of Dido's curse (621–29), which helps to ensure prolonged warfare in the *Aeneid* itself (cf. 7.41, Virgil addressing the Muse Erato: *tū uātem, tū, dīua, monē. dīcam horrida bella* 'And you, goddess, prompt your bard! I will tell of grim wars') and also through the centuries of Roman history. By referring to Aeneas' dinner performance with *canēbat*, Dido assimilates him to the narrator, which he was in Books 2 and 3 (cf. [1.1]*arma uirumque canō*). And she has paid attention: if in Book 1, she thought of herself and Aeneas as figures of fortune (see esp. 1.628–29, cited above 5–6), she now associates him with *fātum*—after Aeneas used the term some twenty-five times in his narration—in line with the proem, where Virgil introduces the concept as a crucial component of his philosophy of history (1.2) —> ***TD*** Gildenhard.

15–19: sī mihi nōn animō fīx(um) immōtumque sedēret | [16]nē cui mē uinclō uellem sociāre iugālī, | [17]postquam prīmus amor dēceptam morte fefellit, | [18]sī nōn pertaesum thalamī taedaeque fuisset, | [19]huic ūnī forsan potuī succumbere culpae: a conditional sequence with a double protasis sandwiching two subordinate clauses. Each unit gets its own verse: [15]protasis 1 (*sī ... sedēret*); [16]*nē*-clause (= subject of protasis 1); [17]temporal subordinate clause (*postquam ... fefellit*); [18]protasis 2

(*sī … pertaesum fuisset*); [19]apodosis. The first protasis is in the imperf. subjunctive (= present contrary-to-fact), the second in the pluperf. subjunctive (= past contrary-to-fact). The shared apodosis is in the perf. ind. (*potuī*) rather than the subjunctive (*posse* is one of those verbs that 'contain within themselves a subjunctive type of meaning (e.g. "could", "should")': Morwood 1999: 116). Scholars are divided on how to interpret the change from imperf. to pluperf. subjunctive. Here is Gutting (2006: 269): 'Dido's first protasis is a statement that precludes infidelity to Sychaeus at the present time, but the second protasis only precludes infidelity in past time. The possibility of present infidelity is left open. Thus the change in tense reflects the incremental *paulātim abolēre Sychaeum* begun by Cupid at 1.720. The apodosis, *huic ūnī forsan potuī succumbere culpae*, leaves no doubt of the cracks in Dido's fidelity.' Contrast Maclennan (2007: 76), who argues the opposite: 'Dido could say in routine language, using the imperf. subjunctive, *sī nōn mē taederet succumbere possem* – "If I were not weary, I could yield." Virgil gives her the intensive prefix *per-*; he suggests that the matter is over once and for all by using the pluperf. subjunctive, intensifying that idea by *pertaesum fuisset* rather than *esset*.' Perhaps even Dido herself would not be able to decide which reading is correct?

[15]*mihi*: the dat. of personal interest is part of Dido's effort to isolate the fixed idea ('no further liaisons') she wishes to unmoor. She does *not* say: 'If *I* did not commit myself to remaining single...'; she says: 'if the idea of remaining single were not fixed in the mind for me [= my mind]'), with both *animō* and *mihi* introducing elements of distancing that belie the force of *fīxum immōtumque* (doubled up in a desperate attempt at reaffirming tottering stability).

[15]*fīxum immōtumque*: throughout the epic, the adj. *immōtus* is implicated in the antithesis of fate and fortune, stability and chaos. At 1.257–58, Jupiter reassures Venus that the world-historical destiny of her people has remained unaltered (*manent immōta tuōrum | fāta tibī*), and at 7.314 Juno grudgingly concedes that, by fate, Lavinia remains immovably Aeneas' bride (*immōta manet fātīs Lāuīnia coniūnx*). Just as Dido's resolve begins to weaken here, that of Aeneas will eventually remain fixed ([449]*mēns immōta manet*). In fact, *nōmen est omen*: according to one etymology, Dido means 'wanderer' (Jacobson 2005)—suitably enough

for someone forced into exile, but the exact opposite of anything *fīxum immōtumque* that remains settled and in place (*sedēret*).

[16]*nē ... iugālī*: the *nē*-clause is the subject of the first *sī*-clause with *fīxum immōtumque* as predicative complement ('if it were not planted in my mind as fixed and immovable that...'): it specifies what Dido thinks she will remain unconditionally committed to. *cui* (= *alicui*, with *ali-* dropping out after *sī*, *nisi*, *nē* and *num*) is the dat. obj., *mē* the acc. obj. of *sociāre* (a complementary infinitive with *uellem*). The generic reference to 'anyone' already prepares for the exception.

[17]*postquam ... fefellit*: *prīmus amor* refers either to Dido's feelings of love for her first husband Sychaeus or to Sychaeus himself ('my first love')—or both. Virgil elides *mē*, the direct object of *fefellit*, on which *dēceptam* depends. *morte* goes with both *dēceptam* and *fefellit*. Alliterative patterning (*p-*, *p-*; *fe-fe-*) lends stylistic coherence, the paronomasia *amor* ~ *morte* lends tragic depth: the intervening *dēceptam* almost makes the two words merge into one another: *amor-*[*dē cept*]*am-morte*. The phrasing is iconic, anticipating the upcoming imbrication of love/sex and death. In the figure of 'Dido deceived', the two coincide—twice: her first husband is the victim of brutal murder; and her would-be husband drives her to suicide (Introduction 22–23).

Dido's idiom derives from funerary inscriptions where it takes two forms: 'the bereaved are said to be cheated by the death of a loved one, and the dead persons themselves are said to have been cheated by death' (Lyne 1989: 31). Yet here it is the deceased (Sychaeus) who is thought to have deceived and cheated his surviving spouse by dying: '"dēceptam" may legitimately be seen as reinforcing the action in "fefellit": "dēceptam fefellit" = "dēcēpit atque fefellit"' (31). Lyne concludes: 'She feels deceived by death, but simultaneously she feels *betrayed by Sychaeus*. By his death Sychaeus has cheated her as surely as, much more surely than he would have by leaving her for another woman. Such unfair (and perhaps largely unconscious) resentment in the face of bereavement is something that I think we can all understand' (32). Dido's choice of labelling her love and marriage to Sychaeus as *prīmus amor* indicates that she is, subconsciously, entertaining a sequel. Tragically, the 'second love of her life', her *secundus amor*, will also deceive her and result in death, this time her own. Dido, of course, is unaware that her phrasing

is both retrospective *and* proleptic: a case of tragic irony, reinforced by her falling prey to the (subliminal) trickery of her own idiom, which too deceives her (cf. *fefellit*).

[18]*sī ... fuisset*: the verb of the second *sī*-clause is the impersonal *pertaesum ... fuisset*, the pluperf. subjunctive of *pertaedēre* 'to fill with exceeding weariness or disgust'. Impersonal verbs of feeling have the person who feels in the acc. (cf. the jingle *mē piget, pudet, paenitet, mē taedet et mē miseret*; in our verse, a *mē* needs to be supplied mentally) and the object that causes the feeling in the genitive (here *thalamī taedaeque* 'sex and marriage'). The intensifying *per-*, which picks up *postquam* and *prīmus* from the previous line, and the faux-etymological play in *per-taesum* ~ *taedae* emphasize Dido's alleged disgust at the thought of marriage. But the intensification is arguably a feeble, rhetorical gesture, especially in light of her subsequent confession that there is one (see [22]*sōlus hic*; cf. [19]*huic ūnī*) who could rekindle positive associations of the wedding torch.

The three instances of *taeda* 'wedding torch' in *Aeneid* 4 mark three stages in the plot. See Hersch (2010: 166–67):

> the first two *taedae* are unequivocally nuptial. At the beginning of the book, Dido tells her sister Anna that she is thoroughly tired of the "torch and the bridal chamber." Later, Aeneas quite specifically denies that any wedding occurred when he says, "I never held out the torches of a spouse, or entered into a pact!" [4.337–39] The third time Virgil uses *taeda* in Book Four, he does so in what appears to be a simultaneous wedding, suicide, and funeral: at the end of the book, Dido commits suicide surrounded by the trappings of an elaborate anti-wedding. Dido decorates the space with foliage and makes her pyre "huge with torches (perhaps pine-torches are meant here) and cut oak" [4.504–08].

[19]*huic ... culpae*: up to *succumbere*, it appears as if *huic ūnī* (which is not gendered) refers to Aeneas as the one exception to Dido's earlier, comprehensive dismissal of 'anyone' (*cui*), an impression reinforced by the demonstrative pronoun in [10]*quis nouus hic ... hospes*. Hence *culpae*—the noun that *huic* and *ūnī* modify—comes as a surprise. The fluid syntax reflects the movement of Dido's thoughts. She starts by singling out Aeneas as the one man to whom she might yield before calling herself to order and recognizing that this would amount to wrongdoing (*culpa*). In the process, the demonstrative pronoun *huic* morphs into an

adjective. (In [22]*sōlus hic*, we are back to the pronoun.) *forsan* introduces a hedge: Dido confesses to her sister that if matters had turned out differently in her past and she had not committed herself to a life of chastity, then perhaps (*forsan*) she might have given herself up to this (*huic*) transgression (*culpae*), but this one only (*ūnī*). This, of course, is precisely what is going to happen: Dido's seemingly counterfactual musings prefigure the plot. She acknowledges to Anna, and to herself, that the pull of desire triggers guilt: giving in to temptation is an act of transgression or wrongdoing (*culpa*), in contrast to 172, after the fateful encounter in the cave, wherein she re-evaluates her position: *coniugium uocat* [*sc.* Dido], *hōc praetexit nōmine culpam*.

20–23[a]: Anna (fatēbor enim) miserī post fāta Sychaeī | [21]coniugis et sparsōs frāternā caede Penātīs | [22]sōlus hic īnflexit sēnsūs animumque labantem | [23a]impulit: Dido marks the midway point of her speech with a renewed address to her sister. The sentence unfolds in three stages. First, the opening vocative *Anna* (placed in framing antithesis to *Sychaeī*: Anna will pull Dido one way, Sychaeus another), followed by the parenthetical *fatēbor enim*, establish the context for a confidential confession. Second, an extended prepositional phrase overseen by *post* (governing *fāta* and *Penātīs*) offers a throw-back to the murder of her husband Sychaeus. Finally, the bipartite main clause: [22]*sōlus hic* picks up [19]*huic ūnī* and obliquely acknowledges that Dido had other options before Aeneas' arrival, notably the local king Iarbas; but she rejected all suitors, making a lot of enemies in the process (as Anna points out at [36–38]*dēspectus Iarbās | ductōrēsque aliī...*). Her spotless record of having rejected all comers until Aeneas heightens her tragedy: so far Dido has been true to her word and proud of it! The design is chiastic—verb (*īnflexit*), acc. obj. (*sēnsūs*) : acc. obj. (*animum labantem*), verb (*impulit*)—and gradually works up to a climax. Stage 1: *īnflectere* in its primary sense signifies 'to bend, curve'; here it means 'to cause to turn from one's purpose, principles, or mode of life' (*OLD* 3). Stage 2: this sense of turning from what is right is picked up and reinforced by the attributive participle *labantem* (*labō* 'to be unsteady, waver, falter'). Stage 3: the finale (*impulit*)—Aeneas has 'overthrown' the mind that was already faltering: 'The run-on to *impulit*, followed by a strong pause, is characteristic of Virgil (cf. 72, 83, 261, 624 etc.) and very effective ...; Dido draws a deep breath before her explicit admission that she is in love' (Austin 31). (Others, including Conington,

argue that *labantem* should be taken with *impulit*: in the sense of '*animum impulit ut labāret*'.) The perfect indicative of *īnflexit* and *impulit* contrasts sharply with the (past) counterfactual condition Dido used previously to talk about yielding to her passion. Now she owns up (cf. *fatēbor enim*) to her altered mental state. She has become a person torn in two, being pulled this way by long-held loyalties and that way by overpowering attraction to Aeneas.

[20–21]*miserī post fāta Sychaeī | coniugis*: 'after the death of wretched Sychaeus – my husband': another effective enjambment that conveys a hint of reluctance on Dido's part to acknowledge her status as widow sworn to chastity. Alternatively, we can read the enjambment as underscoring her persistent feeling of loyalty: 'by placing **Sychaeī coniugis** in enjambment Virgil makes Dido stress the idea of "husband", and thus continue the process of attempting to persuade herself not to think of Aeneas so' (Maclennan: 77).

[21]*et sparsōs frāternā caede Penātīs*: the phrase 'particularizes the meaning of *fāta Sychaeī* (*et* is often so used by Virgil in appending an explanation or an enlargement of a theme)' (Austin: 30). The murderous actions of Dido's brother Pygmalion have torn her household apart, and the notion of shattering something to pieces is hinted at by the hyperbaton: the phrase *frāternā caede*, an instrumental abl. with *sparsōs*, separates the participle from the noun it modifies (*Penātīs*).

We learn of Dido's past in Book 1.343–59, where Venus recounts her story to Aeneas: Dido's brother Pygmalion (hence *frāternā caede*) killed her husband Sychaeus out of greed, forcing her into exile from her home in Tyre. Dido's account of the murder is more bloody, dramatic, and detailed than the one Venus gives to Aeneas at [1.348–50]*ille Sychaeum | impius ante ārās atque aurī caecus amōre | clam ferrō incautum superat* 'he [sc. Pygmalion], impious before the altars and blinded by lust for gold, stealthily overcomes unsuspecting Sychaeus with a sword'. There are some incongruous touches: according to Venus, Pygmalion managed to hide the deed for a long time ([1.351]*factum diū cēlāuit*), which is difficult to reconcile with the notion that the images of the household gods (*Penātēs*) were splattered with blood, as Dido would have it. Her idiom rather suggests that in recalling her dead husband Sychaeus,

she is thinking of her potential future husband Aeneas, who is a figure of *fāta* and famed for carrying the *Penātēs* of Troy out of the burning city and into exile (see e.g. [3.11–12]*feror exsul in altum | cum sociīs nātōque, Penātibus et magnīs dīs* 'As exile, I am carried upon the high seas, with my comrades and son, my household gods and the great deities', with line 12 a particularly momentous *uersus spondiacus* (= two long syllables in the fifth foot) with a monosyllabic closure). In foregrounding her own desecrated household gods and ensuing exile, Dido underscores the striking parallels in their biographies: in her Eros-addled mind, they are made for one another. (And left to his own devices, Aeneas would surely lean that way too.)

23[b]: agnōscō ueteris uestīgia flammae: the primary sense of *agnōscere* here is cognitive ('to recognize (again)', 'discern': *OLD* 1, 7), but there are shades of its legal sense as well ('to acknowledge as one's own', 'admit liability for': *OLD* 2, 3). *flammae* continues the imagery of Dido's internal erotic conflagration that opens Book 4 and looks ahead to the cremation of her corpse that opens Book 5.

24–27: sed mihi uel tellūs optem prius īma dehīscat, | [25]uel Pater omnipotēns adigat mē fulmin(e) ad umbrās, | [26]pallentīs umbrās Erebō noctemque profundam, | [27]ante, Pudor, quam tē uiol(ō) aut tua iūra resoluo: an elaborate way of saying 'I'd rather die than betray my sense of shame through disloyalty to my murdered husband'. With *sed* Dido calls herself to order. Yes, passions are stirring. But she has vowed to remain faithful to her dead husband and doubles down with a sublime death-wish should her resolve weaken. The potential subjunctive [24]*optem* introduces a wish-clause (Dido hedges: does 'wishing for' amount to 'carrying out an efficacious speech-act of self-imprecation'?) that specifies two things that should happen before she enters another relationship: may Earth gape open (*uel ... dehīscat*) to swallow her up or Jupiter zap her with a thunderbolt (*uel ... adigat*)! [24]*prius* is picked up by [27]*ante ... quam* (the direct address to *Pudor* effects a tmesis).

This passage resonates shortly before her suicide, when Dido visits the marble chapel she constructed in honour of Sychaeus where she now hears his voice calling at night ([460–61]*hinc exaudīrī uōcēs et uerba uocantis | uīsa uirī*). 'As Sychaeus calls from the grave, he unexpectedly realizes the adynata which Dido relied upon in her initial oath (4.24–29)' (Schiesaro

2008: 107). The notion of the earth gaping open recurs in a simile in the Hercules and Cacus episode, where [8.243]*terra dehīscēns* reveals the Underworld below.

[24]*mihi*: dat. of disadvantage.

[25]*Pater omnipotēns* = Jupiter. *omnipotēns* 'all-powerful' is a standard epithet of the *Aeneid*'s supreme divinity.

[26]*pallentīs ... profundam*: the entire line stands in apposition to [25]*ad umbras*: it specifies what shades she means: those in the Underworld. The design of the verse is perfectly symmetrical, with a chiasmus of attribute (*pallentīs*) – noun (*umbrās*) : noun (*noctem*) – attribute (*profundam*, alliterative with *pallentīs*) arranged around the decisive cosmographic specification, *Erebō* (an abl. of place: in Erebus, i.e. the Underworld), further stressed by the caesura. *Erebus*, a Greek loanword (Ἔρεβος), evokes several passages in Homer and Hesiod. *Iliad* 9.571–72 establishes that the Erinys ('Avenging Fury')—the divinity, in other words, who ensures that violations of oaths or self-imprecations like Dido's do not go unpunished—dwells in Erebos. At *Odyssey* 11.563–64, Ajax, after being addressed by Odysseus, silently wanders off 'into Erebus' in a scene that Virgil rewrites in Book 6, with Dido taking the role of Ajax and Aeneas that of Odysseus (see Fig. 3). And Erebus is the place where Father Sky kept his defiant sons Obriareus, Cottus, and Gyges in bondage, until Zeus released them so that they could aid the Olympians in their battle with the Titans (Hesiod, *Theogony* 616–86, esp. 669). In Greek, *erebos*, apart from specifying a location within the Underworld, means 'shadowy darkness', and the placement of *umbrās* next to *Erebō* thus provides a Latin gloss on what Erebus signifies in Greek. Dido does not fool around: she calls herself to order, to re-bind herself to her vow of chastity, by the strongest possible means. As Henderson puts it, 'putting the fear of Hesiodic Zeus up herself SHOULD work!' And yet it doesn't. The consequences are as dire as the self-imprecation designed to prevent them.

[27]*Pudor*: a complex term and one of the key themes of the Dido episode (see also 55 and 322). The basic meaning of *pudor*, here personified and addressed directly in an apostrophe, is a gender-neutral 'sense of shame'. It is thus not entirely clear why yielding to her feelings for

Aeneas provokes *pudor* and what, precisely, the laws (*iūra*) of *pudor* are that Dido feels she would break. Her sister Anna will argue shortly that giving in to her feelings should be no cause for *pudor* whatsoever. The difference in attitude suggests that Dido's *pudor* is to some extent self-made or perhaps even excessive—or is Anna simply shameless? Angles to be considered include:

1. ***Pudor* Personified:** Unlike other personified concepts of human social behaviour (such as *Pudīcitia*, the personification of female chastity), *Pudor* personified (a development of the Augustan period) never received a public cult, though Augustan poets often seem oblivious to this distinction (Bendlin 2006; further Langlands 2006: ch.1).
2. **The Literary Background:** Virgil has crafted his text with the αἰδώς/*aidōs* ('sense of shame', the Greek equivalent of *pudor*) of Apollonius' Medea in mind, who experiences a similar conflict between 'desire' and 'restraint': should she help the handsome stranger to get the golden fleece or remain loyal to her father? After waking up from nightmares about Jason and what she might be doing on his behalf, Medea decides to consult her sister only to be checked by her sense of shame (3.646–55): 'And she truly desired to visit her sister and crossed the threshold to the courtyard, but for a long time she remained there in the vestibule of her room, held back by shame [αἰδώς/*aidōs*]. She turned around and went back again, but once more came forth from within, and again shrank back inside. Her feet carried her back and forth in vain: whenever she started forth, shame [αἰδώς/*aidōs*] held her back inside, but while restrained by shame [αἰδώς/*aidōs*], bold desire kept urging her on. Three times she tried, three times she halted. The fourth time she whirled back around and fell face down on her bed.' Alerted to Medea's crying, Chalciope seeks out her sister, whereupon Medea experiences another struggle between shame (αἰδώς/*aidōs*) and desire (3.681–87): 'The girl's cheeks blushed, and for a long time her virgin shame [αἰδώς] restrained her, although she longed to reply. At one moment her words rose up to the tip of her tongue, but at another fluttered deep down in her breast. Often they rushed up to her lovely lips for utterance,

but went no further to become speech. At last she spoke these words deceitfully, for the bold Loves [θρασέες ... Ἔρωτες] were urging her on.' And finally, once back on her own, she decides to help Jason and sends shame packing, in a direct address (3.785–86): ἐρρέτω αἰδώς, | ἐρρέτω ἀγλαΐη 'Away with Shame, away with glory!' Despite obvious parallels in plot and a range of allusive gestures, the intertextual mirror highlights differences, not least in their respective 'sense of shame', just as much as similarities: Apollonius' Medea is a bashful virgin touched by Eros for the very first time and struggles to come to terms with unfamiliar and overpowering emotions; Dido is a widowed stateswoman who has built her personal and public identity around faithful devotion to her murdered husband.

3. **The Roman Cultural Context:** *pudor* is an emotion that ensures our actions conform to acceptable standards of behaviour, either our own or those of others: 'People feel *pudor* not only because they are seen, or fear being seen, by someone else, but also because they see themselves and know that their present behavior falls short of their past or ideal selves' (Kaster 1997: 5). Its remit of reference is broader than *pudīcitia*, which, while deriving from *pudor*, has the more specific sense of 'female virtue in sexual matters'. But in the case of women, *pudor* 'was largely limited to a single frame of reference, the sexual: the *pudor* of women is, in effect, congruent with their *pudīcitia*, or sexual respectability' (Kaster 1997: 9–10). Despite obvious parallels, αἰδώς/*aidōs* and *pudor* are thus not identical in meaning: '*Pudor* is a concept of moral restraint of far greater meaning than Greek αἰδώς/*aidōs*. Its power within Dido increases her stature as a symbolic adversary to Aeneas. She is here invested with a peculiarly *Roman* quality: her humanity and sympathy for Aeneas are overlaid with a dignity of personal conduct appropriate to a Roman lady' (Collard 1975: 145).
4. **The Philosophy of Self-Restraint:** Philosophical musings on desire relocate the court of public opinion within the self: *pudor* serves as an internal control that keeps impulses in check. Cicero in *Dē Fīnibus* 2.113 defines it as 'a sense of modesty to curb the appetites' (= *moderātor cupiditātis*) that helps humans

to aspire to something higher and loftier than mere pleasure.

5. **Dido as *ūniuira*?:** Some scholars have tried to explain Dido's feeling of *pudor* with the Roman ideal of a woman who only ever had one husband: 'Dido's feelings also involve the Roman concept of *ūniuirātus*, or a woman's having only one husband for life, which in Vergil's time was partly revered, partly ignored as old-fashioned. Only *ūniuirae* could sacrifice to the goddess *Pudīcitia*, but around the time of the posthumous publication of the *Aeneid* widows were strongly encouraged to remarry by the Augustan marriage laws of 18 BCE' (O'Hara: 23; see Pease: 110 for further details). Such a contextual link is, however, far from straightforward. The noun *ūniuirātus* is for the first time attested in the works of the second-century CE Christian author Tertullian (160–240 CE; see *Ad Vxōrem* 1.8, 2.1; *Dē Exhortātiōne Castitātis* 13); and republican sources for the ideal of *ūniuira* are scarce and vague (e.g. Plautus, *Mercātor* 824; Catullus 111.1–2; Servius *ad Aen*. 4.166, citing Varro), which is hardly surprising given the importance of *remarriage* as a socio-political strategy within Rome's ruling elite long before Augustus felt the need to legislate on the matter. The few inscriptions (Kötting 1973) and early imperial and Christian sources (Livy 10.23.5 with Oakley 2005: 254–55; Valerius Maximus 2.1.3; Tertullian, as cited) at our disposal leave the extent to which the notion had any traction as an ideal in republican times, especially in elite circles, an open question. (As a complicating factor, the early-imperial sources that mention the ideal may even bristle at Augustan legislation that made remarriage of elite women a legal requirement.) See further Treggiari (1991: 232–37). (At the same time, as John Henderson notes, the double standard within patriarchal monogamy has always had wives wishing a successor for their widowered husbands—as in Propertius 4.11—but what husbands have wished their widows a happy replacement?)
6. **Rewriting History:** In addition to sexual ethics, *pudor* raises the problem of 'literary slander'. Its prominence in the *Aeneid* focalizes Virgil's outrageous rewriting of Dido's story: before him—and for many later authors, who refused to give credence to the Virgilian version—Dido was an exemplar of chastity,

who preferred to commit suicide rather than remarry one of the local nobles. In our historiographical sources, her own people tried to force her into an arranged marriage with Iarbas, and she escaped from the imposition by taking her own life. Inverting this tradition, Virgil eroticizes the historical Dido in making her fall in love with Aeneas (essentially assimilating her to the teenage Medea), which drives a wedge between the queen and her *pudor*, hitherto her hallmark quality. If in the historiographical tradition Dido kills herself to *preserve* her *pudor*, in Virgil she kills herself because she has *lost* it and her pre-Virgilian identity. She tries to regain at least some of her former self in a cataclysmic act of suicidal wrath (–> ***TD*** 'Historiographical Dido').

28–29[a]: ille meōs, prīmus quī mē sibi iūnxit, amōrēs | abstulit: Dido's way of saying 'he was the first—and last'. She returns to themes first broached in 16–17: *mē sibi iūnxit* recall [16]*uinclō ... sociāre iugālī*; *meōs ... amōrēs* and *prīmus* recall [17]*prīmus amor*. Commentators note the 'convoluted word order' (such as the hyperbaton of *meōs ... amōrēs* or the placement of *prīmus* outside the relative clause into which it belongs), which 'reflects Dido's confusion and agitation' (O'Hara: 24), and the alliteration and enjambment in *amōrēs | abstulit*. As Maclennan (78) notes, 'Dido half wishes this were true'. But Virgil, through verbal architecture, has already made it clear that Dido is lying or, rather, fooling herself, even before she bursts out in tears in the subsequent line. For in terms of verse design, lines 28–29 mirror [22–23]*animumque labantem | impulit*. That no other line in the vicinity features a diaeresis after the first foot enhances the effect. This is hardly coincidental: the words in enjambment, *impulit* (subject: Aeneas) and *abstulit* (subject: Sychaeus), stand in antithetical relation to one another, whereas the construction of the metre, as well as the homoioteleuton *-pulit/-tulit*, intimate that her assertion here is belied by her earlier confession that she has fallen for Aeneas. What, in John Henderson's words, was first a 'cliff-hanger slide | shove over the cliff' effect returns as a 'juncture | torn apart' called LOVE: a bridge calls for a chasm, and vice versa. The plural *meōs ... amōrēs* is both a Freudian slip (Dido handed an 'erotic' colloquial idiom, as in e.g. Catullus 10.1 *suōs ... amōrēs*, while subconsciously acknowledging that there is more than one, as also latent in erotic usage!) and an allusive gesture to the

Ἔρωτες/*Erōtes* ('Loves') of Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3.687 (cited above).

29[b]: ill(e) habeat sēcum seruetque sepulcrō: the acc. obj. of *habeat* (= *meōs amōrēs*) needs to be supplied from the previous sentence. *sepulcrō* is an abl. of place, set up by the alliterative sequence *sēcum seruetque sepulcrō*. The anaphora of *ille* in 28 and 29 contrasts with Dido's use of the demonstrative pronoun *hic* to refer to Aeneas in 10 and 22 (and with [14]*ille*): already the Trojan hero has a more immediate presence in Dido's heart than her dead husband. Poignantly, Dido's first speech ends with a reference to a tomb (*sepulcrō*). Whereas she tends to be deluded in matters of love, she sees remarkably clearly in matters of death. Sychaeus has indeed preserved his affection for her, as *Aeneid* 6.473–74 illustrates: after her encounter with Aeneas in the Underworld (Fig. 3), Dido recedes to a shady grove, 'where Sychaeus, her former husband, devotes himself to her sorrows and gives her love for love' (*coniūnx ubi prīstinus illī | respondet cūrīs aequatque Sychaeus amōrem*). Dido here sets up her second and final tragedy. See Moorten (1990: 155): 'In Dido's passion for Sychaeus, love and death had touched for the first but not the last time. Then she survived the grief of loss, but in a cruel irony, her courage in the face of calamity and her enduring love for the good man who had died only ensured that she would be inexorably overtaken by another love destined to culminate in her own destruction. Like the tragic heroine she is, Dido's very virtues are a precondition of her downfall. Her tragedy is redundant: love and death pave the way for love and death.'

30: sīc effāta sinum lacrimīs implēuit obortīs: *lacrimīs* is an instrumental abl. modified by the participle *obortīs* (from *oborior*, *oborīrī*): 'the verb seems to imply that the tears came spontaneously, in spite of her intention, as opposed to the *lacrimīs ... coāctīs* of Sinon (2, 196)' (Pease: 113). He cites the ancient commentator Donatus for possible reasons: Dido may have been overwhelmed by the affectionate memory of her dead, yet faithful husband; or the tears could be interpreted as an index of the profound misery her determination to remain loyal to Sychaeus is causing her. The two reasons are not mutually exclusive and there may well be others: the tears could also be taken as an indication of her dawning realization that she will soon abandon her resolve. (She's managed to pour *out* her lot (*ef-fāta*) and filled *in* her speech with a heartful (*im-plēuit*): as tears well up, words drown, in this start to finish.)

31–53: Sister Act II: Anna's Reply

Dido has put her sister in an impossible situation: it does not require much intuition to divine that she longs to give in to her fatal attraction to Aeneas. At the same time, she has done her very best to close this option down. Her self-imprecation linked to an apostrophe of *Pudor* pre-emptively deprives Anna of leeway in counselling her sister. By invoking a personified value and (coming close to) uttering an 'unbreakable vow' in a desperate attempt to prevent herself from succumbing to her irresistible passion, Dido essentially side-lines her confidante. (In romance discourse, we too know, this also amounts to a challenge, raising the bar.) Anna must disregard both Dido's personal scruples and the supernatural obligations her sister (wishes to have) imposed on herself. She gives priority to what she knows Dido yearns for. Her reply, which is just slightly longer than Dido's speech, falls into four parts of gradually diminishing length (8/6/5/4):

1: 31–38: Consideration of Dido's (non-existent) love life, which falls into two halves of four lines each:
  1.1: 31–34: Dido, Anna urges, deserves to experience love again and to have children, and should quit wasting pieties on the ashes of her former husband.
  1.2: 35–38: A quick, contrastive retrospect: Dido, while in mourning (*aegra*), understandably rejected her host of local suitors; but why fight genuine love?
2: 39–44: Strategic advantages of giving in to her feelings for Aeneas: he will protect Carthage from the many enemies threatening the city.
3: 45–49: Suggestion that the arrival of Aeneas at Carthage is part of a divine plan to secure a glorious future for the city.
4: 50–53: Practical proposals of what to do to ensure divine support and get Aeneas to stay.

In the first two parts of her speech, Anna heavily relies on rhetorical questions. **1.1** comprises two. **1.2** begins by stating facts, which yield a

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further rhetorical question (38*placitōne etiam pugnābis amōrī?*). **2** inverts this pattern by beginning with a rhetorical question (39*nec uenit in mentem quōrum cōnsēderis aruīs?*) before stating the answer and concluding with another rhetorical question cast as *praeteritio* (43–44*quid bella Tyrō surgentia dīcam | germānīque minās?*). Throughout this section, then, Anna does not so much dispense advice as ask 'how could you not act on your passion'? She then changes tack (**3**). After assuring Dido that there is no reason why she ought not to give in but countless reasons why she should, Anna embeds Dido's love within larger frames of reference: divine will and the future glory of Carthage owing to a marriage-alliance with Aeneas. Civic considerations already dominated in **2** but are here turned from something negative (threats) into something positive (a vision of future greatness). As if Dido's decision is by now a foregone conclusion, Anna ends her speech with practical advice on how to ensure the continuing goodwill of the gods and the continuing presence of Aeneas. Overall, then, she counters Dido's religious commitment to the dead (and Death!), with an affirmation of Life, in all its facets, personal and political: fulfilling sex, a happy marriage, the joys of children, the prospect of being the reigning monarch of a powerful and prosperous city and the founder of a dynasty, with future fame and the blessing of the gods.

In tragedy, confidants hardly ever give sound advice, however well-intentioned they may be. The nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, for instance, counsels Phaedra to act on her feelings and reveal her illicit desire to her stepson Hippolytus. The results are disastrous. What can be said for Anna is that she argues not in favour of a love affair but a marriage alliance (grounded in love, to be sure).

Extra information

Anna's counterpart in the second half of the epic is Turnus' half-sister Juturna. They form a tragic pair: 'Anna and Juturna often know instinctively what Dido and Turnus want, but never what they so often seem to need: sobering and steadying advice. Hence each sister, although she wishes only to help, unintentionally does great harm through releasing impulses in the beloved which turn out to be destructive. Far from helping, Anna and Juturna contribute to the ruin of their loved ones' (West 1979: 10).

31–33: Anna refert: 'ō lūce magis dīlēcta sorōrī, | [32]sōlane perpetuā maerēns carpēre iuuentā, |[33]nec dulcīs nātōs Veneris nec praemia nōris?: the vocative *dīlēcta* 'beloved' refers to Dido; *lūce* is abl. of comparison after *magis* ('more beloved than light'); *sorōrī* (= *mihi*; ethical dat. or dat. of agency: 'to/by your sister = me') is Anna herself. Her keynote *lūce* stands in stark antithesis to the last words of Dido's speech, *sepulcrō*: 'He's dead; you're not is the obvious way to knock closure with *sepulcrō* | on the head' (Henderson). The particle *-ne* introduces a question and expresses exasperation. By singling out Dido with *sōla*, Anna picks up Dido's reference to Aeneas with [22]*sōlus hic*, suggesting, however subliminally, that the two are made for each other. *perpetuā ... iuuentā* 'during your entire [*OLD perpetuus* 1d: Dido is *not* eternally youthful] period of youth': an abl. of time. *carpēre* (= *carpēris*): 2nd pers. sg. fut. pass. ind. of *carpō*; the sense here is intransitive (*OLD* 7c): 'are you going to waste away?' Virgil used the same verb in a similar sense at 2: Dido *is* wasting away (though not 'in mourning': [32]*maerēns* = circumstantial participle). [33]*nōris* (= syncopated form of *nōueris*): 2nd pers. sg. fut. perf. act. of *nōscō*. *dulcīs* agrees with *nātōs*, but in sense modifies *praemia* as well. Similarly, *Veneris* is best construed with both *dulcīs nātōs* (see below) and *praemia*. The goddess of love takes centre-stage in this verse, presiding over studiously ambiguous syntax and semantics. One way to construe the two acc. objects is as 'theme and variation': sweet sons *are* the rewards (*praemia*) of engaging in sexual intercourse (*Veneris*). In this reading, Anna would slyly cover up Dido's overwhelming erotic desire by downplaying the act of sex and emphasizing its socially desirable outcome (offspring). But one could read her rhetoric against the grain and see *dulcīs nātōs* and *praemia Veneris* as two distinct if related ideas, detailing two different functions of yielding to erotic desire, i.e. reproduction and pleasure, in what would amount to a coy *husteron proteron*: Anna first refers to procreation and then hints at sexual gratification. After all, the phrase *praemia Veneris* leaves a lot to the (erotic) imagination: what exactly are 'the rewards of love/Venus'?

There are further details to savour: while the genitive *Veneris* depends on *praemia* ('the rewards of love'), the postponed *nec* (standard word order would be: *nec Veneris praemia*) does more than provide 'metrical flexibility' (O'Hara: 24). For a fleeting moment, *Veneris* modifies *dulcīs nātōs*, with Anna asking her sister whether she will never have come

to know 'the sweet sons of Venus'. Unbeknownst to her or Dido, Dido *has* come to know both sons of Venus, Aeneas and Cupid (whom she embraced in the guise of Ascanius). (For the brother act, see 1.664–69, where Venus addresses her son with *nāte*, *meae uīrēs*, *mea magna potentia* ... 'Son, my strength, my mighty power...' before enlisting him to help his brother: *frāter ... Aenēās ... tuus*.) Virgil thus plays with the double sense of *Venus*: the goddess of love and (as metonym) the emotion/experience of 'love/sex'. Anna seems to have the latter sense in mind, but Virgil encourages activation of the former sense as well: Venus is a powerful presence in his divine machinery and has already arranged for Dido to receive presents from Love (1.695–96*iamque ībat dictō pārēns et dōna Cupīdō | rēgia portābat Tyriīs...* 'and now, obeying her word, Cupid went forth and carried the royal gifts for the Tyrians...').

34: id ciner(em) aut Mānīs crēdis cūrāre sepultōs?: *crēdis* introduces an indirect statement with *cinerem* and *Mānīs ... sepultōs* as subj. accusatives and *cūrāre* as inf. The pronoun *id* is the acc. obj. of *cūrāre* (here 'to pay heed to') and sums up the previous rhetorical question (is Dido to waste away her youth in mourning for her murdered husband?). *Mānēs*, *Mānium* (m. pl.) are primarily 'the spirits of the dead' or 'the shade of a particular person' (*OLD* 1b and c), but, as *sepultōs* makes clear, Anna uses the word in the sense of 'mortal remains' (*OLD* 2) as a virtual synonym of *cinis*. This line is Anna's answer to Dido's closing sentence 29*ille habeat sēcum seruetque sepulcrō*, which grants Sychaeus continuing existence in the hereafter. Picking up *sepulcrō* with *sepultōs*, Anna argues that Sychaeus is dead and buried and hence unable to concern himself with what Dido feels or does: whether she grieves for him or begins a new relationship is all the same. This position has affinities with Epicurean philosophy: Epicurus too maintained that our soul does not survive our body, consisting as it does of an agglomeration of atoms that simply disperse in death. But this view turns out to be disastrously misguided in Virgil's world.

35[a]: est(ō): 3rd pers. sg. fut. imp. with a concessive sense: 'so be it!' (*OLD sum* 8b). Anna uses the exclamation as point of departure to survey Dido's previous opportunities for remarriage, recalling the suitors she spurned in her native Tyre and subsequently in Libya. Intriguingly, she thereby reaffirms the image of Dido in the historiographical tradition, where

the queen features as a model of chastity —> ***TD*** 'Historiographical Dido'. But Anna then clamours for fully embracing a departure from the orthodox storyline, in which Dido and Aeneas never met: 'Fair enough,' she says, 'you didn't love *those others*—but why deny yourself the second love of your life?'

35[b]–36[a]: aegram nūllī quondam flexēre marītī, | nōn Libyae, nōn ante Tyrō: 'you [a *tē* is implied], in your sorrow, no wooers have been able to move, not from/in Libya, not previously from/in Tyre'. A *marītus* is usually a husband, but here the sense is akin to 'prospective husband'. Anna's chosen idiom subtly aligns itself with Dido's: *nūllī ... flexēre marītī* picks up [22]*sōlus hic īnflexit sēnsūs*..., and she continues to plant the idea of marriage in the mind of her sister by using a term that suggests a *fait accompli*. The predicative adj. *aegram* refers to Dido, agreeing with the implied *tē*. O'Hara (24) asks: 'in what way does Anna think Dido is "sick" (cf. *male sana* in 8)? With sorrow for Sychaeus? With disgust at her suitors...?' But Maclennan (2007: 79), taking *aegram* closely with *quondam*, ingeniously suggests that Anna does not think of Dido as sick at all, but rather as cured by her new-found love for Aeneas: 'formerly [*quondam*], when you were sick with grief (for Sychaeus) ...' The adj. may also recall 1.351–52 (from the account of Dido's biography that Venus gives to Aeneas) ... *factumque diū cēlāuit* [*sc. Pygmaliōn*] *et aegram | multa malus simulāns uānā spē lūsit amantem* 'and for long he [sc. Pygmalion] covered up the deed [sc. of murdering Sychaeus] and by many a pretence cunningly cheated her, sick with love [and worry?] as she was, with empty hope'.

[36a]*Libyae ... Tyrō*: perhaps a grammatical enallage: in form, *Libyae* is locative, though in sense it is perhaps best understood as an abl. of place or origin (*Libyā*), whereas *Tyrō* is in form an abl. of place, though in sense a locative (*Tyrī*). Tyre was Dido's hometown in Phoenicia, which she fled after the murder of Sychaeus. The reference here is curious since, at least according to Venus, there was no time for entering into a new relationship: initially, Pygmalion covered up the crime, so Dido did not know that her husband was dead, and as soon as she found out through an apparition, she fled the city (1.345–64). Anna must have known this (indeed, one could argue that the grammatical enallage surreptitiously highlights her 'spinning' of the facts), but her hyperbolic

tweaking of the truth has a clear rhetorical purpose: it emphasizes the extent of Dido's refusal to get on with life and love, which has led to the indiscriminate rejection of both countrymen and foreign suitors. The implication is 'enough is enough'.

36[b]–38[a]: dēspectus Iarbās | ductōrēsqu(e) aliī, quōs Āfrica terra triumphīs | dīues alit: *dēspectus* [*est*] = 3rd pers. sg. perf. ind. pass. of *dēspiciō*. With *ductōrēs ... aliī* the verb form to be supplied is *dēspectī sunt*. Iarbas, a son of Jupiter, is the African king in control of the land on which Dido is building her city and is none too pleased that she rejected him as suitor. When he hears of her affair with Aeneas (which is adding insult to injury), he kicks up a royal fuss with his father: see 196–221. Enjambment (*triumphīs | dīues* 'rich in triumphs') and alliterative patterning that draws out thematic-causal links (*dēspectus ~ ductōrēs ~ dīues*; *aliī ~ alit*) help to underscore the scenario of danger that Dido's refusal to enter a marriage alliance has generated. The strong caesura after *alit* concludes the thought that Anna introduced with [35]*estō*: it serves as negative foil for the rhetorical question that takes up the rest of the verse.

[37]*triumphīs*: the triumph is the quintessential Roman victory ritual, involving the procession of the conquering general from the Campus Martius to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus or Mars Ultor in imperial times (Beard 2007). Even though the term can also denote 'military victory' more generally, its use here by Anna is curious and potentially contains another (historical) irony by evoking the Roman conquest of Africa and the many triumphal parades that ensued: Africa, in this reading, is rich in triumphs *for the Romans*. This at least is what Juno fears ([1.21–22]*hinc populum lātē rēgem bellōque superbum | uentūrum excidiō Libyae*... 'from there a people, kings far and wide and proud in war, should come forth for the downfall of Libya'). Virgil again reveals Anna to be a person of limited insight by giving her constructions and phrases that resonate with meanings she herself cannot possibly be aware of. Thematically, though, the reference to triumphs as a metonymy of military might is entirely appropriate: it anticipates her next argumentative turn. Dido should yield to her love for Aeneas for strategic reasons: the union would fortify the precarious position of Carthage in a supremely hostile environment.

38[b]: placitōn(e) etiam pugnābis amōrī?: *-ne* introduces another exasperated question. *placitus*, the perf. pass. part. of *placeō*, has an active

sense here: 'a love that is pleasing'. The combination of *placitō amōrī* and *pugnābis* (linked by alliteration) generates a paradox that Dido is asked to resolve by discontinuing her fight against love. It also marks a subtle change in Anna's argument: after expressing sympathy for Dido's rejection of suitors while she was *aegra* with grief for Sychaeus (even though, as she implies, there were good strategic reasons to accept one of her African suitors), she now switches into exhortative mode. The rationale for an alliance still applies, while one of the reasons for not entering one (the lack of a suitor for whom Dido harbours amorous feelings) has disappeared. In her argument, Anna sets aside two salient points: (a) in line with her belief that the dead ought to have no bearing on the living (34), she ignores Dido's lingering feelings of loyalty to Sychaeus, making out as though her sister's renewed ability to love would enable her to enter into another marriage freely and happily; (b) Anna takes Aeneas' consent for granted, even though Aeneas has not presented himself *as* a suitor; this is a nice touch in terms of boosting the morale of her sister but proves a fatal flaw in her approach to the problem. In both respects, Anna misunderstands, or begs to differ from, her sister, for whom Sychaeus remains a powerful point of reference throughout and who intuitively knows very well that Aeneas will not, cannot, stay for good: even while their affair is in full swing (to the point of Aeneas helping with the construction of Carthage), Dido remains ill at ease ([298]*omnia tūta timēns*).

39: nec uenit in mentem quōrum cōnsēderis aruīs? *uenit* (with short *e*, as here) is pres. ind. (*uēnit* with long *ē* is perf. ind.). *cōnsēderis*, the verb of the indirect question introduced by *quōrum*, is 2nd pers. sg. perf. act. subjunctive of *cōnsīdō*, here: 'to settle as a colonist, to make one's home' (*OLD* 4). Anna's focus remains exclusively on Dido, as she continues to marginalize both herself and the other Tyrian refugees, in implicit contrast to the historiographical tradition against which Virgil is writing, wherein her fellow travellers try to force Dido into a marriage alliance with a local ruler in the interest of communal safety.

40–43[a]: hinc Gaetūl(ae) urbēs, genus īnsuperābile bellō, | [41]**et Numid(ae) īnfrēnī cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;** | [42]**hinc dēserta sitī regiō lātēque furentēs** | [43a]**Barcaeī:** five subjects each with an attribute (*Gaetūlae urbēs*, *Numidae īnfrēnī*, *inhospita Syrtis*, *dēserta ... regiō*, *furentēs Barcaeī*), one verb (*cingunt*; it lacks an acc. obj., which one could supply—*tē* or *nōs*—though the absolute use enhances the ominous sense of being

ringed in on all sides by hostile people and inhospitable landscape). Wherever one looks, there are either enemies or wastelands around (*hinc*, *hinc*), and that is not even considering foes threatening from afar, such as from Dido's hometown Tyre, which Anna alludes to in the following sentence. Situated on a map, her geographical references look as follows:

Fig. 84 Map of geographical references (created by the author).

[40]*Gaetūlae urbēs*, *genus īnsuperābile bellō*: the adjective *Gaetūlus* ('of the Gaetulians, Gaetulian') refers very generally to the people that lived in the interior of Northwest Africa. The phrasing slips from the topographical (*urbēs*) to the ethnic (*genus*), with *genus īnsuperābile bellō* standing in apposition to the notional *urbēs Gaetūlōrum*. The reference to cities may surprise, though at 1.578 Dido mentions the woods *and cities* of Libya where Aeneas may have gotten lost. And in the prehistorical geography of the *Aeneid*, the Gaetulian king Iarbas ([326]*Gaetūlus Iarbās*) also holds sway over the coastal region of Northwest Africa, including the territory where Dido marked out her colonial settlement of Carthage,

which became part of the kingdom of Numidia.

Anna's idiom recalls other ethnographic comments in the *Aeneid*. As here, they often involve reference to a city or a people/ethnic community (*genus*) and an attribute in predicative position, rendered more precise by an abl. of respect, frequently indicating martial qualities. Two such instances occur in the extended proem: [1.13–14]*Karthāgō ... studiīs ... asperrima bellī* 'Carthage, most stern in the pursuits of war' and [1.21]*populum ... bellō ... superbum* 'a people ... proud in war' (= the Romans). Another passage that resonates strongly here is 1.339, wherein Venus (disguised as a Carthaginian maid) describes the inhabitants of Libya as a *genus intractābile bellō* 'a race unconquerable in war'.

Extra information

In his survey of the geography, ethnography, and history of Africa at *Bellum Jugurthīnum* 17–19, Sallust (c. 86 – c. 35) identifies the Gaetulians together with the Libyans as one of two aboriginal peoples who practised a hunter-and-gatherer lifestyle (18.1–2 *Āfricam initiō habuēre Gaetūlī et Libyēs, asperī incultīque, quīs cibus erat carō ferīna atque humī pābulum uti pecoribus. eī neque mōribus neque lēge aut imperiō quoiusquam regēbantur; uagī, palantēs, quās nox coēgerat sēdēs habēbant* 'Africa was at first inhabited by Gaetulians and Libyans, rough and uncivilized folk, whose food was the flesh of wild animals and fodder of the ground, like cattle's. They were governed neither by institutions nor laws nor by anyone's authority; aimless drifters, they had as their stopping points whatever spot night forced upon them')—with the Gaetulians living more to the South (18.9 *Gaetūlī sub sōle magis, haud procul ab ārdōribus* 'the Gaetulians were more under the sun, not far from the regions of heat') and being more warlike (18.12 ...*quia Libyēs quam Gaetūlī minus bellicōsī* 'because the Libyans are less warlike than the Gaetulians'). Later, some are said to have intermarried with invaders from Asia and acquired the label 'nomads' because of their semi-sedentary lifestyle (18.7 *eī* [= *Persae*] *paulātim per cōnūbia Gaetūlōs sēcum miscuēre et, quia saepe temptantēs agrōs alia, deinde alia loca petīuerant, sēmet ipsī Nomadās appellauēre*. 'Through intermarriage the Persians were gradually merged with the Gaetulians and because they often sought out now this place and now that one in making trial of the soil, they called themselves Nomads'). For his own times, Sallust locates

Gaetulians (some sedentary, some nomadic) to the South of the kingdom of Numidia (19.3–6 *deinde Philaenōn ārae, quem locum Aegyptum uorsus fīnem imperī habuēre Carthāginiēnsēs; post aliae Pūnicae urbēs. cētera loca usque ad Maurētāniam Numidae tenent, proxumī Hispāniam Maurī sunt. super Numidiam Gaetūlōs accēpimus partim in tuguriīs, aliōs incultius uagōs agitāre, post eōs Aethiopās esse, dehinc loca exusta sōlis ārdōribus* 'Next is a site called the Altars of the Philaeni, the point which the Carthaginians regarded as marking the boundary of their empire in the direction of Egypt; then other Punic cities. The rest of the region as far as Mauritania is held by the Numidians, while the people nearest Spain are the Moors. South of Numidia, so we are told, are the Gaetulians, some of whom live in huts, while others lead a less civilized, nomadic life. Still farther to the south are the Ethiopians; then the regions scorched by the sun's heat'). But as Quinn (2024: 3) emphasizes, 'Whether these Gaetulians themselves had any investment in collective identity is less clear. Self-declared *Gaetuli* are relatively rare even in the Roman period, and they appear only in Roman cultural contexts'. If the Gaetulians are a colonial invention, the most likely source is not Roman but 'Numidian imperial rhetoric' as codified in the 'Phoenician books' supposedly composed by a Numidian king called Hiempsal, which Sallust identifies as his main source (*Bellum Jugurthīnum* 17.7; Quinn 2024: 3; further Shaw 2021: 169–95).

[40]*īnsuperābile*: Virgil has a fondness for adjectives ending in the suffix *-bilis/-bile* ('able'), often negated as here ('unconquerable'); cf. [53]*tractābile* and, perhaps most famously, [8.625]*clipeī nōn ēnārrābile textum*, to convey the impossibility of putting into words the texture of images engraved on Aeneas' shield.

[41]*Numidae īnfrēnī*: *Numida, -ae* m., (from Greek νομάς/*nomas*) is a native of Numidia, a region in Northwest Africa (see Sallust *Bellum Jugurthīnum* 19.3–6, cited above); the attribute 'unbridled' (*īnfrēnī*) may refer to their way of riding horses, their ethnic character, or their way of life. 'Numidians were traditionally according to Greek accounts the people of North Africa not under Carthaginian rule, as opposed to the tributary Libyans, but by Virgil's time they must have been associated above all with the "Numidian" kingdoms that emerge inland in the third century BCE, culminating in the sole rule of Massinissa and his descendants (including Jugurtha) in the second and earlier first centuries, before

their territory was taken for Rome by Caesar in the civil wars' (Josephine Quinn, via email; see further Quinn 2013).

41*inhospita Syrtis*: the reference to the Syrtis recalls the sea-storm in *Aeneid* 1 that wrecked Aeneas' fleet. Three of the ships were forced by eastern winds from the deep into shallows and sandbanks (*ab altō | in breuia et syrtīs*), where they remained stuck (1.110–12) until Neptune removed the accumulated sand (1.146*et uāstās aperit syrtīs*). Here, the singular Syrtis may refer either to the two areas of sandy flats between Carthage and Cyrene to the east, or 'the whole desert region adjoining the coast' (so the *OLD* c). Ancient etymologists connect the name with the Greek verb σύρω/*surō*, 'to drag off by force', an aspect well brought out by the attribute *inhospita*.

42–43a*hinc dēserta sitī regiō lātēque furentēs | Barcaeī*: the information under the second *hinc* mirrors that of the first in a thematic chiasmus: after people (Gaetulians, Numidians) and place (Syrtis), we now get place (the desert region; *sitī* is abl. (of cause) of *sitis*, *sitis*, f. 'thirst', here in the transferred sense 'arid weather, drought') and people (the Barcaeans). The *Barcaeī* are strictly speaking the people of *Barcē* (Βάρκη), a city located in the Cyrenaica, close to present-day Tripoli, but the label is not attested elsewhere. Virgil may have chosen this city for its associations with the Carthaginian Barca family to which Hannibal belonged (see below on 632 on Sychaeus' nurse Barce). *Barca* is the Punic word for 'lightning', and *lātē ... furentēs* 'raging far and wide' well captures both the etymology of Barca and Hannibal's actions in Italy during the Second Punic War. From the start of the *Aeneid*, the world-historical showdown between Rome and Carthage in the Punic Wars of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE forms a wider historical horizon against which the epic action unfolds, and Virgil drops consistent reminders that *Aeneid* 1–4 provides, among much else, the aetiology for the most lethal military conflict Rome experienced in its rise to imperial hegemony. See below on 625.

Matching up Anna's (rhetorical) vision of the region with (prehistoric) realities or the historical realities of Virgil's time is difficult. If Anna operates with accurate geographical awareness (but of what period?), she begins in the south with the Gaetulian cities, then moves clockwise to the southwest (the Numidians), the east (the Syrtis), and the

southeast (the desert and the Barcaeans). At the same time, this circular motion is belied by *hinc – hinc*, which suggests a bipartite division: the Gaetulian cities, the Numidians, and the Syrtis on one side, the desert and the Barcaeans on the other. As the map shows, this does not quite work since the Numidians and the Syrtis are located on opposite sides of Carthage. Anna seems more interested in her rhetorical agenda than geographical precision: the more vulnerable Dido considers herself to be, the greater the appeal of a powerful union with the Trojan hero, and Anna creates an image of Carthage as an isolated colonial settlement, governed by a lonely queen in the thralls of love, surrounded by hostile and warlike people.

To some extent, Anna is gaslighting: Virgil already dropped hints that the Phoenician settlers fit right into their new environment. In the proem, Carthage is characterized as both rich and warlike (14), and in the narrative proper a divine intervention is necessary for the Carthaginians to put aside their ferocious hearts and for Dido to adopt a benevolent disposition towards the shipwrecked Trojans (1.302–4*pōnuntque ferōcia Poenī | corda uolente deō*; *in prīmīs rēgīna quiētum | accipit in Teucrōs animum mentemque benīgnam* 'with the god willing it, the Punic people lay aside their savage hearts; above all the queen receives a gentle soul and friendly mind towards the Teucrians').

For recent scholarship on the history of ancient North Africa and its peoples (and how they feature in indigenous, Greek, and Roman sources), see Brett and Fentress (1996), Quinn (2013), Hesekamp (2021) with the review by Giusti (2022), Mattingly (2023) with the review by Quinn (2024), and Biggs and Cazeaux (2025).

43^{b}–44^{a}: quid bella Tyrō surgentia dīcam | germānīque minās?: Dido left Tyre with the state-treasure, much to the dislike of her brother (*germānus*) Pygmalion. This is one of the reasons why Aeneas and his men initially receive such a frosty welcome: the Carthaginians are expecting an attack from the sea and would not at first allow Aeneas' men to land (1.540*hospitiō prohibēmur harēnae*). *Tyrō* is ablative of origin ('arising from Tyre'). 44^{a} is one of the notorious half-lines in the *Aeneid*, evidence of the poem's incomplete state when Virgil died. Here a trailing-off halfway through the line is thematically appropriate: Anna, after all, is using the rhetorical device of *praeteritio*, a technique of mentioning something without elaborating on it as unnecessary or inappropriate.

45–46: dīs equid(em) auspicibus reor et Iūnōne secundā | hunc curs(um) Īliacās uentō tenuisse carīnās: apart from the main verb *reor* and its qualifier *equidem*, the two verses consist of an indirect statement, with *Īliacās ... carīnās* as subj. acc., *tenuisse* as verb and *hunc cursum* its acc. obj. The two abl. absolutes *dīs ... auspicibus* 'with the gods favourably disposed' and *Iūnōne secundā* 'with Juno's blessing' belong in the indirect statement but are fronted for emphasis. *auspex, auspicis* denotes a religious functionary who gets information about the will of the gods from the behaviour of birds (flight or feeding patterns, cries), but can also have the more general sense of (divine) patron or supporter (*OLD* 3). The lines drip with unintended irony: Anna hasn't a clue what she is talking about. Juno had no intention whatsoever of blasting Aeneas to Africa; she set out to sink his fleet. The arrival of Aeneas at Carthage is an accident rather than the result of divine planning: Juno (etymologized as 'helper') is here the opposite of *auspex* or *secunda*, and the wind that blew Aeneas Dido's way was not a favourable (in Latin: *secundus*, implied by Juno's attribute) breeze but a destructive storm. Yet again, Anna misjudges a matter involving the gods. By now her ignorance and naiveté are obvious: the advice she gives Dido is bound to be flawed or at least out of touch with the realities that apply in the *Aeneid*. But this is in keeping with her dramatic role: 'Anna's job is to voice seductive thoughts "for" Dido, to feed them to her: the *altera ego* says what's forbidden to the self' (Henderson).

47–49: Anna concludes her exhortation with three exclamatory sentences (*quam ... urbem, ... quae ... rēgna! quantīs ... rēbus!*). They evoke grand prospects of fame and fortune for Dido's city and herself that are bound to ensue from the liaison to entice Dido to surrender to her desires. The design is chiastic: Anna begins with Dido and Carthage (*urbem*, *rēgna*) before adding a reference to Aeneas (*coniugiō tālī*); she then proceeds with another reference to Aeneas (*Teucrūm comitantibus armīs*) before concluding with Carthage (*Pūnica ... glōria*). The chiasmus ensures that Aeneas ends up at the centre of Carthage and its imaginary imperial future.

47–48[a]: quam t(ū) urbem, soror, hanc cernēs, quae surgere rēgna | coniugiō tālī!: both *cernēs* and *surgere* go with both exclamatory clauses: 'what a city you will [note the future tense] see rise here, what a kingdom [sc. you will see] rise with such a husband'. '*Hanc* is

deictic, as Anna sweeps her hand towards the city' (Austin: 38). Anna systematically interrelates Carthage and Dido: *quam* (Carthage) *tū* (Dido) *urbem* (Carthage) *soror* (Dido) *hanc* (Carthage) *cernēs* (Dido), a pattern reinforced by the elision of *tū* and *urbem*, which merges Dido with her city. *coniugium* (from *coniūnx*: husband) signifies 'marriage' but may also mean 'husband'. Anna dramatically places the abl. of cause that will enable Carthage's rise to imperial greatness in enjambment.

48ᵇ–49: Teucrum comitantibus armīs | Pūnica sē quantīs attollet glōria rēbus!: 'with the arms of the Trojans [*Teucrum = Teucrōrum*; the gen. depends on *armīs*] in allied attendance, to what exploits [*quantīs ... rēbus*; *rēs* here in the sense of *rēs gestae*] will Punic glory [*Pūnica ... glōria*] lift itself [*sē*]!' = a contrived way of saying that an alliance between Trojans and Carthaginians would result in a glorious empire. 49 is almost a golden line: *Pūnica* (adj.[1]) *quantīs* (adj.[2]) *attollet* (verb) *glōria* (noun[1]) *rēbus* (noun[2]). If in the first two exclamatory sentences Anna imagines what Dido will see (*cernēs*), in the third she states an objective prospect (*sē ... attollet glōria*).

[49]*Pūnica ... glōria*: one of two instances of the label *pūnicus* in the *Aeneid*, alongside five uses of *Poenus*, *-ī*. (The other occurs in the explication of the 'transferral of empire' from Phoenicia to Libya that Venus in disguise shares with Aeneas: [1.338–41]*Pūnica rēgna uidēs, Tyriōs et Agēnoris urbem*; | *set fīnēs Libycī, genus intractābile bellō.* | *imperium Dīdō Tyriā regit urbe profecta,* | *germānum fugiēns* 'It is the Punic realm you see, a Tyrian people, and the city of Agenor; but the bordering country is Libyan, a race unconquerable in war. Dido wields the sceptre—Dido, who, fleeing from her brother, came from the city of Tyre'.) Within the Roman imaginary, the attribute ironically evokes two phrases in particular: *bellum pūnicum* and *pūnica fidēs* (on which see Thiel 1954/1994; on the labels *phoinix* and *poenus* see Prag 2014).

50–53: tū modo posce deōs ueniam, sacrīsque litātīs | [51]indulg(ē) hospitiō causāsq(ue) innecte morandī, | [52]dum pelagō dēsaeuit hiems et aquōsus Orīōn, | [53]quassātaeque ratēs [sunt]**, dum nōn tractābile caelum** [est]**':** after 47, this is the second time Anna uses *tū*. She follows it up with a tricolon of imperatives (*posce – indulgē – innecte*, linked by the two *-que* after *sacrīs* and *causās*) to detail three pieces of advice: (1) get divine approval; (2) make Aeneas feel welcome; (3) entice him to

stay. She finishes her speech with a temporal subordinate clause about the weather in winter, also designed as a tricolon, with the first and the second colon sharing one *dum*. The *-que* after *quassātae* links *dēsaeuit* ('works off rage') and *quassātae* [sc. *sunt*]; the verb in the last colon/second *dum*-clause (*est*) is elided. *pelagō* = abl. of place. Anna alternates references to the stormy seas (*pelagō dēsaeuit hiems*; *quassātae rates*) and the stormy skies (*aquōsus Orīōn*; *nōn tractābile caelum*), thus conveying a good sense of the cosmos in turmoil. 'The setting of Orion in November marked the onset of stormy weather (*hiems*); such allusions are not simply learned ornament, but a natural idiom, the stock-in-trade of any farmer or sailor' (Austin: 39). At 1.535, Ilioneus blames the trouble of the Trojans on *nimbōsus Orīōn* in his address to Dido. The parallel suggests that Anna has been eavesdropping.

[50]*modo*: the colloquial touch helps to make hooking up with Aeneas appear seductively easy: '*Just* do as I say and you'll be on your way!'

[50]*posce deōs ueniam*: with double acc. *poscō* means 'to demand something (here: *ueniam*) of someone (here: *deōs*)', or, in another idiom, 'to ask someone (here: *deōs*) insistently or authoritatively for a thing (here: *ueniam*)': *OLD* 2a. *uenia* = 'permission' or 'forgiveness'. Both senses are in play: 'Anna's phrase *posce ueniam* captures the ambiguity at the heart of this scene, for *ueniam* can mean "leave" or "permission" to do something, with no connotation of wrong, or it can mean "forgiveness" for a wrong done. Anna, who is arguing that there is nothing wrong with yielding to a new love, must be thought to mean, "ask for permission." But the other connotation of *uenia* suggests a different perspective, that perhaps Dido needs forgiveness for even being attracted to Aeneas, or wishing to break faith with Sychaeus' (O'Hara 1993a: 105–6). Indeed, just after claiming that Aeneas has arrived as part of a larger divine plan, Anna has no reason to ask the gods for 'forgiveness'; even 'permission' seems too forceful since, according to Anna, Dido would simply align herself with the will of the gods if she were to marry Aeneas. We have, then, yet another instance in which Anna's discourse yields an ironic layer of meaning which the character herself is unaware of.

[50]*sacrīs ... litātīs*: *litō*, *litāre* is a technical term of Roman religion, with a range of meanings relating to the communication between humans and

gods. Here it means 'to offer by way of propitiation or atonement to obtain divine favour'. It refers to the cult action (the performance of a sacrifice) that corresponds to, and should accompany, the prayer (a speech act) Anna has just referred to in *posce deōs ueniam*. Pease (128) argues that 'the ablative absolute here expresses a condition; if the sacrifices have turned out favorably Dido may assume that the gods favor her course of action'. But the abl. abs. construction is inherently ambiguous (and here it could be taken in a temporal rather than conditional sense, i.e. 'after divine favour has been obtained through sacrifices'), which Anna exploits for her argument. In this reading, Anna gives the impression that divine approval for her recommended course of action will certainly be forthcoming, and she uses this (erroneous) assumption as the basis for her advice on how best to retain Aeneas in Carthage.

[51]*causās ... innecte morandī*: the basic meaning of *innectō* is 'to fasten, tie, bind'. Here it has the sense 'to weave plots or to devise reasons' (*OLD* 4). Dido should try her best to tie together a series of arguments as to why Aeneas ought to stay. *morandī* = genitive of the gerund of *moror*, *morārī*, depending on *causās*. At 309–11, Dido uses the fact that Aeneas plans to depart outside the sailing season as evidence for his savage disposition towards her: 'Even during winter do you actually hasten to labour at your fleet, and to travel across the sea in the midst of northern winds, cruel one?' And she returns to the theme at 430, when she breathes to Anna, with gusto, of how she might persuade Aeneas to stay a tiny bit longer: 'let him wait for an easy flight and favourable winds!'

[52]*aquōsus Orīōn*: in Greek myth, Ὠρίων/*Ōriōn* was a heroic hunter who was turned into a constellation that, in the Northern Hemisphere, is visible during winter and hence associated with stormy weather and rain (*aquōsus*). The initial 'O' here scans short even though it transliterates the Greek ōmega. (Cf. 1.535, where the late-antique commentator Servius offers a rationale, and 10.763.)

54–89: 'Crazy Little Thing Called Love' (Queen)

The section falls into five parts:

1. Anna's discourse overcomes Dido's doubts (54–55 = 2 lines).
2. The two sisters try their best to win the favour of the gods but to no avail (56–67 = 12 lines).
3. A simile compares Dido to a hind lethally wounded by an arrow, illustrating the pathology of love and prefiguring the tragic end (68–73 = 6 lines).
4. The narrative lingers on Dido's behaviour in the company of Aeneas and on her own (74–85 = 12 lines).
5. A snapshot of the building site illustrates the disastrous impact of love on civic leadership (86–89 = 4 lines).

The overall arrangement is concentric, in terms of both length of the units and theme: 1 corresponds to 5 and 2 to 4, with 3 centred: the elaborate simile, the quintessential device of epic, could not deliver more impact.

54–55: hīs dictīs incēns(um) anim(um) īnflammāuit amōre | spemque dedit dubiae mentī soluitque pudōrem: manuscripts and commentators (from late antiquity to the present) disagree on whether Virgil wrote *incēnsum* (modifying *animum*) or *impēnsō* (modifying *amōre*). With the former, some read *īnflammāuit*, others *flammāuit*. Austin prints *hīs dictīs impēnsō animum flammāuit amore* but prefers (with others) *hīs dictīs incēnsum animum īnflammāuit amōre* (the text printed here), justifying his preferences as follows: 'The word *impēnsus* is not found elsewhere in Virgil, whereas *incēnsum* here would be very much in his manner (cf. 197); and although the fact Virgil does not elsewhere use *flammāre* transitively except in the perfect participle need not exclude *flammāuit* here, the intensive compound has more force' (40). The resulting pattern

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of alternating *i*- and *a*-alliteration ***in****cēnsum* ***a****nimum* ***īn****flammāuit* ***a****mōre* is just as fetching as the iconic, metrically motivated 'touching' of *animum* on each side by the two fire-terms *incēnsum* and *īnflammāuit*. Moreover, as Austin (40) points out, 'with that text, the caesura in the third foot is blurred by the elision, and there is none in the fourth foot, an unusual and very striking rhythm, giving a metrical picture of the inexorable spread of the fire in Dido's heart'. What can be said in favour of *impēnsō*? To begin with, Dido's mind was glowing with love even before Anna spoke; *incēnsum* hence seems somewhat tautological. In contrast, *impēnsō* would take the obvious for granted (that Dido was already on fire) and concentrate on the fact that Anna has managed to up the ante: the love that was already simmering in her veins is now kindled into a full-blown, excessive conflagration, a point stylistically reinforced by the hyperbaton *impēnsō ... amōre*. There is, moreover, a certain elegance to keeping *animum* unencumbered by any attribute, in line with the two acc. objects that follow (*spem* and *pudōrem*).

Irrespective of the readings, a tricolon describes the impact of Anna's speech. In terms of wordage, it is descending or anti-climactic: not counting *hīs dictīs*, which goes with all three (unless it is monopolized by *incēnsum*), the first colon covers four and a half feet (*incēnsum ... amōre*), the second three and a half (*spemque ... mentī*), and the third two and a half (*soluitque pudōrem*). But the gradual shortening helps to generate a tautening sense of inevitability as the fateful conclusion comes into ever-tighter focus. The final 'punch-phrase' is slimmed down to essentials: *soluitque pudorem*. It harks back to the address to *Pudor* at the end of Dido's speech and the declaration that she would sooner die than violate 'Shame' and its laws ([27]*... ante, Pudor, quam tē uiolō, aut tua iūra resoluō*). The arrangement of the third colon in chiastic order to the first two enhances the effect, ensuring that *pudor* occupies the emphatic final position: [(a)]acc. obj. *animum* + verb *īnflammāuit*, [(b)]acc. obj. *spem* + verb *dedit*, [(c)]verb *soluit* + acc. obj. *pudōrem*. The antithetical words [55]*pudōrem* and [54]*amōre* at successive verse-endings further stress that the narrative has reached a point of no return: Dido has dissolved her feeling of *Pudor*, she has become 'shameless'. (To sum up, this is what counts.)

56–64: with *pudor* broken, the pace of the action quickens. These nine lines describe religious activities, first jointly undertaken by the two sisters (56–59), then by Dido alone (60–64). The switch is marked and

coincides with a shift from orthodox to quixotic behaviour. The sisters begin by offering sacrifices to the gods according to the standard economy of human-divine interaction, whereby humans invest time and material resources (victims for sacrificial slaughter are expensive) in the hope of divine approval and support. (Expressed in Latin, the underlying principle is *dō ut dēs* 'I give [something] so that you may give [something in return]', though this precise phrase is not attested in our sources.) Yet many ancient cultures, including the Romans, also used sacrificial victims for communication with the supernatural sphere, inspecting the entrails of the slaughtered animals for signs from the gods: a practice of divining the future called exstispicy. Certain patterns were thought to signify divine approval of the proposed course of action, while others were taken to be a bad omen. At times, further sacrificial investment and repeat consultation changed the outcome. In our passage, there is a gradual shift from sacrifice to divination by means of exstispicy.

56–59: prīncipiō dēlūbr(a) adeunt pācemque per ārās | [57]**exquīrunt; mactant lēctās dē mōre bidentīs** | [58]**lēgiferae Cererī Phoebōque patrīque Lyaeō,** | [59]**Iūnōn(ī) ant(e) omnīs cui uincla iugālia cūrae:** parataxis predominates: in marked contrast to 60–64, the lines are virtually free of participles (the exception is *lēctās*). Three transitive main verbs, the first two linked by *-que* after *pācem* (and further intertwined through the synonymous repetition of *dēlūbra* through *per ārās*, with *per* conveying the sense that the sisters are making the rounds of the altars, leaving no stone unturned), the third (*mactant*...) added asyndetically with simultaneous inversion of verb and acc. obj. The ensuing tricolon (*dēlūbra adeunt* : *pācem ... exquīrunt* : *mactant ... bidentīs*) specifies the different stages of how to enter into (efficacious) communication with the gods: (a) approaching the temple; (b) utterance of a request; (c) sacrificial slaughter as initial human overture in the desired exchange of services. Virgil then enumerates the four divinities (in the dat.) to whom the sacrifice is made, ending climactically with Juno who receives further elevation via a prepositional phrase (*ante omnīs*) and an (explanatory) relative clause, introduced by *cui* (= Juno; dat. of reference); the verb (*sunt* or *sint* if a causal sense registers) is elided; *cūrae* (sg.) = dat. of purpose.

[57]*bidentīs*: *bi-dēns, bi-dentis*, f. is an animal for sacrifice, esp. a sheep; the term refers to the presence of two (*bi-*) prominent teeth (*dentēs*)

indicating age (one or two years old); those sacrificed by the sisters have been carefully chosen according to ritual protocol (*lēctās dē mōre*).

Why Anna and Dido sacrifice to Juno as the divine patron of Carthage and the goddess of marriage (cf. her instantiation as *Iūnō Iuga*, hinted at in the relative clause) is obvious. But why Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus are singled out is not entirely clear and has puzzled commentators since antiquity. While it is possible to find *some* source that connects each of the three to marriage individually (Pease: 134–37), often the connection fails to illuminate this passage. And this specific grouping is rare anyway. Ironically, the only parallel passage routinely cited that mentions all three divinities comes from the *Peruigilium Veneris* ('The Night-Watch of Venus'): [43]*Nec Cerēs, nec Bacchus absunt, nec poētārum deus*. But this poem dates to the second or third century CE, and the author may well have fashioned this line with *Aeneid* 4.58 (and its puzzle?) in mind, which would render the argument circular. Still, it helps to highlight a conspicuous omission in Virgil: somehow Anna and Dido fail to sacrifice to Venus—a rather remarkable oversight, in context, especially in light of Anna's earlier point that Dido deserves to enjoy the [33]*praemia Veneris*. (Is there no altar to Venus in the city? What would that tell us about Carthage? Contrast Aeneas, who, seeing a portentous sow on his way to the site of Rome, instantly sacrifices her and her young to Juno, as the narrator does not fail to point out to the goddess: [8.84–85]*quam* [= the sow] *pius Aenēās tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iūnō, | mactat sacra ferēns et cum grege sistit ad āram* 'good Aeneas offers her in sacrifice to you, indeed to you, most mighty Juno, and sets her with her young before your altar'; cf. 12.179, another prayer to Juno, among other divinities: Aeneas knows on which side his bread is buttered, even of his efforts prove ineffective.)

Perhaps the late-antique commentator Donatus (cited by Pease: 135) has a point in suggesting that Ceres stands for civic cohesion (grounded in law: see her epithet *lēgifera*, translated, arguably for the first time, from the Greek θεσμοφόρος/*thesmophoros*), Apollo for an auspicious future, and Bacchus for lasting *joie de vivre*. These aspects would fit a wedding but have a much broader remit. The choice of divinities thus arguably conveys a sense of Dido's civic responsibilities, with the queen trying to ensure that the pursuit of her amorous passion will not only result in personal fulfilment but a prosperous and enjoyable future for all of Carthage. In fact, the lines resemble [45]*dīs equidem auspicibus reor*

et Iūnōne secundā (from Anna's speech), where Juno too is singled out specially (as goddess of marriage and patron goddess of Carthage), and Anna goes on to stress that a marriage liaison with Aeneas is auspicious both for Dido *and* her city. From this point of view, 58–59 describe the ritual deeds to match the words. For an alternative take, see Henderson (*per litterās*):

> I'd say the spray of divinities amounts to a smokescreen, hiding from themselves and one and all what this is all about, as if going the extra mile will make it right (cf. *per ārās*). No sex, then – and even marriage as if an obligatory (*uincla...*) afterthought, though that is what's up-front. The slippage in the line from *lēgiferae* (from Greek *thesmophoros*) to "*Lyaeō*" (from Greek *luō* = *soluō*) amounts to further slippage from contract to release. Dido's game is to transfer from one bond to the next instantly, cemented for good. Juno's game is to we(l)d Aeneas to Carthage, with marriage as yoke (*iugum*) and – shackles. All above board? But *cūra* is, plain to see, a see-through cover for *desire*; and ancient marriages were arranged between families, not love-matches.

60–64: ipsa tenēns dextrā pateram pulcherrima Dīdō | [61]**candentis uaccae medi(a) inter cornua fundit,** | [62]**aut ant(e) ōra deum pinguīs spatiātur ad ārās,** | [63]**īnstauratque diem dōnīs, pecudumque reclūsīs** | [64]**pectoribus inhiāns spīrantia cōnsulit exta:** 60 marks a switch in focus from joint ritual actions by the sisters to a solo performance by Dido. The plurals of 56–57 (*adeunt*, *exquīrunt*, *mactant*) become singulars (*ipsa ... Dīdō – fundit – spatiātur – īnstaurat – cōnsulit*). Virgil does not simply flesh out details of the general picture sketched in 56–59. Rather, the actions in 60–64 come *after* those in 56–59. He hints at this with the adverb [56]*prīncipiō* (what we get in 60–64 is the '*deinde*'). It is peculiar that right after the sisters sacrificed together, Dido is already at it again, and on her own ([63]*īnstaurat ... diem dōnīs* spells out the notion of obsessive repetition: see below). The step forward in time and the attending switch from joint to individual action coincide with a shift from hopeful supplication of the gods to the desperate performance of religious rites in the face of divine failure to proffer a 'thumbs (or liver) up'. The economic investment has also noticeably increased, from sheep ([57]*lēctās dē mōre bidentīs*) to a white heifer ([61]*candentis uaccae*), hinting at the fact that the initial offerings did not yield the desired results. Virgil has chosen a very early stage in the process that leads up to the sacrificial killing of the white heifer, leaving the felicity of the sacrifice once again

open: as Servius points out *ad locum*, the pouring of the wine does not in itself constitute a sacrifice, but served to ascertain, by observation of how the animal reacted, whether the victim was well chosen (*nōn est sacrificium sed hostiae explōrātiō, utrum apta sit*; see also his note *ad Aen*. 6.244. Both are quoted by Pease: 138). Whether this *uacca* proved *apta*, in the sense of containing the desired piece of divine communication (a liver-lobe for love?) remains open, but the way the narrative continues strongly suggests that Dido's ritual probing yet again did not produce the outcome she hoped for.

[60]*pateram*: best taken *apo koinou* with the circumstantial participle *tenēns* and the main verb *fundit*.

[60]*pulcherrima Dīdō*: Virgil uses the superlative of *pulcher* when Dido first enters the narrative (1.496) and then later also of Aeneas (4.141). We might be dealing with a 'moment of solemn beauty: Dido ... as queen and priestess (pouring the wine herself); the spotless white cattle, the understood temple-background' (Maclennan: 83). But the entire scene involves a tragic assimilation of Dido and the victim: 'both are a stunning sight (*pulcherrima – candentis*), both are mature females (*uacca* not *iuuenca*), they are out on public display, centre-stage, parading with nothing to hide (*media – ante ōra*), and Dido is by proxy ripping open her heart to show us, not to find out, what's beating there' (Henderson).

[61]*media inter cornua*: both *media*, placed in the *middle* of the line, and *inter*, placed *between* the two parts of the phrase it governs, enact their meaning through position.

[62]*aut*: with this inconspicuous connective, any sense of solemn and purposeful procedure starts to break down for good: it draws attention to the increasingly random, indiscriminate, and desperate nature of Dido's ritual efforts: if the queen is not trying to identify victims fit for sacrifice, she does something, anything, else—in this case approaching (*spatiātur*) altars that are already laden with offerings (cf. *pinguīs*: acc. f. pl. agreeing with *ārās* and referring to the fat and blood of slaughtered victims). Commentators tend to read *spatiātur* straight: 'the verb signifies slow and dignified motion, that majestic gait (*incessus*) so dear to the Romans and proper for deities (1.405) and monarchs' (Pease: 139); 'of walking where it is the walk itself which is important, especially of the solemn gait

appropriate to the approach of a temple' (Maclennan: 83). But Servius Auctus (cited by Pease *ad locum*) suggests that Dido's movements betray an impatience caused by love. It is, to say the least, suggestive that Virgil has inverted normal ritual sequence by moving from a libation *at* the altar to moving *towards* altars (*ad ārās*; set up by *ante ōra deum*) at which, by all accounts, she has already sacrificed previously. Taken as a whole, then, and in context, this line conveys a sense of unfocused drifting from altar to altar, however solemn in gait Dido may be moving about, in contrast to the deliberate and purposeful [56]*adeunt*.

[63]*īnstaurat ... diem dōnīs*: the phrase makes the degree of Dido's desperation apparent. Literally, it means 'she renews each day with gifts'. But the verb *īnstaurāre* is a technical term in Rome's civic religion, signifying 'to repeat a ritual or ceremony that had not been correctly performed'. An *īnstaurātiō* ('repetition of a ritual') could be proactive as well as reactive. If a ritual performance was disrupted or flawed, it could be repeated (also in abridged or symbolic fashion to keep costs within reason) to pre-empt the displeasure of the divinities involved. (A good example is the festival of the Bona Dea in 62, which Clodius allegedly gate-crashed to spy on Caesar's wife: the priests ordered a repetition.) But it could also be reactive, to deal with cases in which the flaw had gone unnoticed and disaster had struck or the first attempt did not produce the desired outcome. Dido makes an extreme use of this practice: for an unspecified period, she revisits the temples each and every day—not, as the obsessive exstispicy at 63–64 suggests, because her previous sacrifices were marred by a procedural flaw, but because they did not produce hoped-for results in the form of signs signalling divine approval for her proposed course of amatory action. Such repeated attempts to secure favourable omens are also attested for Rome's civic religion. A particularly striking instance (which also ultimately failed) comes from Livy 41.14.7–15.4:

> Cn. Cornēliō et Q. Petīliō cōnsulibus, quō diē magistrātum iniērunt, immolantibus Iouī singulīs būbus, utī solet, in eā hostiā, quā Q. Petīlius sacrificāuit, in iocinere caput non inuentum. id cum ad senātum rettulisset, boue perlitāre iussus. [...] cōnsul cūram adiēcit, quī sē, quod caput iocinerī dēfuisset, tribus būbus perlitāsse negāuit. senātus maiōribus hostiīs usque ad litātiōnem sacrificārī iussit. ceterīs diīs perlitātum ferunt, Salūtī Petīlium perlitāsse negant.

> [In the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius and Quintus Petilius, on the day they entered into office, they offered one bull each in sacrifice to Jupiter, as is customary. In the victim that Q. Petilius sacrificed, no lobe was found on the liver. When this was reported to the senate, they ordered him to keep sacrificing bulls until he obtained favourable omens. [...] The consul [sc. Petilius] added to the anxiety; he reported that, as the lobe had been missing from the liver of his first victim, he had failed to obtain favourable omens from three further bulls. The senate ordered the sacrifices to continue with the larger victims until the obtainment of favourable omens. They say that in the sacrifices for the other divinities favourable omens were obtained, but that Petilius did not obtain favourable omens in those for Salus.]

Petilius died shortly thereafter. Importantly, his death does not expose the gods as unreliable or malicious—quite the opposite: they prove themselves reliable and truthful partners in dialogue about the future; they were simply unwilling or unable to alter Petilius' prospects. With Dido, we have a similar scenario: her repeated sacrifices (with subsequent inspection of the entrails), her decision to perform the entire ritual sequence herself (down to the menial pouring of the wine), and her constant movements from one altar and statue to the next all convey a sense of how *desperate* she is to receive a sign of divine reassurance which is simply not forthcoming, despite her enormous investment.

[63]*reclūsīs* | [64]*pectoribus*: in the dat., to be construed with [64]*inhiāns*, 'gazing intently at', 'casting longing eyes on'. The gap caused by the enjambment enacts the image of the breasts of the sacrificial victims split open for inspection. The hyperbaton in *spīrantia cōnsulit exta* produces a similar effect, articulating through word order the idea that Dido examines each bit of pulsating entrail separately. The scansion of *pectoribus* (the last syllable scanning 'irrationally' long: Thompson and Zair 2020) and *inhiāns* (the first syllable scanning short) is unusual, but well explained and justified by Austin (43–44), who notes that the prosody 'seems plainly intended to suggest metrically Dido's lingering look at the *exta*'. In fact, '*inhiō* clashes with *cōnsulō*—improper desire defacing ritual due process' (Henderson).

The inspection of the still quivering (cf. *spīrantia*) entrails (*exta*) of a recently slaughtered victim to find out the will of the gods is a form of divination that the Romans adopted from the Etruscans (wikipedia.org/wiki/Haruspex, with a picture of a divinatory liver), but which was

practised in other areas of the ancient Mediterranean as well (e.g. Koch 2011). It is true enough if hardly surprising that 'we cannot see exactly what Dido sees' (O'Hara: 27). The clinical description of, say, a liver still pulsating with blood (and perhaps missing a lobe) is arguably not an ecphrasis fit for inclusion in an epic. There are subtler ways to convey a sense of what the gods communicate to Dido. The overall thrust of the passage would seem to suggest that what Dido *sees* is not what she *wants* to see: hence the serial repetitions of the sacrificial offerings, as she again and again pours over the gory innards of victims in a futile search for a sign of divine approval. This is Virgil's essential point, and he can make it without going into details about the entrails Dido looks at: all we need to know about their fabric is that it does not manifest supernatural approbation. With a view to the following verse and the mention of *uātēs* ('seer-prophets'), it is important to note that the inspection of entrails in Rome was the domain of the so-called *haruspicēs*, who were interpreters of internal organs and prodigies, such as lightning or monstrous births. Together with the *quīndecimuirī sacrīs faciundīs* (who presided over the collection and the exegesis of Sibylline Oracles) and the augurs (who interpreted the behaviour of birds) the *haruspicēs* formed one of the three priestly colleges in charge of communication with the supernatural sphere on behalf of the Roman *rēs pūblica*.

65–67: After the nine-line build-up of religious suspense, these three lines explode: 'An exclamatory outburst from the narrator is a rare event in epic, reserved for high-octane moments of pressure on characters and readers alike to interpret key issues, including issues of interpretation (authority, character, theme...)' (Henderson). Virgil has again opted for a tripartite structure, with a gradual increase in length across the segments, consisting of an exclamation (*heu ... mentēs!*), a rhetorical question (*quid ... iuuant?*), and a concluding statement of fact (*ēst ... uulnus*) that sees right through the vitals of sacrificial victims to the vitals of Dido.

65[a]: heu uāt(**um**) **ignārae mentēs!**: Virgil concludes the description of religious activities on the part of the sisters (and then Dido alone) with an exclamation in his own voice that includes an apostrophe of 'minds' (*mentēs*). It is not immediately obvious whose minds are meant since *uātum* (the genitive plural of *uātēs* 'prophet-poet') is syntactically

ambiguous: it can depend either on *mēntēs* (gen. of possession) or *ignārae* (objective gen.). The former would mean 'alas, the ignorant minds of (the) prophets!', the latter 'alas, minds [sc. those of Anna and Dido] ignorant of (the) prophets!'. Scholars are divided, but there is a tendency to favour the former: 'Ah, the blind soul of seers' (Goold); 'Virgil very suddenly turns to address the interpreters – or rather their minds' (Maclennan: 84). The ambiguity seems deliberate: 'The reader's difficulty in handling the syntax of the genitive *uātum* parallels the difficulty both Dido and the reader have in interpreting the entrails. Dido does not learn from the sacrifices that her love for Aeneas is going to lead to a bad end [but: doesn't she?]; the reader does not learn exactly why this happens [but: don't we?]' (O'Hara 1997: 251).

Ambiguous syntax in itself of course hardly surprises: Virgil has plenty of it. But at times, a bit more probing may resolve the ambiguity. Here, one possibility, that the seers are ignorant, yields an odd sense. What are the poet-prophets supposed to be ignorant of? Is it 'the Power of Love', as a tradition of fan fiction in the spirit of Jennifer Rush maintains, dating back to Servius (see Casali 2018)? But, first, why would Virgil suddenly feel the urge to lament the ignorance of prophets in amatory matters, given that the text contains no cues that any of them assisted Dido in her divinatory efforts? Realistically, she must have had the support of various attendants, at least for the sacrifices (as illustrated in Fig. 6): it is difficult to slaughter and gut cows on your own. But Virgil passes over any helpers in silence and is explicit in stating that Dido inspects the entrails herself. And, second, after putting much emphasis on entrail-inspection as Dido's preferred mode of divination, which was the expertise of the so-called *haruspicēs*, why would Virgil suddenly mention prophets, who tend to forecast the future by means of divine inspiration, i.e. *uātēs*? (On this terminological distinction, see further the *Extra information* below: Virgil's authorial persona in the *Aeneid* is precisely that of a *uātēs*: why would he diss his mates?)

In this situation, an unambiguous parallel might help. The closest match to our passage comes from *Aeneid* 8.626–28 (about Vulcan): *illic rēs Italās Rōmānōrumque triumphōs | haud uātum ignārus uentūrīque īnscius aeuī | fēcerat īgnipotēns*... 'There the story of Italy and the triumphs of Rome had the Lord of Fire fashioned, not ignorant of the prophets or unknowing of the age to come...'. Vulcan, '*not* ignorant of the prophets'

(there is a subtle intratextual shift from [4.65]*heu* to *haud*), *can* prefigure the future (including the nefarious love between Mark Antony and Cleopatra). Here there can be no doubt that *uātum* is an objective genitive. The intratext suggests that Vulcan's *uātēs* belong into the same category of diviners as the *uātēs* in Book 4: they form the human equivalent to the *Parcae* of the proem ([1.22]*sīc uoluere Parcās*) and have access to at least partial knowledge of those events to come that are fixed in the scrolls of fate (and which rule out a successful love and marriage alliance between Dido and Aeneas). Virgil is their latter-day heir. But their privileged insight into the ways of history and the world is inaccessible to Dido. The first time the queen is mentioned in the epic, she is programmatically referred to as [1.299]*fātī nescia Dīdō* (focalized through Jupiter).

In light of these considerations, it is best to construe *uātum* as an objective genitive with *ignārae* also at 4.65. What Virgil seems to be saying is: (a) Anna and Dido wish to pursue a marriage alliance with Aeneas; (b) they approach the divinities to solicit their favour; (c) Dido on her own invests extensive and meticulous but also increasingly desperate efforts to find some sign of divine approval by means of extispicy, apparently without success; (d) Virgil steps back from this scene and comments with a tragic exclamation on the ignorant minds of the two sisters: they could only embark upon their course of action and they could only harbour hope of receiving divine benediction because they are ignorant of the poet-prophets (*uātēs*) who have insight into *fātum*.

The pathos of the apostrophe is appropriate: in a universe in which certain plot patterns are already irrevocably fixed, the ritual efforts of the sisters to solicit divine support for a contravening course of action are bound to be futile. This also makes sense of how the text continues, with a clear focus on Dido as a (still) ineffective religious agent ([65–66]*quid uōta furentem | quid dēlūbra iuuant?*). Insight into the knowledge possessed by *uātēs* could arguably have helped; *uōta* and *dēlūbra* do not. In the world of the *Aeneid*, key religious practices and institutions that normally shape interaction between humans and gods, and are designed to give humans a say in how history unfolds through winning over divinities with gifts and sacrifices, are rendered impotent to a significant degree (—> ***TD*** 'Religion'): however many white heifers Dido may sacrifice and however many livers she inspects for signs of divine approval, the gods will not

signal their support for a course of action that would involve a departure from those aspects of history that are predetermined: a Hollywood happy end with Dido and Aeneas enjoying a Tunisian sunset is not in the books. Note, though, that Virgil never says that the gods send Dido signs that lie. But to know about *fātum*, you had better get to know what the *uātēs* have to say—however imperfect and misleading some of their utterances may turn out to be (cf. O'Hara 1990 with Schiesaro 1993).

(Some scholars adduce evidence from elsewhere in arguing for the ignorance in question to be that of the seers. Conington, 1884: 256, for instance, concedes the force of 8.627, before continuing: 'But the ordinary interpretation, "vatum mentes," is clearly right, confirmed as it is by Apuleius, Met. 10. 2, "Heu medicorum ignarae mentes," where the reference is to the powerlessness of **physic** in the case of love, and by Sil[ius Italicus] 8. 100, "Heu sacri vatum errores," also an imitation of this passage.' But are such parallels from later authors more conclusive than evidence from the *Aeneid* itself, especially since imitation does not necessarily need to be exact? One should at least entertain the possibility that Apuleius and Silius could have—deliberately or unintentionally—misread Virgil: and his phrasing *is* syntactically ambiguous after all, inviting experimentation.)

Extra information

Divination was big business in the ancient world, from Mesopotamia to Italy. As noted, the senatorial ruling elite of republican Rome drew on three bodies of priests to enter into dialogue with the gods about the future. As North (2000) points out, all three bodies acquired their knowledge via empirical signs. *Vātēs* were different: they claimed to be in direct contact with the divine sphere. This claim of independent access to divine knowledge challenged the monopoly of the ruling elite, not least in moments of high anxiety when *uātēs* offered alternative, unorthodox voices of privileged insight. The senate responded by banishing the prophets and collecting and burning their utterances (North 2000). Throughout much of republican history, the connotations of *uātēs* were not particularly positive. (Ennius, for instance, Virgil's epic predecessor, called himself a *poēta* and rejected the label *uātēs*.) In the late republic, matters changed: Varro (116–27 BCE) seems to have reassessed

the figure. And Virgil adopts the poet-prophet as his favourite persona in his literary self-fashioning, from the *Eclogues* onwards.

In the *Aeneid*, seer-prophets who have access to *fātum* and are hence able to give insight into the future feature prominently (especially in the genitive plural there is a *faux*-etymological link: *uātum* ~ *fātum*). Four come to mind in particular: Helenus, who, inspired by Apollo, advised Aeneas on his travels (3.374–462); Apollo himself; the Sibyl (as inspired by Apollo); and the narrator, who outs himself as a *uātēs* at 7.41.

Against this background, it is notable that Virgil at times subtly blends non-prophetic forms of religious action with vatic insight: in Book 3, for instance, Helenus engages in sacrifice and prayer (369–72: the actions of a 'priest': *sacerdōs*) before turning into a medium for Apollo ([373]... *deinde canit dīuīnō ex ōre sacerdōs* '...and then the priest with divinely inspired lips sings', combining the role of sacrificing priest and inspired prophet). His role as priest predestines him to become a mouthpiece for Apollo's voice. Helenus does not use extispicy to divine the future: rather, there is a subtle slippage from blood-sacrifice without entrail inspection to divinely inspired discourse. Similarly, the one *haruspex* who appears in the *Aeneid* is the venerable Etruscan Tarchon, who backs Aeneas against Turnus (8.498, 11.739). He seems genealogically related to the specialist entrail-inspectors (*haruspicēs*) of historical times or even their archetype. But Virgil assimilates him to a *uātēs* (seer-prophet) by having Evander, another figure of privileged insight into the workings of the divine, note that he 'sings of fate' ([8.499]*fāta canēns*), which means that he operates like a *uātēs*. The scenario is similar to Helenus acting as *sacerdōs* before performing as Apollo's *uātēs*. The 'normalization' of *uātēs*—who were rogue figures in republican times, operating outside Rome's civic religion and senatorial control, through their oblique assimilation to state-sanctioned religious functionaries—is part of Virgil's general displacement of Rome's civic religion by religious modes better aligned with his authorial voice and the autocratic realities of the Augustan principate (–> ***TD*** 'Religion').

(The converse—a *uātēs* using exstispicy—never happens in the *Aeneid* (though does occasionally in other sources: *OLD uātēs* 1a allocates Livy 2.42.10 to the subheading 'applied loosely to diviners in general': it is the only passage listed (cf. Casali 2018: 25). One could potentially add *Georgics* 3.487–93, which juxtaposes and arguably assimilates 'priest'

and 'prophet', in an interesting anticipation of the *uātēs*-discourse of the *Aeneid*: *aut sīquam ferrō mactāuerat ante sacerdōs*, | *inde neque impositīs ārdent altāria fibrīs*, | *nec respōnsa potest cōnsultus reddere uātēs* | *ac uix supposititī tinguntur sanguine cultrī* | *summaque iēiūnā saniē īnfuscātur harēna*. 'Or if, before that, the priest had slain a victim with the knife, yet the altars blazed not therewith, as the entrails were laid on; the seer, when consulted, could give no response; the knife beneath the throat is scarce stained with blood, and only the surface sand is darkened with the thin gore'.)

65^{b}–66^{a}: quid uōta furentem, | quid dēlūbra iuuant?: *uōta* and *dēlūbra* are the subject of *iuuant*, the implied acc. obj. (*eam* = Dido) is in agreement with the pres. part. *furentem*; *quid* is an acc. of respect ('in what respect/how...?'). The reference to *uōta* and *dēlūbra* sums up Dido's religious efforts, which Virgil renders void with a pointed rhetorical question: someone out of her mind (*furēns*) will struggle to listen to divine communication and respond rationally to intelligence gathered from extispicy. But the ecstasy of madness facilitates other forms of religious practice and cognition: the divinatory prowess of the Sibyl in *Aeneid* 6, for instance, derives from divine inspiration owing to possession by Apollo, which constitutes a form of insanity (cf. 6.77–82), and Dido's derangement will in due course help to facilitate and fuel her curse. The verb *furō*, *furere* 'to be out of one's mind', 'to rage' and the noun *furor* are key terms in Virgil's poetry. They designate excessive emotions such as erotic passion or violent hatred that render an agent incapable of rational thought and action, and are associated with disorder and transgression and, as noted, the realm of retributive magic. This is the first time in the book that Virgil diagnoses Dido as suffering from insanity (a diagnosis deftly prepared for by *ignārae mentēs*: Dido's *mēns* is not just ignorant, but also addled, *ā-mēns*). From now on, these and related lexemes (such as *furibunda* or *furiae*) will accompany her till the bitter end: Virgil again calls her *furēns* three lines later (68), and drops frequent reminders of Dido's mental state throughout the rest of the book: [91]*furor*, [101]*furor*, [283]*furēns*, [298]*furēns*, [376]*furiae*, [433]*furor*, [465]*furēns*, [501] *furōrēs*, [548]*furēns*, [646]*furibunda*, [697]*furor*. For *furor* as an important theme of the whole poem, see Introduction 19–21.

66[b]–67: ēst mollīs flamma medullās | intere(ā), et tacitum uīuit sub pectore uulnus: *ēst* is not a form of *sum*, *esse* but the alternative 3rd pers. sg. pres. ind. act. of *edō, ēsse* or *eděre, ēdī, ēsum* 'to eat (away), to devour'. ***m**ollīs* modifies ***m**edullās*, which is reinforced by alliteration and vowel piano: the phrase features all five exactly once. Alliteration (***u**īuit ... **u**ulnus*) also underscores thematic links in the second clause. The phrasing here picks up the composite imagery of pathology from 1–2, which combines consuming fire with internal bleeding and plucking/manducation: [1]*saucia* and [2]*uulnus* > [67]*uulnus*, [2]*alit* > [67]*uīuit*, [2]*uēnīs* > [66b]*medullās*, [2]*caecō* > [67]*tacitum*, [2]*carpitur* > [66b]*ēst*, [2]*ignī* > [66b]*flamma*. Likewise, shared imagery continues to assimilate Dido to the sacrificial victims slaughtered on the altars to ascertain the will of the gods: *mollīs ... medullās* recalls the [64]*spīrantia ... exta* that Dido has been perusing, and the reference to her chest (*sub pectore*) points back to the ovine chests cracked open for inspection ([63–64]*pecudum reclusīs | pectoribus*). Instead of inspecting the entrails of animals, Dido ought to inspect herself. Virgil, in turn, assumes the role of a *haruspex* who performs extispicy on his character, in an exercise of invasive ethopoeia: the same surgical operation that Dido performs on the innards of the *uaccae* she sacrifices to learn about her future, the narrator performs on the innards of Dido. What does he show and what do we learn, not least about ourselves? Are we just as eager as Dido (cf. [64]*inhiāns*) to find out what the future (of the narrative) holds? Or do we rather adopt the know-it-all posture of the omniscient *uātēs* for whom the future holds no secrets? (W. H. Auden's 1959 poem 'Secondary Epic' mocks the pretension of Virgil's *uātēs*-persona that turns him into a retrospective prophet at the service of Augustus and his regime: 'No, Virgil, no: | Not even the first of the Romans can learn | His Roman history in the future tense, | Not even to serve your political turn; | Hindsight as foresight makes no sense.')

68–73: ūritur īnfēlīx Dīdō tōtāque uagātur | [69]urbe furēns, quālis coniectā cerua sagittā, | [70]quam procul incautam nemor(a) inter Crēsia fīxit | [71]pāstor agēns tēlīs līquitque uolātile ferrum | [72]nescius: illa fugā siluās saltūsque peragrat | [73]Dictaeōs; haeret laterī lētālis harundō: the queen, on fire, on the loose in the city, driven crazy by her passion: a shocking image! *ūritur* pulls out all the stops: the hidden flames have burst forth; the queen is ablaze. It is a major step forward from the

metaphorical fire of love at the beginning of the book to the funeral pyre at the end. Other formal features underscore the intensity of the moment: the alliteration and assonance in *ūr-i-tur* ~ *uagā-tur* ~ *ur-be* ~ *f-ur-ēns* that spread the flames of erotic insanity around the city; the switch in epithet from [60]*pulcherrima* to [68]*īnfēlīx* or, in generic terms, from love elegy to tragedy; the hyperbaton (combined with enjambment) [68]*tōtā* ... | [69]*urbe* with emphatic fronting of the attribute; the gradual increase in Dido's drifting, from purposeful [56]*adeunt* to random [62]*spatiātur* to utterly aimless [68]*uagātur*; and the free-floating circumstantial participle *furēns* 'in a state of madness', 'out of her mind'.

[68]*īnfēlīx*: the first time Dido attracts the attribute *īnfēlīx* is at 1.712–14, the moment she is infected by Cupid in disguise with amorous passion for Aeneas: *praecipuē īnfēlīx, pestī dēuōta futūrae, | explērī mentem nequit ārdēscitque tuendō | Phoenīssa, et pariter puerō dōnīsque mouētur*. 'Above all, the unhappy Phoenician, doomed to impending ruin, cannot satiate her soul, but takes fire as she gazes, thrilled alike by the boy and by the gifts'. The adjective then becomes a standing epithet. See also [1.749]*īnfēlīx Dīdō*; 4.68; [450]*īnfēlīx fātīs exterrita Dīdō*; [529]*īnfēlīx animī Phoenīssa*; [596]*īnfēlīx Dīdō*; [5.3–4]*moenia respiciēns, quae iam īnfēlīcis Elissae | conlūcent flammīs* (Aeneas' last glance of Carthage). It marks her as a tragic victim and a child of (capricious) Fortune who lacks *fēlīcitās* (= *good* fortune).

To underline the image of love-crazed Dido roaming around Carthage consumed by her blazing passion, Virgil adds the simile of the wounded deer, the first of the book, introduced by [69]*quālis* (sc. *uagātur*). The subject *cerua* (nom.), framed by the abl. abs. *coniectā ... sagittā*, is the antecedent of *quam*. The basic shape of the bipartite relative clause (*fīxit ... līquitque*) is chiastic: acc. obj. *quam* + verb *fīxit* : verb *līquit* + acc. obj. *uolātile ferrum*, with the shared subject *pāstor* at the centre. Into this basic structure, Virgil has inserted further elements: (a) the adj. *incautam*, which agrees with *quam*, in predicative position 'which, unwary,...'; (b) the shepherd piercing the doe with his arrow from afar: *procul ... fīxit ... tēlīs*, with the gaps between the words enacting the distance the missile had to travel; (c) the location of the incident, Crete: *nemora inter Crēsia*, with *inter* in its usual position between the words it governs; (d) the shepherd as actively hunting (*agēns*; the participle shares *nemora inter Crēsia* and *tēlīs* with *fīxit*) yet remaining unaware of the hit (*nescius*), two crucial aspects that Virgil foregrounds via enjambment.

After [72]*nescius* there is a break in syntax, and the simile concludes with two main clauses juxtaposed in asyndeton, again in a chiastic design, with the focus on the doe and the arrow: subj. *illa* + verb *peragrat* : verb *haeret* + subj. *lētālis harundō*. The plangent expression *siluās saltūsque*—featuring alliteration and assonance, with its shared attribute *Dictaeōs* ('Dictaean', referring to Mt. Dicte on Crete) in enjambment—the circumstantial abl. *fugā*, and the intensifying prefix *per-* in *peragrat* capture the way the wounded hind roams far and wide through the woods and groves of the mountainside without being able to shake off the lethal arrow in her side. The abrupt caesura after *Dictaeōs*, reinforced by asyndeton, sets up the punchline: the ultimate failure of the hind to rid herself of the fatal arrow. There is a brutal finality to the measured phrase *haeret laterī lētālis harundō*. Alliteration (*ha-*, *ha-*) and assonance (*-re-*, *-run-*) link the framing words *haeret* and *harundō*; alliteration and vowel-patterning (*a*, *e*, *i*; *e*, *a*, *i*) the central words *laterī* and *lētālis*, though *laterī* is dat. object to *haeret* and *lētālis* modifies *harundō*: an intricate design that conveys a tragic sense of (non-)closure. The wound is fatal, but the process of dying will be prolonged—an ominous image that stands in poignant parallel to Dido's fate in the rest of the book and her lengthy death scene at the end. After *sagitta*, *tela*, and *ferrum*, *harundō* is the fourth term Virgil uses to denote the fatal arrow.

Since Homer, epic poetry has revelled in similes likening figures and phenomena in the human sphere to aspects of the natural environment and the animal kingdom. (In the first simile of the *Aeneid* (1.148–56), Virgil inverts the conventional dynamics by using a simile drawn from the socio-political sphere—a mob at the brink of violence calmed down by a senior authority figure—to illustrate events in nature: the winds whipping up a storm being called to order by Neptune.) The basic point the deer simile illustrates is how 'wounded' Dido moves about the city: [68]*uagātur* ~ [72]*peragrat*. But the interface between narrative and simile here is particularly complex, with many further points of reference, from the obvious to the oblique: 'the deer simile has a threefold function: (1) It makes the queen's roaming more explicit (this is the original function of a simile in Homer – clarification of an exterior event); (2) it reveals Dido's state of mind (clarification of an inner event); (3) it foreshadows her tragic end (symbolic prediction) through content, key, and pathos of the movement' (Pöschl 1962: 81). Further angles of comparison suggest themselves:

First, *incautam* is curious. Why does Virgil appear to apportion part of the blame for suffering a fatal wound to the creature? Is there an equivalent to the unwary behaviour of the hind in how Dido has conducted herself? Is Virgil perhaps suggesting that Dido was too susceptible to the charms of Aeneas and should have been more on her guard? At the same time, *procul* and *incautam* stand in latent contradiction: the hind, presumably, would have had to be super-cautious to elude a herdsman shooting (at her?) from afar.

Second, the portrayal of the *pāstor* in the simile likens him to Aeneas. He has been the one shooting at wildlife in the *Aeneid*, killing seven deer right after landfall in Libya, one for each of his ships (1.184–93, esp. [189–91]*ductōrēsque ipsōs prīmum, capita alta ferentīs | cornibus arboreīs, sternit, tum uulgus et omnem | miscet agēns telīs nemora inter frondea turbam* 'first he brings to the ground the leaders themselves, carrying their heads high with branching antlers, then he routs the crowd and the entire herd, driving them with his arrows amid the leafy woods'). In hindsight, these lines acquire a proleptic force. On Virgil's choice of a shepherd as the shooter, see Anderson (1968: 9)

> It might seem odd that Vergil used the word *pastor* here rather than a noun like *venator*, for the shepherd shooting arrows is an unexpected image. However, the word-choice, I believe, is deliberate, designed to recall the simile of the shepherd in 2.304ff. No longer the unwitting spectator and victim of fiery fury, Aeneas has now become the unwitting perpetrator of the same, the innocent agent of all that he abhors. Entirely against his will, half-ignorant to the very end, he destroys the woman he loves, leaving her to the agonies of the fury he has caused, ultimately to the suicide which is implied in this very simile. After he abandons Carthage and looks back from the sea at the flames that rise from the pyre, where she lies pierced by his own sword, he does not know the reason for the fire (*causa latet* 5.5), but he has heavy forebodings. How far he has moved into the bitter world of reality from that pastoral innocence! How little he understands the destructive consequences of his actions!

Thirdly, what is the shepherd (= Aeneas) *nescius* of? Here is Lyne (1987: 196), taking issue with Austin among others who have the tendency to exculpate the shooter: 'Our hunting shepherd is not, as is often implied, totally "ignorant", "nescius", of his actions (how could he be?). He has, Vergil tells us, been vigorously and purposefully hunting the hind: "quam ... agēns tēlīs" ["which, hunting with darts"]. What he is ignorant

of is that one of his shafts has struck: that he has hit the "cerua", that the "cerua" in fact carries a lethal wound inflicted by him.' Is Virgil thereby suggesting that Aeneas has been preying on Dido, while at the same time failing to realize that he is affecting her profoundly? To what extent do the two verbs *fīxit* (he pierced her) and *līquit* (left her) mirror Aeneas' arrival at and departure from Dido's Carthage? One important difference is that the shepherd does not pursue the hind because he does not realize that his arrow has hit the mark; Aeneas, of course, leaves Dido knowing full well the extent to which she has fallen in love with him. As 5.5–7 shows, he and his men had a good idea of how far she might go: *dūrī magnō sed amōre dolōrēs | pollūtō nōtumque, furēns quid fēmina possit, | trīste per augurium Teucrōrum pectora dūcunt* 'but the harsh pains once great love has been profaned and knowledge of what a woman can do in frenzy, lead the hearts of the Trojans amid sad forebodings'.

Finally, why has Virgil chosen Crete as the setting for the simile? Austin (47) suggests that '"Cretan" in itself has no special significance here, except that the Cretans were famous archers', Horsfall (1995: 124, n.13) thinks that Virgil has chosen Crete because the inhabitants of the island were notorious for using *poisoned* arrows, and Morgan (1994) argues that the Cretan setting reminds Virgil's readers of animals who find a herbal *cure* there for poisoned arrows, with reference to Cicero, *Dē Nātūrā Deōrum* 2.126 *audītum est ... caprās autem in Crētā ferās cum essent cōnfīxae uenēnātīs sagittīs, herbam quaerere quae dictamnus uocārētur, quam cum gustāuissent sagittās excidere dīcunt ē corpore* 'it has been reported ... that wild goats in Crete, when pierced with poisoned arrows, seek a herb called dittany; when they have eaten of it, so people say, the arrows drop from their bodies' and Pliny, *Natural History* 8.97 and 26.142. The herb is called *dictamnus* 'dittany' (and associated with Mt. Dictys in Crete; cf. [12.411–12]*hic Venus, indignō nātī concussa dolōre, | dictamnum genetrīx Crētaeā carpit ab Īdā* 'at this Venus, shaken by her son's cruel pain, with a mother's care plucks from Cretan Ida dittany') and thought to have 'the power to draw poisoned and barbed arrows from a wound' (Morgan 1994: 67). As Morgan goes on to point out, 'Vergil's readers are going to be reminded of this potency when Venus herself culls the herb from Crete and gives it invisibly to Aeneas where he lies wounded. The arrow slips easily from his flesh, pain vanishes, and strength is restored. (12.423)' (67). In the context of *Aeneid* 4, of course, the invocation of

a possible cure inevitably highlights the terminal nature of Dido's condition. Armstrong (2002: 330–31) ingeniously argues that the Cretan setting reinforces a programmatic if oblique association between Dido and Cretan heroines, in particular Ariadne but also—more surprisingly or, indeed, shockingly—Pasiphae, the notoriously adulterous wife of the Cretan king Minos who fancied intercourse with bulls. Virgil offers a take on this at *Eclogue* 6.52, where Pasiphae is in an almost identical condition as the Dido-hind: *ā, uirgō īnfēlīx, tū nunc in montibus errās*. (For what mythic heroines from Crete get up to in Latin poetry more generally, see Armstrong 2006.) Virgil may also have chosen this mountain for its mythological resonances: Mt. Dicte is, famously, the birthplace of Zeus/Jupiter, the divinity in charge of the *fāta*; and it is also associated with the goddess of hunting, Artemis/Diana, to whom Dido is compared upon entering the epic (1.494–504), as well as one of her favourite nymphs, Britomartis or (renamed) Dictynna: Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 190–200.

74–79: The switch from simile back to narrative is abrupt, especially since the creature hunted in the simile (the hind/Dido) has turned into a huntress of sorts: after performing the rites, seeking in vain to ascertain a promising future and wandering aimlessly through the city, Dido now pursues her object of love with great purpose and rather successfully. This passage of six lines, divided into two blocks of three, marked by the anaphora of *nunc* at the beginning of 74 and 77, details Dido's conduct in the presence of Aeneas before we return to Dido on her own in 80–85. 74–76 cover the daytime activities, 77–79 describe the evening entertainment. Throughout, the syntax of the passage is predominantly paratactic, but Virgil slightly alters the rhetorical design as he moves from daytime to evening. In 74–76 we get four main verbs (*dūcit – ostentat; incipit – resistit*), each pair linked by *-que* (*Sīdoniāsque*; *mediaque*) with *incipit* following on *ostentat* asyndetically. In 77–79, we get a tricolon (*quaerit – exposcit – pendet*), with all verbs linked by *-que* ([78]*Īliacōsque*; [79]*pendetque*). The design highlights different dynamics of interaction: during daytime, Dido leads and speaks in fitful fashion; in the evening she hands herself over to Aeneas' discourse.

74–75: nunc medi(a) Aenēān sēcum per moenia dūcit, | Sīdoniāsqu(e) ostentat opēs urbemque parātam: the anastrophe of *per* and the fronting of *media* (*media ... per moenia* = *per media moenia*) mimetically

place Aeneas and Dido (*sē*) in the *middle* of the phrase. *moenia* invariably recalls the last line of the proem [1.7]*altae moenia Rōmae*. The foundation of Rome, of course, will not happen until several hundred years after Aeneas' arrival in Latium, according to Virgil's chronology of Rome's prehistory, but it is the ultimate telos of his quest. Here the word carries a latent accusatory charge: Aeneas ought not to be sightseeing among the walls of Carthage; he should see to his mission, which will eventually result in the walls of Rome. Given the close identification of Dido with Carthage, the vignette also reinforces the notion that she and her city are about to fall: Aeneas has infiltrated the protective walls, he is inside her defences, in her marrow (*media ~ medulla*) and she is now trying to get inside *his*, making him part of her, turning his-story (Rome) into her-story (Carthage). The first *-que* in 75 links [74]*dūcit* and [75]*ostentat*, the second *opēs* and *urbem*. Virgil has arranged attributes (*Sīdoniās*: referring to Sidon, a city in Phoenicia, and *parātam*) and nouns (*opēs* and *urbem*) in chiasmus. *Sīdoniās ... opēs* harks back to Venus recounting Dido's flight: [1.363–64]*portantur auārī | Pygmaliōnis opēs pelagō; dūx fēmina factī* 'the wealth of greedy Pygmalion is carried overseas, the leader of the deed a woman'. *opēs* and *urbs* thus refer to Dido's past and future, and, together, are meant to extend an inviting hand to Aeneas in what amounts to a sales-pitch: wealthy Carthage, so Dido implies, is ready (*parātam*) for him. Dido retains the same spirit of remarkable generosity (though now reinforced by amorous passion) that animated her invitation to the shipwrecked Trojans to stay and take an equal share in her city project before she had even set eyes on Aeneas (1.572–73).

76: incipit effārī mediāqu(e) in uōce resistit: the verse design reflects and reinforces the meaning of individual words: aptly, we have *incipit* at the beginning, *mediā* in the middle, and *resistit* at the end. The asyndetic continuation with *incipit* conveys a sense of Dido's mental effort to muster sufficient courage to address Aeneas, only to break off midway. Put differently, she acts like a tongue-tied teenager in love, very much like the maiden Medea of Apollonius.

77–79: nunc eadem lābente diē conuīuia quaerit, | Īliacōsqu(e) iterum dēmēns audīre labōrēs | exposcit, pendetqu(e) iterum nārrantis ab ōre: at dusk (*lābente diē* = abl. abs.), Dido hits the 'play and repeat' button for the welcoming banquet at which Aeneas told his story (cf. [1.638]*mediīs ... parant conuīuia tēctīs*). The syntactically ambiguous *eadem* (nom. f. sg.

= Dido or rather acc. n. pl. agreeing with *conuīuia*) and the anaphora of *iterum* (by reiterating *iterum* Virgil twice uses the word that signifies 'again') in chiastic variation with the verbs it modifies (*iterum... exposcit – pendet ... iterum*) underscore the themes of repetition and blurring. By contrast, various features in 78 highlight Dido's insanity: the symmetrical design [a1]*Īliacōs* [b1]*iterum* [c]*dēmēns* [b2]*audīre* [a2]*labōres* that centres *dēmēns*; the vast hyperbaton *Īliacōs ... labōres*; and the enjambment of *exposcit* followed by caesura: out of her mind, she asks for a repeat of *Aeneid* 2. In light of the negative impact her obsessive-compulsive binging has on her own city, Dido's preference for a re-run of the fall of Troy over another account of Aeneas' travels (the subject of *Aeneid* 3) is ironic but fitting: as 86–89 make clear, the *labōrēs Carthāginiēnsēs* have ceased, while she listens on an endless loop to Aeneas' *Iliad*. In light of how Aeneas reacted to the first request to tell his tale (2.3, cited below 269), Dido is indeed *dēmēns* to ask for a repeat as a way of endearing herself to her guest. Aeneas, however, seems to oblige willingly, reassuming his role as narrator: *nārrantis* is pres. act. part. in the gen. m. sg., modifying an understood *Aenēae*, depending on *ōre*. (Here as elsewhere in the opening of Book 4, Aeneas leads a very shadowy existence in the narrative and hardly figures as an independent agent.) English uses the same idiom: 'to hang on someone's lips'; cf. Lucretius, *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 1.36–37 *pāscit amōre auidōs inhiāns in tē, dea, uīsus | ēque tuō pendet resupīnī spīritus ōre* 'he [sc. Mars] pastures on love his greedy sight while gazing on you, goddess [sc. Venus], and the breath of him, as he is reclining, hangs from your lips', with Bowie (1998: 67): 'the Lucretian intertext … comes cruelly close to suggesting a kiss that is not taking place.'

The re-run of Iliadic material has a parallel in Virgil's re-working of Homer: 'The *Aeneid* makes us listen to the *Iliad* on re-wind, too, through all 12 books of re-run; and everything in the poem renews and tells otherwise another re-reading of the *Iliad*' (Henderson with reference to D'Angour 2011: ch.1).

80–83[a]: post ubi dīgressī, lūmenqu(e) obscūra uicissim | [81]lūna premit suādentque cadentia sīdera somnōs, | [82]sōla domō maeret uacuā strātīsque relictīs | [83a]incubat: the adv. *post* is part of the main clause starting with [82]*sōla*. First, however, a long 'atmospheric' *ubi*-clause sets the scene. It is designed as a tricolon with the *-que* after *lūmen* and *suādent* linking the three verbs *dīgressī* [*sc. sunt*], *premit*, *suādent*. *obscūra* is the

result of the action the moon performs on itself (*lūmen premere* 'to dim the light', with alliterative paronomasia *lūmen – lūna*). The dactylic rhythm of 81 rushes everybody off to sleep: *somnōs* is the telos of both the verse and the action it describes. The tranquilizing coincidence of word accent and ictus in the final three words (*cadentia sīdera somnōs*), the soothing *s*-alliteration *suādent – sīdera – somnōs,* and the fact that the rhythm slows down (the two syllables of the last word and foot are long) support the sense of drifting off to sleep (and coming to the end of the hexameter). In the speedy opening part, the vowel piano in *cadentia sīdera* (*a-e-i-a-e-a*) reflects the quickly falling stars and acts as foil to the heavy *somnōs*. See further Austin (47): 'Note the varied vowels, the repeated *s* sounds, the gentle assonance of "sua*dent*que ca*dent*ia", ... The rhythm of 81 itself suggests sleep..., with no strong caesura, and the regular diminishing of the three final words.' Virgil repeats *suādentque cadentia sīdera somnōs* verbatim from 2.9, perhaps tongue-in-cheek: Aeneas uttered the words in the attempt to dissuade Dido from insisting on hearing the bitter tale, if to no avail; now the phrase occurs quite properly after the narration has finished.

Sleep is, of course, the last thing on *Dido*'s mind: [82]*sōla* marks an emphatic return to the queen: she alone grieves in her empty house ([82]*domō ... uacuā*) as if bereaved. [82]*strātīs ... relictīs* may momentarily look like an abl. abs. ('after the couches have been emptied' = after everyone else has departed) but is dative with [83]*incubat*, in emphatic enjambment with diaeresis after the first foot: Dido brooding on the couches left by Aeneas is an affecting index of her yearning for his presence and for physical intimacy.

83[b]–85: ill(um) absēns absent(em) auditque uidetque, | [84]**aut gremi(ō) Ascanium, genitōris imāgine capta,** | [85]**dētinet, īnfandum sī fallere possit amōrem:** the pleonastic polyptoton *absēns* (= Dido) *absentem* (= Aeneas) constitutes a poignant paradox, which exposes as hallucination Dido's sense that Aeneas remains present. Both circumstantial participles have concessive force: 'Dido, even though she is physically distant from him (*absēns*), hears and sees him (*illum*), even though he is physically distant (*absentem*).' The verbs *audit* and *uidet* are arranged climactically: one may conceivably hear someone who is not physically present; but one certainly cannot see such a person, at least by means of ordinary sight. With the concluding *uidetque* we have firmly entered

Dido's fevered imagination, reinforced by the abundance of connectives: the *-que* after *uidet* links *audit* and *uidet*; the *-que* after *audit* is technically speaking redundant: 'This use of double *-que* is a mannerism of high epic style, very common in Virgil, Lucan, and Statius; it is never found in classical prose. It goes back to Ennius, who took it over from Homer's use of τε ... τε' (Austin: 48). Cf. also [94]*tūque puerque tuus* or [146]*Crētēsque Dryopēsque*.

[84]*aut* marks an abrupt break: the action described must refer to another (moment in the) day, as it cannot refer to the evening in which she is left home alone. Most likely, the moment in the day when she cuddles with Ascanius is not late evening anyway: otherwise, one would wonder about Aeneas' lack of parental supervision. Still, the image unsettles: Dido is increasingly getting out of control. [85]*dētinet* mirrors [82]*incubat* in metrical position and effect (in enjambment, verse break after first foot), underscoring the switch in focus from Dido sleeplessly brooding on her bed to fondling Ascanius in her lap. The passage belongs to a sequence that begins at 1.717–22 and ends at 4.327–30. *capta* is nominative, modifying the implied subject of the sentence (= Dido). The sense of the participle is most likely causal: Dido cuddles Ascanius *because* he resembles his father. Beyond its literal meaning, the phrase *genitōris imāgine* evokes the memorial culture of republican and early imperial Rome. *Imāginēs* are the wax masks of deceased former magistrates that hung in the *ātria* of noble houses and were donned by actors during the funeral processions of deceased members of the family, in one of the most remarkable rituals of the Roman republic, designed to celebrate family achievement and lineage (Polybius 6.53–54; Flower 1996). Virgil may also obliquely hint at Lucretius' 'genetic' explanation of family resemblance across generations in his account of sexual procreation at *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 4.1209–30.

In the concluding *sī*-clause, both *īnfandum* and *fallere amōrem* raise problems of interpretation. *īnfandum* is a term of disapproval rather stronger than 'unmentionable' (Maclennan) or 'beyond all utterance' (Goold): something *īnfandum* is 'too horrible or shocking to speak of, unspeakable, monstrous, accursed' (*OLD*), and one therefore wonders about focalization: is it Dido who conceives of her *amor* as *īnfandus* (and why? should she?), or is this a comment on the part of the narrator, clarifying that Dido's inability to speak at 76 has a more troubling

dimension than nerves: she is not just unable to speak but unable to confess her love since (she knows/wrongly feels that?) it is, literally, *unspeakably* monstrous. The attribute also recalls the opening words of Aeneas' narrative at 2.3–5 *īnfandum*, *rēgīna*, *iubēs renouāre dolōrem*, | *Trōiānās ut opēs et lāmentābile rēgnum* | *ēruerint Danaī*... 'Unspeakable grief, O queen, you order me renew, how the Greeks overthrew Troy's wealth and pitiable kingdom...'. The narrative intertwines Aeneas' *īnfandus dolor* and Dido's *īnfandus amor*: the two are made for each other.

fallere amōrem is Dido's futile response to exercise control over passion that is 'unspeakable'. What does *fallere* refer to? Possible interpretations include: (1) Maclennan (87) argues that Dido tries to delude herself: '... in fondling Ascanius she wants to persuade herself that she is merely expressing maternal affection for her friend's child, which is something acceptable and mentionable.' This downplays *amor* as an independent force. (2) O'Hara (30) suggests that 'Dido tries to cheat *her love* by displaying affection for his son Ascanius as a substitute for Aeneas'. But in what way does Dido think she can deceive her love by cuddling Ascanius in her lap, especially since she is attracted to the child in the first place because of his strong resemblance to his father? Both the 'incubation' of Aeneas' couch and the cuddling of his son are, in the first instance, strategies for getting closer to the man himself. (3) One understands *fallere* in the sense of 'to conceal the nature of, to disguise' (*OLD fallō* 8a): rather than referring to Dido's (impossible) attempt to deceive herself or (her) Love (one could consider reading *amōrem* with a capital *A*), the clause captures her attempt to keep her true passion a secret *from others* by transferring her (seemingly compulsive) 'public display of affection' onto the boy. As it happens, this is akin to the (unusual) sense of the first instance of *fallō* in Venus' instructions to Cupid at [1.683–88]*tū faciem illīus noctem nōn amplius ūnam* | *falle dolō, et nōtōs puerī puer indue uultūs*, | *ut, cum tē gremiō accipiet laetissima Dīdō* |... *cum dabit amplexūs atque ōscula dulcia fīget*, | *occultum īnspīrēs ignem fallāsque uenēnō* 'For only a single night *impersonate in deceit* (*OLD fallō* 8b) his form and, boy that you are, don the familiar face of the boy, so that when Dido, exceedingly happy, receives you in her lap, gives you hugs and imprints sweet kisses, you may breathe into her a hidden fire and *beguile* her with poison'. If in Book 1 Cupid/Amor assumes the appearance of Ascanius to infect Dido with love for Aeneas, in Book 4 Dido displaces her love for Aeneas onto the real Ascanius to

disguise her true desire. Love and deception are paired elsewhere in Book 4: [296]*quis fallere possit amantem*?

86–89: nōn coept(ae) adsurgunt turrēs, nōn arma iuuentūs | [87]**exercet, portūsu(e) aut prōpugnācula bellō** | [88]**tūta parant: pendent oper(a) interrupta minaeque** | [89]**mūrōr(um) ingentēs aequātaque māchina caelō:** the anaphora of *nōn* and two tricola, one consisting of verbs and one of nouns, capture the disastrous effects of Dido's being in love on her city-building project: *adsurgunt turrēs – iuuentūs exercet – parant* (note the switches in subject; the third is only implied: the anonymous collective—hence plural—of Carthage's citizens); *opera – minae – māchina*, all 'hanging' on [88]*pendent*. Above all, *nōn ... adsurgunt* underscores the neglect, given that it harks back to 1.437 when Aeneas, upon seeing the building site, exclaims *ō fortūnātī, quōrum iam moenia surgunt!* 'O the happy ones, whose walls are already rising!' (The *iam* makes it clear that Aeneas thinks comparatively: Carthage's walls are already rising, the walls of his own city not yet.) The passage thus intimates that two sets of walls have ceased to make progress: the future of both cities, Carthage and Rome, lies forgotten. With *coeptae ... turrēs*, *portūs ... aut prōpugnācula... tūta*, *opera interrupta*, *minae mūrōrum ingentēs*, and *aequātaque māchina caelō* Virgil uses sublime images to convey both the vast scale of the building project and a sense of its unfinished state. The emphasis is almost exclusively on the development of the cityscape (including the harbour and fortification) rather than the civic community, with the exception of [86–87]*nōn arma iuuentūs* | *exercet*. On Virgil's ruinous sublime, see further Chomse (2024).

[87]*portūsue*: the *-ue* links *nōn ... exercet* and *parant*.

[88]*pendent opera interrupta*: in ironic analogy to 79, where Dido hangs (*pendet*) on the lips of Aeneas narrating, the building works now 'hang'—in the sense of 'are sus-pended'—as well.

[88–9]*minae ...* | *mūrōrum ingentēs*: literally 'the huge threats of walls': a contorted way of saying 'walls (*mūrī*) that are huge (*ingentēs*) and menacing (*minācēs*).' Virgil has chosen to turn one of the attributes (*mināx*) into a noun (*minae*), quaintly modified by the second attribute (*ingēns*) that in sense goes with *mūrī*. Why? One possible answer could be that *minae*, inevitably, invokes the future (threats are inherently

prospective) and hence draws attention to the *in*complete state of the building works. The *m*-alliteration in *minae mūrōrum* is continued by *māchina*. (The wording recalls Laocoon's assessment of the wooden horse at [2.46]*haec in nostrōs fabricāta est māchina mūrōs* 'this has been built as a war-machine against our walls'.)

[89]*aequāta ... māchina caelō*: *caelō* serves as pointer to where the narrative will continue at 90. See Pobjoy (1998: 46): 'what is it that we encounter immediately after our eyes have been led to the crane dangling against the skyline? Nothing other than Juno and Venus...' Their appearance foreshadows a tragic turn of events: 'Virgil has introduced into the narrative goddesses *ex machina*, presented as though actors introduced into the performance of a play by the *machina*, the crane that brought on stage divine characters in Attic tragedies and other plays' (46–47). The suspended sublimity of Carthage also anticipates Virgil's portrayal of Rome as a city that truly will reach up to heaven as an *urbs* co-extensive with the *orbis*, the centre of imperium and cosmos. See esp. 6.781–84 (Anchises speaking to Aeneas):

> ēn huius, nāte, auspiciīs illa incluta Rōma
> imperium terrīs, animōs aequābit Olympō
> septemque ūna sibī mūrō circumdabit arcēs,
> fēlīx prōle uirum...
>
> [Lo, under his auspices, my son, shall that glorious Rome extend her empire to earth's ends, her ambitions to the skies, and shall embrace seven hills with a single city's wall, blessed in a brood of heroes...]

and 8.97–100:

> sōl medium caelī cōnscenderat igneus orbem,
> cum mūrōs arcemque procul ac rāra domōrum
> tēcta uident, quae nunc Rōmāna potentia caelō
> aequāuit (tum rēs inopēs Euandrus habēbat).
>
> [The fiery sun had scaled the mid arch of heaven, when at a distance they see walls and a citadel, and scattered rooftops which today Roman might has exalted to heaven, but then Evander ruled, a scant domain.]

90–128: A Match Made in Heaven

After a day-by-day, even hour-by-hour unfolding of events in Books 1–4.53, narrative time has started to drift after Anna's speech. The conversation between the two sisters took place 'the morning after' Aeneas' arrival, and his first narration of his adventures happened during the welcome festivities. From then on, keeping track of time becomes difficult. Going by the (imprecise) temporal markers in [63]*īnstauratque diem dōnīs* and 82–85, it is just about possible to cram the action of *Aeneid* 4.1–89 into three days:

> Day 1: conversation between Anna and Dido in the morning after the welcoming banquet; initial sacrifices.
> Day 2: renewal of sacrifices; raging through the city; sightseeing with Aeneas; second evening banquet; Dido being left behind alone.
> Day 3: cuddle time with Ascanius.

But such compression does not account for the atmosphere of indefinite drift. In particular, the reference to the abandoned building works in 86–89 implies that more time has elapsed than an extended weekend. Yet Aeneas arrives and departs during the same non-sailing season. What has he been up to while we learn about Dido in love? We only get glimpses of him, in passive roles: in 74 he is the acc. obj. (*Aenēān*) whom Dido leads through the city; in 79 he is 'he, who narrates' (in a present participle in the genitive) at the behest of Dido; and in 78 he is 'absent' (*illum ... absentem*). It is almost as if Virgil gives his protagonist a break, after three full books in the narrative limelight. (Homer, too, has long stretches in which Achilles and Odysseus all but disappear.) At such impasses, the epic poet has at his disposal a reliable source of new narrative stimuli: the gods. The action now shifts back to the divine plane, with Juno (the goddess of conjugal bonds who has faded from the narrative after derailing the fleet of Aeneas at the very beginning

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of the epic) accosting and confronting Venus (the goddess of erotic desire). A battle of wits ensues between two scheming divinities, one more deceitful than the other. Each one walks away with the belief that she has fooled her antagonist. Only Venus, of course, is right, at least in the short term: whereas Juno dominates the conversation (she gets two speeches), the goddess of love knows that she will get her son out of Carthage eventually. She has, after all, been briefed in the workings of destiny by none other than Jupiter (1.223–96) and uses this privileged insight into the plot to play cat and mouse with Dido and her divine patron Juno. Here is the section in outline:

90–92: Juno seeks out Venus.
93–104: Juno's first speech.
105–107^{a}: Venus' hidden thoughts (1).
107^{b}–114^{a}: Venus' response.
114^{b}–127^{a}: Juno's second speech.
127^{b}–128: Venus' hidden thoughts (2).

Hera/Juno soliciting the help of Aphrodite/Venus has an epic history starting with *Iliad* 14, the famous 'Deception of Zeus', where Hera uses the girdle of Aphrodite to seduce her husband into transcendental sex, before taking advantage of his post-coital slumber to meddle in the Trojan war against his will.

Extra information

The most salient model for this encounter between Juno and Venus is Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.49–111, which features a conversation between Hera (the Greek equivalent of Juno), Athena, and Aphrodite (the Greek equivalent of Venus). The parallels are as follows:

1. The opening gambit includes a sarcastic comment (*Arg.* 3.51–54: Aphrodite speaking, slyly hailing Hera and Athena as goddesses who 'excel all others' in an insidious allusion to the judgement of Paris | *Aen.* 4.93–95: Juno speaking, mocking Venus' 'victory' over Dido).
2. Hera/Juno explains the situation (*Arg.* 3.57–75 | *Aen.* 4.96–104).
3. Aphrodite/Venus yields to the higher authority of Juno/Hera (*Arg.* 3.79–82 | *Aen.* 4.107–14).
4. Hera/Juno suggests a plan to which Aphrodite/Venus agrees (*Arg.* 3.84–110 | *Aen.* 4.115–28).

The passage from Apollonius contains further material not included in Virgil's rewrite (notably a complaint by Aphrodite that her son Eros is unruly). And, of course, in Virgil the power relation is inverted: in Apollonius, Hera and Athena are in charge and Aphrodite does their bidding (see esp. 3.100); in Virgil, the goddesses are more evenly matched. In intertextual terms, it is payback time: this is *not* the *Argonautica*, where Aphrodite stands for sex and little else; this is the *Aeneid*, where Venus, apart from sex and erotic attraction, also figures as the mother of the founding hero of the Roman people, as the daughter of Jupiter, as beneficiary of fate and mistress of fortune. For further discussion of the relationship, see Nelis (2001: 147) and Hall (2011).

90–92: quam simul ac tālī persēnsit peste tenērī | [91]**cāra Iouis coniūnx nec fām(am) obstāre furōrī,** | [92]**tālibus adgreditur Venerem Sāturnia dictīs:** the basic structure is a subordinate clause introduced by *simul ac* ('as soon as') with [91]*cāra Iouis coniūnx* as subject and [90]*persēnsit* as verb, followed by the main clause in 92 (with *Sāturnia* as subject and *adgreditur* as verb). Within the *simul-ac*-clause, *persēnsit* governs an indirect statement that falls into two parts linked by *nec*: *quam* (a connecting relative pronoun = *eam*; the referent is Dido) ... *tenērī* and *fāmam* ... *obstāre*. The untidy word order possibly reflects Juno's flustered state of mind, though she has herself under control when she addresses Venus: line 92 is balanced and symmetrical, with *tālibus* modifying *dictīs*, and the verb *adgreditur* correlating with the subject *Sāturnia*. This places *Venerem*, the acc. obj. of *adgreditur*, smack in the middle, reproducing on the level of verse design the scenario of Venus being 'cornered' by Juno, but also emphasizing her central role in what is unfolding: despite the fact that she is in the 'oblique' acc. case with Juno holding, grammatically speaking, the subject position, Venus is pulling the strings.

[90]*tālī persēnsit peste tenērī*: the alliterative pattern *tā-*, *pe-*, *pe-*, *te-* concentrates attention on the moment the penny drops for Juno. *tenērī* shares its first syllable with the last syllable of the preceding word (*peste*), and rhymes with *tālī* and thus relates acoustically to the paraphrase of the force (*tālis pestis*; the focalization is Juno's) that is doing the holding. The *per-* in *persēnsit* underscores that it dawns on Juno *gradually* what has been happening, and as soon as (*simul ac*) she has fully understood the dirty trick of Venus and her son, she jumps into action. *pestis* is a

strong term: it signifies a fatal disease of epidemic proportions but can also refer by way of personification to a baneful individual (Cicero uses it of Catiline, for instance) or ruin and destruction more generally. Here it refers to both Cupid and Dido's love-sickness (the two are ultimately indistinguishable). The wording recalls 1.712 where the phrase *pestī dēuōta futūrae* 'doomed to impending ruin', in apposition to *īnfēlīx* no less, turns Dido metaphorically into a sacrificial victim about to be slaughtered—just before she unwittingly embraces Cupid disguised as Ascanius. Henderson proposes Catullus 76.20 as salient model: *ēripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihī!* 'Get me rid of this pernicious pest!'

[90]*nec fāmam obstāre furōrī*: *fāma* (= Dido's sense of her reputation and the reputation she has hitherto enjoyed in the historiographical accounts) no longer stands in the way of (*obstāre*: the placement of the word enacts its meaning) *furor* (= the insane passion which she suffers from in Virgil). The two nouns in antithesis are linked by alliteration.

[91–92]*cāra Iouis coniūnx ... Sāturnia*: Juno has been absent from the narrative for a while, and upon her re-entry, Virgil goes out of his way to stress her position within the Olympic pantheon: she is the wife of Jupiter and the offspring of Saturn. Her marriage and her ancient lineage mark her as Venus' superior in the divine hierarchy, but Venus manages to counterbalance inferior prestige with superior knowledge and potential for mischief.

Juno's first speech falls into two roughly equal halves: 93–97 comment disapprovingly on what Venus has been up to; 98–104 outline a proposal of peace and alliance.

93–95: 'ēgregiam uērō laud(em) et spoli(a) ampla refertis | [94]**tūque puerque tuus, magn(um) et memorābile nūmen,** | [95]**ūna dolō dīuum sī fēmina uicta duōrum (e)st!:** 'Splendid indeed is the praise and rich the spoils you win, you and your boy, a mighty and memorable divine force, if one woman is subdued by the guile of two gods!' Juno chisels her opening, a conditional sequence, into the air with meticulous deliberation and emphasis, verse by self-standing verse: 93 contains the main clause (apodosis); 94 contains a grandiose elaboration of the subject implied in *refertis*; 95 contains the *sī*-clause (protasis). Some editors, however, punctuate differently (with a semicolon after *tuus*). This generates two sentences of roughly equal length: the first, consisting of a main clause

only, comes to an end after *tuus*; and *magnum et memorabile nūmen* (some read *nōmen*) becomes the apodosis of the conditional sequence, with the verb *est* or *erit* understood:

> ēgregiam uērō laudem et spolia ampla refertis
> tūque puerque tuus**:** magnum et memorābile **nūmen**/**nōmen**,
> ūna dolō diuum sī fēmina uicta duōrum est!
>
> [Splendid indeed is the praise and rich the spoils you win, you and your boy; mighty and glorious is the power divine [*nūmen*]/ will be the glory [*nōmen*], if one woman is subdued by the guile of two gods!]

[93]*ēgregiam uērō laudem et spolia ampla refertis*: *refertis* = 2nd per. pl. pres. ind. act. of *referō*. Its acc. obj. is presented as a stately chiasmus, dripping with sarcasm: adj.[1] *egregiam* : noun[1] *laudem* : noun[2] *spolia* : adj.[2] *ampla*. Juno uses technical military language to refer to the success of Venus' limey plot: *laus* at Rome is primarily associated with battlefield success, *spolia* are 'the spoils of (military) victory', and *referre* is a standard verb used to describe the return of a triumphant general. This derisive praise for a conquest that could not have been easier to achieve recalls *Iliad* 5, where Aphrodite saves Aeneas from Diomedes, though not without being wounded in the process, leading to much lament: 'Juno's mocking description of Venus' psychological conquest of Dido in martial terms thus not only insults Venus for directing her powers against an overmatched opponent but also reminds her of her earlier failure on the literal battlefield' (Hall 2011: 625). And, as John Henderson points out, 'it *also* reminds us that all this typologically prefigures the Roman obliteration of Carthaginian Carthage (before the Julian and Augustan re-foundation as Roman Carthage). This love tragedy soups and serves up superpower struggle on the world stage: but in Virgil's hands, the rights and wrongs are inextricably tangled beyond chauvinist simplification from the start. Juno isn't wrong, then – especially in claiming that this (first third of *arma uirumque*) is a sordid story out of keeping with epic decorum, a lapse into Hellenistic romance and the theatre of boudoir persecution of the *femme fatale*. What a mess the *Aeneid* is making of getting from Troy to Rome – wrong continent, wrong genre ... correct: it's an *ordeal*.' And in the end—Juno is no loser, either!

[94]*tūque puerque tuus, magnum et memorābile nūmen*: Juno does not give her rival a lot of verse space; after the monosyllabic *tū* at the outset, she devotes the rest of the line to an appreciation of Cupid. He may be Venus' boy but he proves to be a divinity of extraordinary and 'numinous' power (*magnum nūmen*). *nūmen* stresses the efficaciousness of divine power; it can either denote a divinity in its own right (as here: in Juno's phrasing, Cupid is a *nūmen*) or refer to the ability of gods to influence events or indeed govern the entire cosmos. Later, Mercury will refer to Jupiter as [268–69]*deum ... rēgnātor, caelum ac terrās quī nūmine torquet*. It is a key religious concept in the epic more generally, from the proem onwards. Juno's words specifically recall Virgil's famous address to, and questioning of, the Muse at [1.8–11]*Mūsa, mihī causās memorā, quō nūmine laesō | quidue dolēns, rēgīna deum tot uoluere cāsūs | īnsignem pietāte uirum, tot adīre labōrēs | impulerit*. 'Tell me, o Muse, the reasons, wherein thwarted in divine will or why angered, did the queen of the gods drive a man outstanding in piety, to traverse so many perils, to undergo so many toils?'. Juno, who was the object of theological commentary by Virgil in the proem, has now turned into the commentator: she grudgingly concedes that Cupid has usurped what ought to be her narrative. Whereas Virgil is asking the Muse to recount the memorable reasons for Juno's hostility towards Aeneas ([1.8]*memorā*), Juno here recognizes that what Cupid did to Dido is at least as memorable (cf. [94]*memorābile*). In an additional irony, the issue of theodicy, which Virgil raises in the proem (the implication of his question to the Muse is that Juno's actions are not justified, given Aeneas' outstanding *pietās*), here recurs in a slightly different key, insofar as it registers negatively. Juno does not seem interested in justice at all. For her, this is a matter of power and the pursuit of selfish interests. She does not remonstrate with Venus that Dido suffers unfairly. Rather, she mocks her counterpart for a cheap victory. The difference between the human and the divine perspective is telling: mortals have much at stake in the justice of the gods; the gods themselves, however, arguably nothing.

[95]*ūna dolō dīuum sī fēmina uicta duōrum est!*: the protasis of the explanatory *sī*-clause here comes after the apodosis (*refertis*). Juno points out that Dido never had a chance, whether in terms of ontology and gender (a mortal *fēmina* vs. immortal *dīuī*) or number (two against one: Virgil stresses the contrast by placing *ūna* and *duōrum* at either end of the

verse). As Conington (1884: 260) observes: 'The words are chosen so as to be as sarcastic as possible; the triumph is of two over one, of gods over a mortal, and that not even a man but a woman.' Austin (51) notes the intricate, antithetical design: '*ūna* contrasted with *duōrum*, *dolō* paired with *uicta* and completing its sense, *dīuum* contrasted with *fēmina*.' The phrase *dolō dīuum ... duōrum* (an abl. of means) is nicely held together by alliteration and homoioteleuton of the genitive phrase (*-um*), though *duōrum* elides with *est*.

96–97: nec m(ē) adeō fallit ueritam tē moenia nostra | suspectās habuisse domōs Karthāginis altae: *fallit* (impersonal, to be construed with *mē*: 'it does not escape me...') governs an indirect statement with *tē* as subject acc. and *habuisse* as inf.; *domōs* (with *suspectās* in predicative position: 'in suspicion') is the acc. obj. of *habuisse*. *ueritam* is a circumstantial participle agreeing with *tē* (you, in fear of...), taking *moenia nostra* as acc. obj. With the phrases *moenia nostra* and *domōs Karthāginis altae* Juno co-opts for Carthage what Virgil, in the proem, marked out as the destiny of Rome: the telos of Aeneas' efforts (even though he doesn't build them himself) are [1.7]*altae moenia Rōmae* 'the walls of high Rome' (or 'the high walls of Rome'): in both passages, we are dealing with a so-called transferred epithet: the attribute *altus* would go more naturally with another noun (*moenia* or *domōs*) than the one it modifies grammatically (*Rōmae* or *Karthāginis*), though the transference invites us to think of, literally, 'high walls' and of, figuratively, 'exalted Rome or Carthage'. The fear *of* Carthage that Juno projects onto Venus, she herself suffers *on behalf of* Carthage ([1.23]*id metuēns* [sc. *Iūnō*], with *id* referring to the future destruction of Carthage by the Romans).

98: sed quis erit modus, aut quō nunc certāmine tantō?: Juno has reached the mid-point of her speech. After her sarcastic opening and confrontational 'the game's up: I know what this is all about', she changes tack. In more conciliatory vein, she enquires into the limit of what she considers an excessive use of divine force, before posing the open-ended question of what all that strife and meddling is supposed to achieve (in a sentence that fittingly lacks a verb such as *tendimus*): 'whither (*quō*) now [do we go from here] in this rivalry (*certāmine tantō*)?' These are good questions, as Juno here picks up on a potential flaw in Venus' machinations and, for her own selfish interests to be sure, tries to offer

a way out of the deadlock: what precisely *is* Venus trying to achieve by driving Dido into erotic insanity? Yes, ensuring a friendly welcome for Aeneas was important; but Jupiter and Mercury had taken care of this (1.297–304) well before Venus decides to meddle and one would have thought that her ultimate goal (Rome's founding and rise to world empire) would have been better served by more reserved hospitality so that Aeneas and his men could be on their way back to Italy soon. As it turns out, afflicting Dido with hopeless passion is derailing the founding of two great cities: Carthage and Rome. More generally speaking, Venus has seemingly gained little from unleashing the powers of her son or even caused significant damage: not only has she further delayed Aeneas on his travels; the tragic break-up and ensuing hatred, resulting in a vicious curse empowered by Dido's suicide, cause much future suffering for Aeneas and Rome. She of course knows, after her consultation with Jupiter, that all will turn out well (sort of): *imperium sine fīne* and all that. But in the form of Hannibal especially, Dido's wrath will continue to haunt the Romans, almost bringing them to their knees, to say nothing of the century of civil wars she arguably also curses into being.

99–100[a]: quīn potius pāc(em) aeternam pactōsqu(e) hymenaeōs | exercēmus?: after the open-ended question that suggests to Venus how immoderate and pointless her attack on Dido has been, Juno puts a concrete proposal on the table cast as a question (though *quīn* introduces questions 'equivalent to commands or exhortations': *OLD* A1 'why don't we...?'). She wraps her offer to Venus in impressive rhetoric: *pācem aeternam pactōsque hymenaeōs* is chiastic in terms of grammar (noun + adj.; adj. + noun), with stylistic (and hence thematic) interlacing of each attribute with the other noun as well: *pācem* ~ *pactōs* (= perf. part. of *pacīscor*, 'to negotiate, agree on, settle') is a *figūra etymologica* reinforced by alliteration, while *aeternam* and *hymenaeōs* are linked by assonance (*ae-*, *-nae-*). Seemingly paradoxically given Rome's zest for military conquest, *pāx* is a key Roman value. But its semantics, especially in late-republican times, are anything but simple. As Lavan (2017: 102–3) puts it: 'It is clear that Romans saw no contradiction in idealising peace and militarism simultaneously. Many scholars who have noted these incongruities have explained them by positing that *pāx* means different things in the spheres of domestic politics and foreign relations, denoting concord in the former and the subjugation of enemies in

the latter. Although it has its uses as a first approximation for those unfamiliar with the Latin language of *pāx*, this dichotomy is reductive. It collapses the ambiguities that gave the language of peace such enduring appeal. Even when writing about subject peoples, Roman writers often use *pāx* to denote the absence of internal conflict and external threat as well as conformity to the Roman order. Moreover, the distinction between domestic and foreign spheres is often blurred. Indeed, it is precisely its capacity to denote any or all of civic concord, stability in the provinces and expansion in the periphery that made it such a strong and persuasive word for both rulers and subjects.' See further Gildenhard and Henderson (2018: 323–27).

100[b]–101: habēs, tōtā quod mente petīstī: | ārdet amāns Dīdō trāxitque per ossa furōrem. *petīstī* = *petīuistī*. Juno makes out as if Venus' scheming does not extend beyond making Dido fall madly in love with Aeneas and that she therefore has achieved everything she ever desired (cf. *tōtā ... mente*): the placement of *tōtā* in front of the relative clause into which it belongs underscores the comprehensive wish-fulfilment that Juno, in an act of strategic incomprehension, projects onto Venus. In a *husteron proteron*, she first foregrounds that Dido is 'on fire' with love (cf. *ārdet* in the exposed front position) before stating the cause: she has drawn in the insane passion through her bones. *per ossa* harks back to [2]*uēnīs* and, especially, [66]*medullās*. After expressing outrage at the current situation once more, Juno submits that it is time to move on.

102–103[a]: commūn(em) hunc ergō populum paribusque regāmus | auspiciīs: *regāmus* is exhortative subjunctive ('let us rule'); the *-que* links *commūnem* (in predicative position, modifying *populum*) and *paribus auspiciīs*. The two phrases indicate how Juno intends to rule with Venus, namely 'together and sharing power equally', with *commūnem* identifying the basic principle ('jointly') and *paribus auspiciīs* specifying the precise terms ('equally'). What looks like a generous proposal is in fact both insidious (*commūnem*) and deeply problematic in terms of practical arrangement (*paribus auspiciīs*). Servius Auctus (cited by Pease: 167) put the finger on the problem by asking whether *commūnem* means that Juno offers Venus joint rule of her city Carthage or that Tyrians and Trojans will have merged into one *populus*. The former, of course, all but implies the latter: a joint rule of the two goddesses will ultimately result in a

joint people. Juno never spells this out (she only mentions marriage of their two princely and principal charges), but in effect she here suggests for Carthage what has been pre-scripted for Italy: the ethnic merging of the Trojan refugees with another settler community, the Phoenicians. In other words, she here again plots to derail *fātum* and the founding of Rome. *paribus auspiciīs* carries a similar sting in the tail. *Auspicium* is, in the first instance, 'the practice of augury from the behaviour of birds' or 'information about the future gleaned from the behaviour of birds', but also refers more generally to the legitimate power invested in a Roman general: 'the commander-in-chief alone had authority to take the *auspicia*, in virtue of his *imperium*, and so the *auspicia* could themselves be regarded as a symbol of *imperium*' (Austin: 53–54). There is considerable (warped?) humour in the fact that Juno, a goddess, uses a technical term of Rome's civic religion that refers to a practice designed to figure out the will of the gods. Taken literally, with *paribus auspiciīs* Juno proposes that each goddess needs to consult the other on anything before taking any action and that the opinion of each has exactly equal weight. How they would have implemented this in practice is an interesting question. Rome's political culture was quite good at sharing power: for instance, when both consuls were together on campaign, the right to take auspices (and decide on a course of action) alternated on a daily basis. But this sort of collegial arrangement is fraught with problems and can break down easily (Eteocles and Polynices also initially agreed to rule in alternating years: we all know what happened the moment the regime was supposed to change hands for the first time), and one wonders whether it would have been practicable here. In Augustan Rome, especially, after a century of civil bloodshed had proven the difficulty of sharing power, the mode of government that Juno evokes with *commūnem* and *paribus auspiciīs* would probably have been deemed doomed to failure.

> Yet this fake deal also test runs the solution for Rome ~ Italia in the *Aeneid*'s finale AND the way that models of mutual treaty and partial/ phased/ wholesale incorporation developed within Italy in history; in Virgil's day, the challenge was how to project civil relations out to communities outside Italy (such as Roman Carthage). Juno wouldn't be the only one fudging and manoeuvring over this politics, in Rome or in other centres. No doubt you have to get past hate to make any of it work; one way to do that is to agree to treat the past and its conflicts as tragedy, as miscommunication, as cock-up (Henderson).

103[b]–104: liceat Phrygiō seruīre marītō | dōtālīsque tuae Tyriōs permittere dextrae.': Dido, the subject of *liceat* ('let her/may she...'), is otherwise effaced; the *-que* links *seruīre* and *permittere*; *dōtālīs* (acc. pl., agreeing with *Tyriōs* in predicative position) continues the idea of *marītō*: 'let her serve a Phrygian husband and hand over her Tyrians to your right hand [= into your power] *as dowry*!' Juno here introduces the human analogue to her previous proposal of divine power-sharing: the marital union of Dido and Aeneas. She blithely assumes that Venus intervened to get Dido and Aeneas married and now playacts as if she is willing to go along with the plan, however bitter it may be. When she utters the phrase *Phrygiō seruīre marītō*, she is best imagined as spitting in disgust: *her* queen (*rēgīna*) and leader (*dux*), and thus also herself, enslaved—and to an effeminate, 'slavish' Phrygian at that! (As Henderson points out, given that 'Phrygian' is a stock Roman term for 'slave', Juno expresses her irritation as paradox: 'I am willing,' she says, 'to enslave my Dido to a slave.') The show of contempt, apart from being presumably genuine, has a rhetorical point: Juno hams it up to show how much she is (apparently) yielding.

105–114[a]: 105–7[a] offer authorial comments on Venus' thoughts. Her subsequent speech falls into three parts:

- 107[b]–109: conciliatory opening with a touch of demurral in the *sī*-clause.
- 110–112: reservations—Jupiter may not be willing to go along with Juno's proposal.
- 113–114[a]: exhortation that Jupiter is Juno's responsibility; reiteration of her willingness to follow Juno's lead.

Her discourse is duplicitous throughout, matching the duplicity she recognizes in her counterpart Juno, and informed by confidence derived from the reassurances she has received from Jupiter in Book 1, which allows her to toy with core categories of Virgil's theology of history: [109]*fortūna* and [110]*fāta*.

105–107[a]: ollī (sēnsit enim simulātā mente locūtam, | quō rēgn(um) Ītaliae Libycās āuerteret ōrās) | sīc contrā (e)st ingressa Venus: *ollī* (= archaic form of dat. *illī*) refers to Juno and goes with *est ingressa*: 'To her Venus began to speak (*OLD ingredior* 4d) thus (*sīc*) in reply (*contrā*:

adv.; *OLD* 6b) ...' The social distancing of *ollī* – *Venus* achieved by the verse design (they are 2.5 lines apart) is expressive of the fundamental differences between the two goddesses, which are glossed in the parenthesis. Venus is the subject of *sēnsit*, which governs an indirect statement with an elided *eam* (= Juno) as subj. acc. and *locūtam* (sc. *esse*) as inf. Juno is the subject of the relative clause of purpose introduced by *quō* 'so as to'. The acc. of direction *Libycās ōrās* would, in prose, normally take the preposition *ad*. The chiastic design of *rēgnum Ītaliae* : *Libycās ... ōrās* stylistically underscores the intended redirection, with the two geographical markers juxtaposed in the centre and Italy yielding to Libya.

Virgil also uses the archaic variant of *ille* at 1.254 when a smiling Jupiter addresses Venus: *ollī subrīdēns hominum sator atque deōrum*.... He may have opted for these archaizing touches to suggest divine gravity, but the intratextual echo also has thematic implications: 'We are reminded of that conversation about the Roman future, as Venus conceals from Juno the knowledge that she has learned from it' (O'Hara: 32).

107[b]–109: 'quis tālia dēmēns | abnuat aut tēcum mālit contendere bellō, | sī modo quod memorās factum fortūna sequātur? Venus opens her response with a bipartite rhetorical question; *abnuat* and *mālit* are in the (potential) subjunctive: 'Who could be so insane as to refuse such terms (*tālia*, referring back to Juno's proposal) or to prefer to contend with you in war...' *bellō* picks up Juno's [98]*certāmine tantō* while voiding it of euphemism: Juno has made an offer Venus cannot refuse. The way she wriggles out of the dilemma is deft. While her rhetorical question implies the negative answer Juno wants to hear, Venus instantly if surreptitiously qualifies her apparent consent by adding a *sī*-clause (*sī modo* = *utinam* 'if only'), in which she feigns concern that fortune, despite her hopes, may not favour the course of action (*factum*) that Juno has in mind (*quod memorās*). *factum*, the antecedent of *quod*, is placed after the relative clause, generating an ironic juxtaposition reinforced by alliteration of *factum* and *fortūna*: by itself, *factum*—the perf. part. of *facere*—signifies a deed or action that has already happened ('a fact'), but together with the preceding relative clause it refers to a 'planned action', i.e. something in the future. And while in other contexts divinities operate on the principle of *dictum factum* ('no sooner said than done'), here Venus reminds Juno that in principle the future is contingent, the

domain of fickle *fortūna*—'in principle', since by now she knows full well that a significant part of Rome's future is no longer up for negotiation but pre-scripted and hence, in its essentials, removed from the realm of fortune. In other words, what Juno here plans will never become a *factum*: she will not be able to shape history the way she wants. With her maliciously double-layered and disingenuous gesture to *fortūna*, Venus reminds Juno that the successful execution of her scheme is not entirely up to them. She also secretly mocks her antagonist in the full knowledge that her intrigue will be in vain.

[107b]*dēmēns*: when Venus asks 'who could be so insane as to...', a wry smile may well play around her lips given that Dido has just been diagnosed as [78]*dēmēns*.

[108]*abnuat*: the verb may contain a hint of duplicity: it signifies disagreement by means of an explicit sign, which leaves room for unspoken objection. Since Homer, 'nodding' (*ab-nuat*) is a trademarked way for Olympian divinities to signal assent (or, as here, dissent). Cf. *Iliad* 1.528–30: 'The son of Cronos [= Zeus] spoke, and bowed his dark brow in assent, and the ambrosial locks shook on the king's immortal head; and he made great Olympus quake.' At 1.250, Venus recalls a favourable nod of Jupiter's in her address to him: *nōs, tua prōgeniēs, caelī quibus adnuis arcem...* 'but we, your offspring, to whom you grant the citadel of heaven...'. After Juno's second speech, Venus indeed nods her assent ([128]*adnuit*).

110–112: sed fātīs incerta feror, sī Iuppiter ūnam | [111]esse uelit Tyriīs urbem Trōiāque profectīs, | [112]miscērīue probet populōs aut foedera iungī: 'the grammatical construction of *fātīs* is hard to explain' (Pease: 171). One option is to take *fātīs* with *feror* 'I am carried along by the fates' (= Venus giving Juno the impression that she bows to the destiny her counterpart has determined) with *incerta*, perhaps concessive, setting up the *sī*-clause: '(even though) uncertain, whether...' Alternatively, *fātīs* could go with *incerta*: 'uncertain of the fates, I am carried along (by your proposal, not knowing) whether...', although 'we lack other cases of such an ablative dependent upon *incertus*, our nearest analogy perhaps being the ablative with *callidus* and *perītus*' (Pease: 171). It is maybe best to take *fātīs* with the entire phrase *incerta feror*: 'as someone ignorant of

destiny I am carried along by it'. The syntactical ambiguity of *fātīs* (itself ironic: indeterminacy in a concept that signifies predetermination) fits: Venus is evasive and well she might be. That she is carried along by the fates is true enough (who isn't) but her claim to be ignorant of either them or of Jupiter's will is a bald-faced lie: in Book 1, Jupiter assured her that the *fāta* would remained fixed (Jupiter speaking: [1.257–58]'*parce metū, Cytherēa: manent immōta tuōrum | fāta tibi*...' 'Spare your fears, Lady of Cythera; the fates of your kin remain unmoved...'). What is more, he also revealed that even Juno would eventually come round to favouring Venus' 'race' (*gēns*) (1.279–82).

To be knowledgeable of the future is a nice (if absurdist) position to be in. Here, privileged insight into the *fāta*, combined with recent reassurances that they will remain unaltered despite appearances, enables Venus to be simultaneously smug and coy about Juno's plan. Her train of thought proceeds from the city (*ūnam*: 'one only', 'a single one') that is to be shared by Tyrians and Trojans, to an inevitable consequence of this sharing: some sort of merger or bond between the two peoples. She carefully parses what's on the table using a range of connectives and disjunctives. The *-que* after *Trōiā* links *Tyriīs* (those from Tyre = the Carthaginians) and (*Trōiā*) *profectīs* ('those, who have departed from Troy'), the *-ue* after *miscērī* links *uelit* and *probet*, the *aut* coordinates *miscērī* and *iungī*. The binary phrasing (*Tyriīs* & *Trōiā profectīs*; *uelit* & *probet*; *miscērī* & *iungī*) and the different conjunctions (*-que*, *-ue*, *aut*) express both the theme of the *sī*-clause (the potential merger of Tyrians and Trojans) and Venus' simulated uncertainty about the precise terms of such a merger *if* it should happen. She invokes two models, nicely contrasted by means of the chiasmus *miscērī* – *populōs* : *foedera* – *iungī*. Under an *ethnic* framework, community members believe they are bound together by intermarriage and common bloodline; in a civic alliance, participants are bound by a legal, contractual framework (such as citizenship). The two models are not mutually exclusive.

The merger of two peoples is here mooted as a hypothetical possibility, very much along the lines of Dido's offer to Ilioneus at 1.572–74:

> uultis et hīs mēcum pariter cōnsīdere rēgnīs?
> urbem quam statuō uestra est; subdūcite nāuīs;
> Trōs Tyriusque mihī nūllō discrīmine agētur.

[Or is it your wish to settle with me on even terms within these realms? The city I build is yours; draw up your ships; Trojan and Tyrian I shall treat alike.]

These are preliminary, abortive soundings of a theme that dominates the second half of the *Aeneid*, which revolves around the merging of Trojans and Latins, again at the level of a royal couple (Aeneas and Lavinia) and two entire peoples. There, too, Virgil uses both ethnic and legal terminology to describe the union (see e.g. [12.191]*foedera*). An idiosyncratic notion of Roman ethnicity also informs Virgil's reconfiguration of the *populus Rōmānus* as *gēns Rōmāna* (*uel Iūlia*): see above 206–8.

113–114[a]: tū coniūnx [sc. Iouis es]**, tibi fās** [sc. est] **animum temptāre precandō.** | **perge, sequar:** another guileful utterance: as Book 1 shows, Venus has no scruples whatsoever about approaching Jupiter for reassurance and support. Her use of *fās* is another instance of a divinity bandying about Roman religious terminology: the term refers to divinely sanctioned law, and Venus hilariously implies that her accosting Jupiter would be in breach of religious protocol. She shifts full responsibility for the success of the plan onto Juno (who has a notoriously stormy relationship with her husband), rhetorically underscoring her position with the solemn and emphatic polyptoton *tū* ~ *tibi* and the laconic exhortation and promise that concludes her speech: 'Lead (*perge*)! I'll follow (*sequar*).'

114[b]: tum sīc excēpit rēgia Iūnō: the phrasing recalls [107]*sīc contrā est ingressa Venus*; now Juno takes over (cf. *excēpit*) again. The epithet *rēgia* underscores her superior position in the Olympic hierarchy anew and has proleptic force: the opening of her speech is marked by 'royal' pomposity and self-importance.

Extra information

The intertextual background to this passage includes the encounter between Hera and Aphrodite (the Greek counterparts of Juno and Venus) in *Iliad* 14, where Hera approaches Aphrodite to borrow her girdle of erotic desire so she can lull Zeus into a post-coital slumber and then abet the Greeks. Venus' references to *factum*, *fortūna*, and *fāta* are

similar to her musings on fate and wish-fulfilment at *Iliad* 14.194–96:

> 'Hera, reverent goddess, daughter of great Cronos, speak what is on your mind; the heart bids me to **fulfil** it, if **fulfil** it I can, and if it is something that has **fulfilment**.'
>
> Ἥρη πρέσβα θεὰ θύγατερ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο
> αὔδα ὅ τι φρονέεις· **τελέσαι** δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν,
> εἰ δύναμαι **τελέσαι** γε καὶ εἰ **τετελεσμένον** ἐστίν.

telos ('end', 'purpose', or 'final cause', which 'teleology' derives from) is a Greek equivalent to *fātum*. Since Aphrodite favours the Trojans, Hera tells her a cock-and-bull story about needing the girdle to reconcile the estranged couple of Oceanus and Tethys. Aphrodite's reply to Hera's request mirrors Venus' conciliatory approach at *Aeneid* 4.107–9, including a reference to her privileged position as spouse of Zeus (*Iliad* 14.211–13):

> Laughter-loving Aphrodite answered her: 'It is not to be nor is it seemly that I say no to your speech; for you sleep in the arms of Zeus the mightiest.'
>
> Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φιλομειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη·
> οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ ἔοικε τεὸν ἔπος ἀρνήσασθαι·
> Ζηνὸς γὰρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἰαύεις.

Aphrodite's ornamental epithet is 'laughter-loving' (φιλομμειδής). She will do it justice in Virgil at 128 below. Aphrodite seems to be chuckling behind a straight face also in Homer: her concluding reference to Hera sleeping in the arms of Zeus is both a barb (Hera is by no means the only one, nor does she enjoy the privilege all that often...) and a sly reveal that she knows very well what Hera truly wants the girdle for (with the implied insult that, without the girdle, the spousal intimacy of the Olympian couple leaves a lot to be desired), even though she cannot do anything about it. In the *Aeneid*, Venus' suggestion that Juno tries to turn Jupiter's mind by 'pleading' with him (*precandō*) amounts to an arch reference to their sexless marriage. Juno needs to rely on rhetoric rather than erotic seduction as the means of persuasion—unlike Venus, goddess of carnal pleasure and queen of sexual bliss, who can draw on her supreme command of erotic desire to get things done. See

esp. 8.370–415 where she lights the fire of her husband Vulcan while pumping him for a new set of armour for her illegitimate son—nothing like a bit of gender-bending hanky-panky to turn your spouse into an obedient tradwife...

115–127: After briefly dealing with Venus' speech, Juno outlines her plan for getting Aeneas and Dido into wedlock. The speech is well-structured, but there is a shift from measured exposition, where sections come to a close at the end of a verse, to a more animated, enjambed mode of speech that matches Juno's mounting excitement as she works up to the triumphant finale [127]*hic hymenaeus erit*:

> 115–116: Preamble—a reply to Venus' concerns and an exhortation to ensure her full attention.
> 117–119: The context in which the goddesses should strike—Aeneas and Dido on a hunt.
> 120–122: Juno's intervention: conjuring a storm.
> 123–125a: The consequences—everyone scatters; Dido and Aeneas, all by themselves, seek shelter in a cave.
> 125b–127a: Bingo—Juno will see to sex and marriage.

115[a]: 'mēc(um) erit iste labor: Juno reacts to Venus' feigned doubts and duplicitous humility with dismissive verbal strutting: 'Don't you worry, *I*'ll take care of that!' Her use of the future tense (*erit*) is telling. She has no intention of consulting Jupiter. In the end, he finds out about what is going on from his son Iarbas (like Aeneas, born out of wedlock).

115[b]–116: nunc quā ratiōne quod īnstat | cōnfierī possit, paucīs (aduerte) docēbō: with *nunc*, Juno's attitude changes: she sets out methodically (*quā ratiōne*) and briefly (*paucīs*) what the two goddesses ought to do right away (*quod īnstat*, contrasting with *iste labor*). There might be a touch of 'schoolmistress' (Pease: 173) about the way she speaks. But is the imperative *aduerte* 'peremptory' 'as if Venus might not be paying attention' (Maclennan: 91), or rather conspiratorial (she needs Venus' collaboration after all: 125)?

117–119: uēnāt(um) Aenēās ūnāque miserrima Dīdō | [118]in nemus īre parant, ubi prīmōs crāstinus ortūs | [119]extulerit Tītān radiīsque retēxerit orbem: *uēnātum* is the acc. of the supine, expressing purpose ('in order to...') with a verb of motion (*īre*). *ūnā* 'together with' (adv.).

Aeneas leads the way, but Juno mentions him by name only, without ornamental epithet, whereas Dido receives a superlative attribute (cf. 124 for a similar snide innuendo), which recalls and stands in implicit contrast to the *pulcherrima* Virgil uses elsewhere. Is it an expression of pity ('my poor, love-sick Dido') or contempt ('that Dido, love-sick to the hilt')? Is it accusatory, directed against Venus ('Dido, whom you have reduced to such a sorry state of wretchedness')? Or is it proleptic: 'Dido—most wretched in that she is about to lose her reputation for chaste loyalty to her dead husband and has to enter into wedlock with that Phrygian cast-away of yours'? The *ubi*-sentence is an elaborate and memorable way of saying 'tomorrow at sunrise': *prīmōs* modifies *ortūs*, *crāstinus* agrees with *Tītān* (= *Sōl*), in an interlaced pattern of adj.[1] adj.[2] noun[1] verb (placed in enjambment to mimic daybreak) noun[2]. 119 issues a Rouse and Reveille: it features alliteration (*ra-*, *re-*), assonance (*ex-*, *-tēx-*; *-tu-*, *Tī-*, *-tā-*), and homoioteleuton (*-erit*, *-erit*) and, following a dawning dawn accomplished by the caesura after *Tītān* (the only spondaic foot in the verse), day quickly douses the earth in sunlight. Usually, the narrator establishes the setting with evocative descriptions (cf. 6–7 above), but here it is Juno: she is taking control of Virgil's narrative. What follows is *her* plot: the prefiguration amounts to a 'performance script' that allows us to appraise in due course how well she manages to execute her plan.

120–122: hīs ego nigrantem commixtā grandine nimbum, | [121]**dum trepidant ālae saltūsqu**(**e**) **indāgine cingunt,** | [122]**dēsuper īnfund**(**am**) **et tonitrū cael**(**um**) **omne ciēbō:** after her sneak-preview of the day's divertissements, Juno provides a detailed weather forecast. The hyperbaton of dat. of reference ([120]*hīs* = Dido and Aeneas), subject ([120]*ego*) and acc. obj. ([120]*nigrantem ... nimbum*, which brackets 'the mixed-in hail' (*commixtā grandine*) in iconic word order) and the corresponding verb ([122]*īnfundam*) is as big as Juno's ego. After Juno has spoken of gathering her black cloud, she adds a retarding *dum*-clause before unleashing it. [121]*ālae* are the hunters on horseback who 'bustle' (*trepidant*) about to stir up the game and, in doing so, form a circle around the hunting grounds (*saltūs*). *indāgō, -inis*, f. = 'a ring of huntsmen or nets thrown round a wood, etc., to prevent the escape of game' (*OLD* 1a). After the delay, [122]*dēsuper* marks a startling return to the weather. Juno plans to underscore her deluge with a suitable soundtrack that will rattle heaven, all of it ([122]*omne*: she doesn't shy away from hyperbole). The

two elisions in 122 give metrical support to the theme of pouring rain and resounding thunder, of nature in uproar and confusion of elements. In Book 1, Juno enlisted Aeolus to unleash a storm. In Book 7, she will enlist the Fury Allecto to unleash hell on earth. The thunderstorm here is her own creation, and while the imagery is impressive (both here and when Virgil describes the actual event), the spot of bad weather pales in comparison to the cosmic upheaval caused by the winds and the fury: despite her grandiose rhetoric, the passage also underscores the limits of Juno's powers.

Extra information

What causes thunderstorms? Frightening events, they are often taken as a means of divine communication with humans. To combat this notion, Lucretius, in the final book of *Dē Rērum Nātūrā*, an account of the world grounded in Epicurean physics, devotes a lengthy discussion to what natural phenomena might cause thunderstorms, aiming to dispel any irrational fear of them. (Epicurus was an atomist who dismissed divine interference in human affairs as noxious superstition.) With Virgil's phrase *caelum ciēre*, cf. e.g. *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 6.376 ... *tempestāsque ciētur turbida caelō* 'and a turbulent tempest is stirred up in the sky'.

123: diffugient comitēs et nocte tegentur opācā: Juno devotes one throw-away line to the hitherto unmentioned entourage: the *dis*persal of *com*panions (*comes* = *com-* 'together' + *-es* 'faring') amounts to an oxymoron. The phrase *nocte ... opācā* in enveloping *tegentur* does to the verb what the verb means: 'they will be covered by dark night'.

124–125[a]: spēluncam Dīdō dux et Trōiānus eandem | dēuenient: the hyberbaton of *spēluncam ... eandem* is a striking case of iconic word order: Dido and Aeneas will end up inside the same cave, just as the noun and the attribute 'embrace' the pair in the verse. The postponed *et* has a double effect: (a) it generates the momentary impression that Dido is the *dux* (an effect reinforced by alliteration) or in fact encourages us to construe '*Dīdō dux*' *et* '*Trōiānus*', i.e. 'the leader Dido' and 'the Trojan' (adj. in lieu of noun); and (b) at the very least, it separates the adj. that identifies Aeneas (*Trōiānus*) from the noun that indicates his leadership abilities (*dux*). Both the elevation of Dido and the slighting of Aeneas

that the word order entails are fully in line with how the speaker (Juno) sees matters more generally. (The use of *dux* here also harks back to 1.364, where Venus, after recounting Dido's departure from Tyre, notes: *dux fēmina factī*—a challenging formulation that gives Dido a masculine role.) On the caesura after *dēuenient* (fut. ind., placed in enjambment), see Austin (57): 'the pause is effective; Juno waits a moment to let Venus appreciate her plot to the full.' For an incisive appreciation of 124 (repeated at 165), see Morgan (2014).

125[b]–127[a]: ader(ō), et tua sī mihi certa uoluntās, | **[126]cōnubiō iungam stabilī propriamque dicābō,** | **[127a]hic hymenaeus erit.':** Juno captures her own involvement in a tricolon: *aderō* – *iungam* – *dicābō*; the verb of the *sī*-clause (*est*) is elided. *cōnubiō iungam stabilī* is another instance of mimetic word order and verse design reinforcing meaning: *iungam* is placed between and hence 'links' *cōnubiō* and *stabilī*. Some have suspected that line 126 is an intrusive repetition of 1.73, where Juno promises one of her nymphs to Aeolus, in return for unleashing the sea-storm that was supposed to sink Aeneas' fleet. But the re-use may be part of Virgil's characterization of Juno: to cause chaos and thwart fate, she resorts to the resources at her disposal as the goddess of marriage. At the same time, the comparison with 1.73 illustrates the irregular nature of Juno's plan. In Book 1, Juno gives Aeolus the following promise (71–73):

> Sunt mihi bis septem praestantī corpore nymphae,
> quārum quae fōrmā pulcherrima, Dēiopēa,
> cōnubiō iungam stabilī propriamque dicābō.
>
> [I have fourteen nymphs of outstanding beauty, of whom I shall link who is most beautiful in appearance, Deiopea, [to you] in stable wedlock and will give her over [to you] as your own.]

She follows this up with two lines in which she promises Aeolus that the marriage will be ever-lasting (he gains a consort for life) and produce beautiful offspring ([1.74–75]*omnīs ut tēcum meritīs pro tālibus annōs* | *exigat et pulchrā faciat tē prōle parentem*). These aspects are—perhaps ominously?—absent from Juno's plan here. In Juno's address to Aeolus, *tibi* is easily understood with *iungam* and *dicābō*. In Book 4, however, matters are less clear. Juno obviously intends to link Dido and *Aeneas* in wedlock and will give over Dido to *Aeneas* as his own. But the person whom

she addresses here, as the equivalent to Aeolus, is *Venus*. The awkward syntax thus continues her policy of marginalizing and eliding the Trojan hero, and generates a telling ambiguity: is she giving Dido over to Aeneas or to his mother Venus (or both)? The intratextual reminiscence also points to another troubling feature of Juno's plan: in her bargain with Aeolus, 'Juno is acting ... not so much like a Roman matron arranging the marriage of her daughter (although there is an element of that also), but rather more like a slave-owner using one of her prized possessions as a reward, or rather, a bribe, to ensure the compliance of a powerful subordinate' (Sharrock 2021: 103), and she is adopting the same callous attitude towards the Carthaginian Queen, reducing her to an instrument and pawn in the power struggle on Mt. Olympus. Dido, who worships both Juno and Jupiter (1.731–34), gradually becomes disillusioned with the pair over the course of the book, though at the end she requires Juno's euthanasian intervention to be able to die.

The fuzziness of Juno's discourse continues to the very end. What initially may look like a sharp and unambiguous punchline—*hic hymenaeus erit*—is anything but: does she mean 'Hymenaeus [i.e. the god of wedding] will be here [*hīc* = adverb]'? Or does she mean 'This [*hic* = demonstrative pronoun] will be their marriage'? The former reading seems feeble; but if the meaning is supposed to be the latter, the use of the singular *hymenaeus* is unusual: in the singular, *hymenaeus* tends to mean 'wedding song'. The lack of precision may be Virgil's way of having Juno unwittingly draw attention to the dodginess of her plan.

[126]*cōnubiō*: the primary meaning of *cōnŭbium* is 'intermarriage between two groups of people or an instance of it' and, in legal discourse, 'the right to intermarry' (*OLD* 1), and also more generally 'marriage between two persons' (*OLD* 2), though here the technical legal sense of intermarriage between two people from different ethnicities may resonate. Cf. Livy 23.4.7 (about Capuans) *cōnūbium uetustum multās familiās clārās ac potentēs Rōmānīs miscuerat* 'the time-honoured right of intermarriage had connected many of their distinguished and powerful families with Roman families' or Curtius Rufus 8.4.25 (Alexander being carried away by the transporting beauty of Roxanne to the point of saying that it was important for establishing his empire that Persians and Macedonians be joined in wedlock: *ut dīceret ad stabiliendum rēgnum pertinēre Persās et Macedonēs cōnūbiō iungī*). Virgil uses the term again,

in the plural, at 168 (see below) in the sense of 'the act or ceremony of marriage'. See further Green (1986). By contrast, Dido uses the less marked *coniugium* 'the condition of being married, wedlock' to refer to the outcome of the cave encounter.

127[b]–128: nōn aduersāta petentī | adnuit atque dolīs rīsit Cytherēa repertīs: the subject is *Cytherēa* (one of Venus' cult titles: 'the Cytherean'), deriving from the worship she received on the Aegean Island of Cythera. *petentī* (present participle in the dat.) agrees with an implied *eī* (= Juno). Venus, of course, is not fooled by the peace offer and sees through Juno's guile. But she is happy to play along. Commentators tend to take *dolīs ... repertīs* to mean something akin to 'after Juno's guile had been discovered' (abl. abs.) or '[she smiled] at Juno's guile discovered' (as abl. object with *rīdēre*). But this reading seems feeble: already after Juno's first speech, which ended with the proposal of marriage, Virgil tells us that Venus was not fooled for a second ([105]*sēnsit* [sc. Venus] *enim simulātā mente locūtam*...), so why would he repeat this point here, as if Venus had not seen through Juno all along and only discovered her treacherous intentions now? True, Juno's second speech lays out her precise strategy, but that in itself is a problem: what Venus has just learned is not so much that Juno is deceitful, but how she intends to put deceit into practice. And this is exactly what makes Venus laugh: she chuckles at the trickery that Juno has devised (for *reperiō* in the sense of 'to make up, devise, intent', see *OLD* 6). Why should she? Well, the goddess of erotic desire can hardly keep a straight face when the goddess of lawful marriage engineers a romp in a cave that is to be dressed up as a legitimate wedding (though it will be anything but). Venus knows full well that this sexual encounter will lead nowhere. It is an insidious, even perverse sense of humour that Venus puts on display, but perfectly in character. On Venus' smile, see further Konstan (1986); on Roman laughter more generally, see Beard (2014).

129–172: The Hunting Party

After the divine interlude, the human sphere comes back into focus:

129: Indication of time.
130–150: Preparation for the hunt and departure.
  130–135: Nameless attendants from Carthage.
    130–132: The youth and Massylian horsemen.
    133–135: Punic princes.
  136–139: Queen Dido.
  140–141a: Aeneas' companions, above all his son Ascanius/Iulus.
  141b–150: Aeneas, including simile that compares him to Apollo, correlating with the Dido-Diana simile in Book 1.494–504.
151–159: The hunt.
  151–155: General activities.
  156–159: Ascanius/Iulus enjoying the hunt.
160–172: The perfect storm.
  160–164: Scattering of the companions.
  165–172: The encounter in the cave.

Broadly speaking, 129–72 recount the events Juno anticipated in 117–27. But the match is uneven. The preparations for the hunt, dispatched by Juno in 1.5 lines at 117–18, receive extensive coverage (130–50), as does the hunt itself (151–59, expanding on one line (121) from Juno's speech). Virgil keeps Juno's notion that a 'marriage' is in the works resonant throughout. He follows up the programmatic announcement '*hic hymenaeus erit*' with cues that assimilate the proceedings to a Roman wedding ceremony, leading up to the climax in the cave. 'Echoes of wedding language and imagery' include [133]*thalamō*; [133]*cūnctantem*; [137–39]Dido's incongruously ornate dress; [142]*iungit*; perhaps also [165]*dux* (Caldwell 2008 *passim*, with the quotation from 426).

Part of the intertextual background are the 'long poems' by Catullus (61–68) and in particular Catullus 61, a wedding poem that features many thematic parallels to this section of *Aeneid* 4, most conspicuously

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the belated appearance of the 'bride'/Dido. Cf. Catullus 61.76–100, which includes a reference to the bride's *pudor* (83). The allusive hints serve as subtle reminders that Juno is orchestrating events in the background for a specific purpose. At the same time, the oblique and refracted gestures to a proper Roman wedding ceremony help to highlight that the 'wedding' unfolding here is distorted and flawed: if [127]*hic hymenaeus erit* anticipates the section, death (*lētum*) and evil (*mala*) mark the end ([169–70]*ille diēs prīmus lētī prīmusque malōrum | causa fuit*; the sentence reads like a response to Juno's pronouncement: *ille* picks up *hic*; the perfect *fuit* contrasts with the future *erit*; and *lētum* and *mala* underscore that Juno's perverse idea of a marriage will lead to tragedy and death). Specifically, the conflation of hunt and wedding produces jarring results, as it brings into close contact two diametrically opposed cultural spheres: wedding and marriage serve to establish a domestic union for the purpose of procreation; hunting is about departure into the wild for the purpose of killing. If hunting in ancient thought can be a sexually charged activity, its associated erotics are of the violent kind, as opposed to the civilized values that inform proper marital arrangements. (In English, 'venery' traditionally covers both hunting and sex (Henderson).)

By merging Carthaginians and Trojans in the hunt, the narrative extends the theme of alliance from the leaders to their ethnic groupings. Recapitulating the modes of civic and ethnic union that the two goddesses voiced in their plotting, Virgil uses the language of social ties ([142]*īnfert sē socium*) in the run-up to the physical mingle in the cave. And while the narrative limelight falls on Aeneas, his divine likeness Apollo, and Ascanius/Iulus, themes such as 'gold' and 'hair' assimilate the Trojan hero to the Carthaginian queen. Dido rubs off: later we meet Aeneas dressed as if for a Punic catwalk, with a cloak aflame in Phoenician gold and purple (261–64).

129: Ōcean(um) intereā surgēns Aurōra relīquit: the equivalent to Juno's [118–19]*ubi prīmōs crāstinus ortūs | extulerit Tītān, radiīsque retēxerit orbem*. Aurora already announced daybreak at 6–7 and will do so again at 584–85. The three references to Dawn with ever more concrete allusions to her myth offer a cosmic correlate to the evolving tragedy of Dido. Her first appearance at 6–7 marks the first day of Dido in love, with hardly a hint of her husband Tithonus, for whom she requested immortality, while forgetting to ask also for eternal youth; here at 129, *surgēns* and

relīquit refer to her daily departure from the bed of her aging spouse; and at 584–85, the sad story of a love-quest that went tragically awry is alluded to explicitly.

130–139: The Carthaginians (and Dido) get themselves ready for the hunt. The section falls into three parts:

130–132: Out come the youth.
133–135: The Carthaginian nobles and her horse wait for dallying Dido.
136–139: Dido's entrance.

130–132: it portīs iubar(e) exortō dēlēcta iuuentūs; | [131]rētia rāra, plagae, lātō uēnābula ferrō, | [132]Massȳlīque ruunt equitēs et odōra canum uīs: three 'excited' lines describe the Carthaginian hunting party bustling from the gates. Verb (*it*) and subject (*dēlēcta iuuentūs*) frame 130, with *portīs* an abl. of separation and *iubare exortō* an abl. abs. *iubar* signifies the radiance of heavenly bodies, here the sun and its beams: the party sets out 'at sunrise'. 131 offers a surprising asyndetic continuation of *dēlēcta iuuentūs*, specifying some items of accoutrement that are carried out for the hunt (but the verb is implied: see below): two different kinds of nets (*rētia rāra* are 'broad-meshed' to channel the game in a certain direction; *plagae* are nets for trapping) and spears with broad blades (*lātō ... ferrō* is an abl. of description). The concluding phrase *odōra canum uīs* features a transferred epithet: the hounds, not their *uīs*, are 'keen-scented' (*odōra*). The phrasing has precedents in Homer, Ennius, and Lucretius: see Pease (182–83). Several further formal features magnify the sense of jostle, excitement, and expectation:

- The missing verb: whereas the [130]*dēlēcta iuuentūs* 'comes forth' ([130]*it*) and the [132]*Massȳlī equitēs* 'rush out' ([132]*ruunt*) together with the hounds, the three pieces of equipment [131]*rētia*, *plagae*, *uēnābula* (all in the nom.), lack a verb. As inanimate objects, they are difficult to construe with *it* or *ruunt*; a mentally supplied *exportantur* 'are brought out' might do the trick.
- Word order: the initial monosyllabic [130]*it* instantly emphasizes motion and excited agitation: everyone is eager to get going. Cf. the English expression 'tally ho!' and see below on [135]*stat sonipēs*.
- Ictus, accent, and monosyllabic verse ending: the concluding phrase of 132 is agitated by a clash between ictus and accent,

in addition to featuring an unusual monosyllabic line ending. The two aspects go together. See Austin (61–62): 'A glance at any page of Virgil shows two normal patterns in the last two feet, either that of *delecta iuuentus*, or that of *uenabula ferro*: i.e. the last word is a disyllable or a trisyllable, and the last two feet are shared between two words only. Thus the metrical beat or "ictus", in a normal ending, falls on the same syllable as that which bears the accent of the spoken word; for that accent falls on the penultimate syllable of all disyllabic words, and of all longer words if that syllable is long, but on the antepenultimate of trisyllabic or longer words if the penultimate is short; and this rule gives *delécta iuuéntus*, *uenábula férro*, with word-accent and ictus coinciding. When the normal end-pattern is disturbed, the rhythm is disturbed too, so that there is no longer this coincidence: the ictus falls thus, *odóra canúm uis*, but the accent thus, *odóra cánum uís*, and so with an abnormal end-pattern an abnormal rhythm is obtained. The line has a bustling, agitated close instead of a calm, smooth one, and the metre itself shows the excitement of the scene, with the hounds poking about vigorously and appearing in unexpected places.' Monosyllabic verse endings are always dramatic, such as [1.105]*īnsequitur cumulō praeruptus aquae mōns* 'down in a heap comes a sheer mountain of water', which also features the sequence adjective, genitive attribute, noun. In both cases, Virgil enhances the effect by stepping down the number of syllables in the words that precede the climactic monosyllable: 3 (*odōra/praeruptus*): 2 (*canum/aquae*): 1 (*uīs/mōns*). Horace makes fun of this feature at *Ars Poētica* 139 *Parturient montēs, nāscētur rīdiculus mūs* 'The mountains will give birth: there will be born a ludicrous mouse'.

The Massyli are an ethnic grouping in Northern Africa, apparently on friendly terms with the Phoenician settlers (in contrast to the hostile people mentioned by Anna in 40–43). The priestess supposed to have supplied Dido with a counter-spell to love is 'of Massylian race' ([483]*Massȳlae gentis*). The most famous member of the tribe in historical times was king Massinissa, the first king of Numidia, who lived during the time of the Second Punic War, starting out as an ally of Carthage

but then switching sides and playing a key role in the battle of Zama (202 BCE), which ended the war. The Roman general Scipio nevertheless refused to pardon his wife, the Carthaginian princess Sophonisba; to avoid the humiliation of being paraded in a Roman triumph, she committed suicide. For those who know their Roman history, Sophonisba and the fate of Carthage beckon on the historical horizon and in turn post-shadow Dido's tragic end within the *Aeneid*.

[131]*plagae*: from *plăga*, *-ae*, f. = hunting net, snare (root *plek-*; Greek πλέκω/*plekō* 'to weave, entwine'; cf. *plectō*, *plicō*, *du-plex*). (Cf. *plăga*, *-ae*, f. = region, quarter, tract; *plāga*, *-ae*, f. 'blow, stroke, cut, thrust, wound'.)

133–135: rēgīnam thalamō cūnctant(em) ad līmina prīmī | [134]Poenōr(um) exspectant, ostrōqu(e) īnsignis et aurō | [135]stat sonipēs ac frēna ferōx spūmantia mandit: in contrast to the eagerness of the rest of the party and the hounds, Dido lingers (*cūnctantem*) in her chamber (*thalamō*). Both the lingering and the term Virgil uses for chamber—cf. Austin (62): 'Virgil's choice of the word *thalamus* is significant (he could have written *tēctō*)'—hint, if perversely, at the Roman wedding ritual. In a transferred sense, *thalamus* means 'bridal-bed' or 'wedlock' as in 18 above. Its use here seems to imply that Dido has become a bride, though one wonders about focalization: does Dido already conceive of herself as a bride and display bridal hesitation before the upcoming 'wedding'? Or is she simply busy with her toilette, and the oblique reference to her as bride is Virgil's way of emphasizing that Dido, unknowingly, prepares for (another) wedding experience? Put together, the 'wedding associations' of *cūnctantem* and *thalamō* are also disturbing: what is Dido doing, dallying *in* the wedding chamber? The reluctance of the bride to enter *into* the house of her husband on the day of her wedding, as a preliminary step towards consummation of the marriage, is a key theme of Catullus' wedding poems designed to highlight her modesty (see esp. Catullus 61 and 66, but the whole bloc of Catullus' long poems comes into play here: for the topos, in Catullus and elsewhere, see Hersch 2010: 144–48). Conversely, Dido takes ages to come *out* of the chamber. Far from highlighting her modesty (*pudor*, *pudīcitia*), her prolonged presence in the room marked for encounters of the carnal kind would seem to suggest that sex is on her mind and that she longs for the physical consummation of her passion in a way that is supposedly alien

to innocent brides ('supposedly' since the reluctance of the bride, at least according to Catullus, may well be faked). Alternatively, we could read the moment of hesitation as 'a last saving instinct, a natural pull back to the safety of her home and her goals before she enters upon her hard *fāta*' (Segal 2000: 94). The sinister connotations increase if one brings into play what the Greek loanword means in Greek: '*thalamus* is doubly resonant, in that it also assumes the meaning "tomb," especially in Greek; the conflation of the elements of nuptial and funereal ritual is especially prevalent in Greek tragedy, often involving the girl who fails to make the transition to marriage' (Caldwell 2008: 428). Whatever the answer, the leading men of the Carthaginians ([133–34]*prīmī* | *Poenōrum*: a phrase linked by alliteration across the enjambment) patiently wait for her; her horse, too, 'stands' ([135]*stat*, another monosyllabic beginning that 'stands' in contrast to [130]*it*) but does so impatiently: see below.

The phrase [134]*ostrōque īnsignis et aurō* describes Dido's horse, but the referent does not become clear until the following line. For a moment one could assume that Dido is meant, especially since both the purple and the gold evoke her hometown of Tyre, which was famous for the sea snail from which the purple dye was extracted and from which she fled on ships laden with gold. Here are pertinent extracts from the Wikipedia entry on 'Tyrian Purple', which discusses the biology of the sea snails, the chemistry behind the secretion used to make dye, and the snails' contribution to cultural history (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tyrian_purple):

> Tyrian purple (Ancient Greek: πορφύρα porphúra; Latin: *purpura*), also known as royal purple, imperial purple, or imperial dye, is a reddish-purple natural dye. The name Tyrian refers to Tyre, Lebanon, once Phoenicia. It is secreted by several species of predatory sea snails in the family Muricidae, rock snails originally known by the name Murex. ... In ancient times, extracting this dye involved tens of thousands of snails and substantial labour, and as a result, the dye was highly valued. ... Because it was extremely tedious to make, Tyrian purple was expensive: the 4th century BC historian Theopompus reported, 'Purple for dyes fetched its weight in silver at Colophon' [as cited by Athenaeus 12:526] in Asia Minor. The expense meant that purple-dyed textiles became status symbols, whose use was restricted by sumptuary laws. The most senior Roman magistrates wore a *toga praetexta*, a white toga edged in Tyrian purple. The even more sumptuous *toga picta*, solid Tyrian purple with gold thread edging, was worn by generals celebrating a Roman triumph.

The joke continues in 136 when Virgil again switches the subject almost imperceptibly from the horse (*mandit*) back to Dido (*prōgreditur*); and humour also colours the depiction of the horse itself. [135]*sonipes*, a combination of *sonus* + *pēs*, denotes a creature that makes a noise with its feet, especially a horse. Virgil combines this metonymy for horse with the countervailing verb *stat*, framing the line with the verb *mandit*: the noise comes not from the horse's feet but the horse's mouth, a point reinforced by the contrastive *s-* and *f-*alliteration (*stat sonipēs ... spūmantia*; *frēna ferōx*). The assonance of *frē- fer-* and *spūmantia mandit* perhaps conveys impatient equine chomping. (Cicero calls 'f' a *littera īnsuāuissima* 'a most unpleasant letter': *Ōrātor* 163.)

136–137: tandem prōgreditur, magnā stīpante cateruā, | Sīdoniam pictō chlamydem circumdata limbō: the implied subject of *prōgreditur* is Dido modified by *circumdata*. Virgil often construes a perf. pass. part. with a direct obj. as if it had a reflexive-active (or Greek middle) sense: here Dido has put on (*circumdata*) a Sidonian (= Phoenician) riding-cloak (*Sīdoniam ... chlamydem*) with an adorned border (*pictō ... limbō*). The two phrases are interlaced according to the pattern adj.[1] *Sīdoniam*, adj.[2] *pictō*, noun[1] *chlamydem*, noun[2] *limbō*, with the noun for border suitably placed at the margin. Even when Dido finally issues forth, she remains remarkably oblique. Virgil mentions [130]*dēlēcta iuuentūs*, [132]*Massȳlī equitēs*, [133–34]*prīmī Poenōrum*, [140]*Phrygiī comitēs*, Iūlus/Ascanius (140, 156 in the nom.), and Aeneas (142, 150 also twice in the nom.), whereas Dido registers only as an absent queen ([133]*rēgīnam ...exspectant*) and an implied subject (see also below on 138–39), very much in contrast to her magnificent entrance in Book 1.496–97 (*rēgīna ad templum, fōrmā pulcherrima Dīdō, | incessit, magnā iuuenum stīpante cateruā* 'The queen, Dido, of surpassing beauty, approached the temple, with a large throng of youths crowding around her'). In this earlier scene, which is followed by a simile comparing Dido to Diana, Aeneas lurks in the shadows and watches. In our passage, which includes a simile that compares Aeneas to Apollo, the positions are reversed: Dido is out of the limelight, Aeneas and his son are very much in it.

138–139: cui pharetr(a) ex aurō [est]**, crīnēs nōdantur in aurum, | aurea purpuream subnectit fībula uestem:** Dido's disappearing act continues: she registers at the beginning of 138 in the dat. of possession (*cui*), but

the focus is on her golden bow, her hair (literally 'tied into gold'), and the golden buckle (*aurea ... fībula*) that clasps her purple-dyed cloak: the glamorous polyptoton *ex aurō*, *in aurum*, *aurea* and her cloak's purple colour deck Dido out like a Christmas tree. But despite wearing her glad rags, she remains strangely out of focus herself (Syed 2005: 101), in contrast to Aeneas. Dido's sense of dress seems out of kilter: hunting is dirty business, whereas most of her attire would not be out of place in a beauty pageant. It now becomes clear why her companions were in for such a long wait. The *chlamys*, though, a Greek type of cloak, *is* an appropriate hunting garment, and the quiver recalls her special association with the goddess of the hunt, Diana (1.500–1*illa* [*sc. Dīāna*] *pharetram | fert umerō gradiēnsque deās superēminet omnīs* 'she carries a quiver on her shoulder and, striding along, surpasses all the other goddesses in height'; the lines are from the simile that accompanies the entry of Dido into the poem and powerfully resonates here). Ironically, the golden display strongly recalls Dido's dead husband Sychaeus (from Venus' speech to Aeneas, instructing him about Dido's past: 1.343–44*huic coniūnx Sychaeus erat, dītissimus aurī | Phoenīcum* 'her husband was Sychaeus, richest in gold of the Phoenicians'). After his murder by Dido's brother Pygmalion, Sychaeus appears to his wife in a vision, showing her the place of his hidden treasures (1.359*ignōtum argentī pondus et aurī* 'a secret mass of gold and silver'), which Dido then loads onto ships and flees (1.362–64*nāuīs, quae forte parātae, | corripiunt onerantque aurō; portantur auārī | Pygmaliōnis opēs pelagō* 'ships, which by chance were ready, they seize and load with gold; the wealth of greedy Pygmalion is carried overseas'). Put differently, Dido is here wearing the treasures of her dead husband to impress her new consort *in spē*.

Extra information

To top it all off, line 138 is a so-called 'golden line', a *uersus aureus*, i.e. it features the pattern adj.[1] *aurea*, adj.[2] *purpuream*, verb *subnectit*, noun[1] *fībula*, noun[2] *uestem*. Of course, 'the term was not used in antiquity' (O'Hara: 35); he references John Dryden's Preface to his *Sylvae* (1685). Such golden lines are comparatively speaking uncommon in the *Aeneid* and could be considered an Alexandrian-neoteric mannerism: as noted, Dido is not really dressed here as befits an epic protagonist. (For further information on the golden line and the history of scholarship on it, see

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_line.)

The verses also recall two passages in Callimachus that describe the golden regalia of Artemis (*Hymn* 3.110–12):

> Artemis, Lady of Maidenhood, Slayer of Tityus, *golden* were your weapons and your belt, and *golden* the car you yoked, and you put *golden* bridles, goddess, on your deer.
>
> Ἄρτεμι Παρθενίη Τιτυοκτόνε, **χρύσεα** μέν τοι
> ἔντεα καὶ ζώνη, **χρύσεον** δ' ἐζεύξαο δίφρον,
> ἐν δ' ἐβάλευ **χρύσεια**, θεή, κεμάδεσσι χαλινά.

and of Apollo (*Hymn* 2.32–5):

> *Golden* is the tunic of Apollo, his mantle, his lyre, his Lyctian bow, and his quiver. *Golden*, too, are his sandals; for rich in *gold* is Apollo and also in possessions.
>
> **χρύσεα** τὠπόλλωνι τό τ' ἐνδυτὸν ἥ τ' ἐπιπορπίς
> ἥ τε λύρη τό τ' ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον ἥ τε φαρέτρη,
> **χρύσεα** καὶ τὰ πέδιλα· πολύ**χρυσος** γὰρ Ἀπόλλων
> καὶ πουλυκτέανος·

The result is intertextual cross-dressing: 'The queen of Carthage proceeds to the hunt resplendent in finery from various corners of the Callimachean wardrobe, matched with consummate skill by her Roman dresser' (Reed 1995: 95). The intertextual invocation of the divine twins further enriches Virgil's own twinning of Dido and Aeneas, as human equivalents of Diana and Apollo, if not precisely sister and brother—there is a bit of Ptolemaic incest in the air (Clausen 1987: 60, Schiesaro 2005: 96; Hardie 2006; Introduction 6 n. 16).

140–141[a]: nec nōn et Phrygiī comitēs et laetus Iūlus | incēdunt: the litotes *nec nōn* marks the switch from Carthaginians to Trojans. Virgil's design conveys a sense of hierarchy: he first introduces the anonymous collective and Iūlus, who is singled out by name and attribute (*laetus* 'joyful/excited') but remains syntactically at the same level as the *comitēs* (coordination by *et... et...*). They enter the scene together, in enjambment: *incēdunt*. Then a slight pause ensues, signalled by the caesura, which 'marks the moment of their waiting for Aeneas to take up his position' (Austin: 64).

141[b]–142: ips(e) ant(e) aliōs pulcherrimus omnīs | īnfert sē soci(um) Aenēās atqu(e) agmina iungit: Aeneas steps forward to take his place next to Dido and join their forces. *agmina* refers to the Carthaginians and the Trojans who have come from separate quarters and are here united into one troop. Dido is nowhere to be seen, though some translations obfuscate her eclipse. Goold, for instance, renders the lines thus: 'Aeneas himself, goodly beyond all others, advanced to her join *her* and unites his band with *hers*.' 'Her' and 'hers' are not in the Latin. The design of the sentence, chiastic with Aeneas as pivot, foregrounds his leadership role—verb[1] *īnfert*, acc. obj.[1] *sē socium*, subject *Aeneas*, acc. obj.[2] *agmina*, verb[2] *iungit*—and thereby enacts what happens at the level of plot: the interweaving of the two peoples around Aeneas at the centre. One could imagine that the meeting of the two groups resulted in a huge hullabaloo, but a series of elisions suggest a smooth joining of forces (as of words). If one sees the preparations for the hunt as the distorted and distorting performance of a wedding ritual, [142]*agmina iungit* recalls [126]*cōnubiō iungam stabilī*.

Aeneas' entry into the narrative here is modelled on Dido's entry in Book 1 and its accompanying simile. Cf. esp. [1.496–97]*rēgīna ..., fōrmā pulcherrima Dīdō, | incessit*, [501]*deās superēminet omnīs* (of Diana), and [503]*tālem sē laeta ferēbat*. Parallels include the epithet *pulcherrima/us*, the effective use of enjambment for a verb of entry (*incessit*, *īnfert*), and the notion of excelling *all* others, with *omnīs* positioned for emphasis in the last foot of the line. While the adjective *pulcherrimus* helps to correlate Dido's entry in Book 1 with the scene here (Clausen 1987: 23: 'Dido and Aeneas are thus beautifully paired'), it otherwise strikes an odd note: apart from underscoring that Dido has remained faceless in the verses devoted to her (her last ornamental epithet came in 117, where Juno called her *miserrima*), 'outstanding beauty' is an attribute better suited to erotic contexts than the hunt. In fact, an epic topos has goddesses work cosmetic magic on their favourite heroes before crucial encounters with a girl: Athena prettifies Odysseus after his first encounter with Nausicaa (6.223–38); Hera prettifies Jason before his encounter with Medea in Apollonius Rhodius (3.919–26); and Venus rendered Aeneas stunning to behold before he left his protective cloud to meet Dido (1.586–91). While Virgil mentions no divine intervention here, the superlative *pulcherrimus* acknowledges the commonplace. (In his version of the Medea-myth in

the *Metamorphōsēs* 7.84, Ovid sends this tradition up by suggesting that Jason was particularly beautiful when he met Medea *cāsū* 'by chance'.)

143–149[a]: quālis ub(i) hībernam Lyciam Xanthīque fluenta | [144]**dēserit ac Dēlum mātern(am) inuīsit Apollō** | [145]**īnstauratque chorōs, mixtīqu(e) altāria circum** | [146]**Crētēsque Dryopēsque fremunt pictīqu(e) Agathyrsī;** | [147]**ipse iugīs Cynthī graditur, mollīque fluentem** | [148]**fronde premit crīnem fingēns atqu(e) implicat aurō;** | [149a]**tēla sonant umerīs:** the Apollo simile suspends the plot and transports the reader into the realm of the gods. The tricolon is an operative principle throughout: we get three geographical locations (*hībernam Lyciam*, *Xanthī ... fluenta*, *Dēlum māternam*), three main verbs in the opening sequence (*dēserit*, *inuīsit*, *īnstaurat*), three types of companions (*Crētēs*, *Dryopēs*, *pictī ... Agathyrsī*), three main verbs in the closing sequence with Apollo as subject (*graditur*, *premit*, *implicat*), though, perhaps for the sake of variation, with a fourth tagged on but with a change in subject (*sonant*).

[143]*quālis ubi*: in pairing Dido with Diana and Aeneas with Apollo by way of similes, Virgil follows a pattern set by Apollonius who likens Jason to Apollo at *Argonautica* 1.307–9 and Medea to Artemis (the Greek equivalent to Diana) at 3.876–84. Here is *Argonautica* 1.306–11, details of which Virgil preserved in his own simile:

> He spoke and went forth from his home to make his departure. And as Apollo goes from his fragrant temple through holy Delos or Claros, or through Pytho or broad Lycia by the streams of Xanthus, so he went through the crowd of people, and a shout went up as they cheered with one voice.

> Ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν προτέρωσε δόμων ἔξ ὦρτο νέεσθαι.
> οἷος δ' ἐκ νηοῖο θυώδεος εἶσιν Ἀπόλλων
> Δῆλον ἀν' ἠγαθέην ἠὲ Κλάρον, ἢ ὅγε Πυθώ
> ἢ Λυκίην εὐρεῖαν ἐπὶ Ξάνθοιο ῥοῇσι—
> τοῖος ἀνὰ πληθὺν δήμου κίεν, ὦρτο δ' ἀυτή
> κεκλομένων ἄμυδις.

quālis 'just as...' translates οἷος in the Greek; but *ubi*, which introduces an emphasis on a precise moment in time, has no equivalent in Apollonius. It sets up the highly resonant *hībernam* (see next note).

[143–44]*hībernam Lyciam Xanthīque fluenta | dēserit*: an almost verbatim translation of Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.309:

- Λυκίην/*Lukiēn* > *Lyciam*
- εὐρεῖαν/*eureian* ~ *hībernam*
- Ξάνθοιο/*Xanthoio* > *Xanthī*
- ῥοῇσι/ *rhoēisi* > *fluenta*

Three items are all but identical (indicated by '>'). Virgil, however, changes the attribute of Lycia (signalled by '~'). Instead of εὐρεῖαν/*eureian* 'broad' we get *hībernam*, an adj. here used instead of an adv.: it signifies the moment in time when Apollo leaves Lycia, i.e. 'in winter'. See Weber (2002: 324): 'Lycia is not Apollo's "winter home" [Austin 1963: 64]; on the contrary, it is the place in Asia that in winter the god *leaves behind* for Greece.' The adjustment seems minor; but it interrelates the simile with a wide range of key thematic concerns in *Aeneid* 4. To begin with, the thought that Apollo leaves Lycia in winter (as Weber goes on to point out) surprises: 'it is an unfamiliar Apollo who joins his worshippers in the dead of winter. ... the presence of the visitors named in 4.146 actually rules out winter rites on Delos. The god whose epiphany coincides with winter is rather Dionysus, winter being the season when this god renews his biennial dances on Parnassus and, probably, on Cithaeron as well' (324).

The theme of 'abandoning a place in winter' is a charged theme in the context of *Aeneid* 4, ominously proleptic of what Aeneas will do later in the book. The reference to winter recalls Anna's suggestion that Dido should use the time of the year as an argument for Aeneas to stay (51–53) and sets up 309–11 (Dido's outraged confrontation with Aeneas upon finding out that he will even brace the winter storms to leave Carthage as quickly as he can): 'Even in the winter season (*hībernō ... sīdere*) you hasten to get your fleet ready and to travel across the sea in the midst of northern gales, cruel one?' (Cf. also, from *Fāma*'s song, [193]*nunc hiemem inter sē luxū, quam longa, fouēre*.) The verb *dēserit* 'he abandons', placed in enjambment for special effect (followed by a weak diaeresis after the first foot), is equally charged and it, too, will feature prominently in Dido's confrontation with Aeneas ([323]*cui mē moribundam dēseris hospes?*) as well as Dido's concluding self-portrayal ([330]*capta ac dēserta*). A look at the Apollonian model is again instructive: in the *Argonautica*, the god simply 'goes' ([309]εἶσιν).

Fig. 85 Map of Asia Minor (with Lycia in red). CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Lycia.jpg

[144]*Dēlum māternam*: Delos is the island on which Leto gave birth to the twins Diana and Apollo. The order noun-attribute generates a chiasmus with *hībernam Lyciam*, mirroring the dynamics of 'departure' (*dēserit*) and 'arrival' (*inuīsit*). Virgil identifies the subject (*Apollō*) only at the very end of the second verse of the simile, though the geographical locations, and in particular the phrase *Dēlum māternam*, provide decisive clues. At the same time, the emphasis on returning to a *maternal* location (in contrast to Apollonius, who calls Delos ἠγαθέην 'most holy' (3.308), an attribute used of places under divine protection) may aid in the pervasive assimilation of Apollo to Dionysus, who heads for his maternal city of Thebes to have his divinity recognized (Weber 2002: 323). Likewise, the purposeful direction of Apollo's travels in Virgil contrasts sharply with the somewhat haphazard enumeration of cult locations in Apollonius and thereby enhances the parallels between Apollo's actions in the simile and Aeneas' action later in the narrative.

145*īnstauratque chorōs* 'he renews the dance'—a further hint of a Dionysiac presence in the simile: 'the god who, after an absence abroad in Asia, returns to the Greek land of his mother and there sets his votaries to dancing ... —this god is first and foremost Dionysus': Weber (2002: 323), with particular reference to Euripides' *Bacchae*. He goes on to show that the ritual dancing here mentioned fits Dionysus far better than Apollo (324–25).

145–46*mixtīque altāria circum | Crētēsque Dryopēsque fremunt pictīque Agathyrsī*: an over-abundance of connectives: the *-que* attached to *mixtī* links *īnstaurat* and *fremunt*; the *-que* attached to *Dryopēs* links *Crētēs* and *Dryopēs*; the *-que* attached to *pictī* links *Dryopēs* and *Agathyrsī*. The *-que* attached to *Crētēs*, in contrast, despite scanning long, does not link anything and is thus, strictly speaking, superfluous. (Converting *-que* into *et*, one would get *et Crētēs et Dryopēs et pictī Agathyrsī*. The overemphatic polysyndeton arguably underscores the action of the verbs: *mixtī* and *fremunt*, the mixing and crowding around the altar.)

Who are the people that participate in Apollo's rites? Cretes are inhabitants of the island of Crete, a straightforward designation. The Dryopians and Agathyrsians, on the other hand, here 'make their debut in Latin verse': Weber (2002: 328). Pease (193) describes the Dryopians as 'a rude and predatory tribe', whereas the Agathyrsians are, according to Weber (2002: 325–26), 'obscure barbarians'. He notes: 'this heterogeneous mélange of mainstream and marginal Greeks mingling with outlandish foreigners has no place in the elitist cult of Apollo. Such retinue of polyglot worshipers would rather be at home in the ecumenical milieu of Dionysus'. He points out other Dionysiac touches, including: (a) etymology: *Dryopēs*: 'the Dryopians share with Dionysus nomenclature connecting them with trees in general and with the oak [*drus*, in Greek] in particular' (329); *Agathyrsī*: 'the etymology of which, as it is explained by one Pisander in Stephanus Byzantius (s.v.), would make of these people "the right thyrsic ones"' (328). A *thyrsos* is a staff wreathed by ivy carried by Dionysus and his followers. (b) *pictī*: 'whether this word refers to tattooing or to some other means of coloring the skin or hair, painted or tattooed devotees are out of place in the cult of Apollo' (328). (c) *fremunt*, which recalls Dionysus' epithet Bromius: 'In the realm of diction, Virgil's verb *fremere* is something

of a vox propria for the Bacchic roar, recurring in this connection not only in the *Aeneid* (7.389), but also in Ovid's *Metamorphōsēs* (3.528). Indeed, *fremere* is probably cognate with Greek <*bremein*> and, hence, with Dionysus' epithet Bromius' (329). (d) The neologistic licence and dithyrambic flair of the verse design, with the extra *-que* scanned long in the second arsis.

147a*ipse iugīs Cynthī graditur*: *ipse* picks up Apollo; the verb links the god to Diana (Pease: 195: 'in 1, 501 the same verb is used of his sister Diana in her rites on Cynthus'—a modest mountain on the island of Delos) and Aeneas (1.312*ipse ūnō graditur comitātus Achātē* 'he himself strides forth, accompanied only by Achates'). Dionysus, too, is a mountain god: Weber (2002: 329–30, 332–33).

147b–48*mollīque fluentem | fronde premit crīnem fingēns atque implicat aurō*: Virgil lavishes as much attention on Apollo's hairdo as he did on Dido's. *crīnem* is the acc. obj. of both *premit* and *fingēns* (an '*apo-koinou*' position), as well as *implicat*; all three verbs address the quality of the attribute of *crīnem*, *fluentem* (the hyperbaton is expressive of its meaning). Apollo puts his hair in order (*premit*) by shaping (*fingēns*) his flowing locks with soft foliage (note the alliteration *fluentem – fronde – fingēns*) and braiding it (*implicat*) with a golden diadem. The Dionysiac touches continue: *mollis* is 'virtually a vox propria for objects connected with Dionysus': Weber (2002: 330), who also provides an analysis of *fingēns*, which turns out to be syntactically and thematically 'camp': 'This participle acquires a degree of emphasis from being somewhat superfluously appended to a clause that is already complete both syntactically and semantically. ... *Aeneid* 4.148 is ... unique in Latin verse for not applying *fingere* of setting the hair either to a woman or to a male of precarious masculinity. Here *fingēns* combines with *mollī* in the preceding line to frame *fluentem / fronde premit crīnem*, and both words together imbue the intervening expression with a strong suggestion of effeminacy that is at once alien to Apollo and intrinsic to Dionysus' (331).

149*tēla sonant umerīs*: a sudden shift in tone from the peaceful imagery of the previous lines, especially if one recalls *Iliad* 1.43–47 (cf. Conington, 1884: 266: 'The image is from *Il*. 1. 46 ... though the nature of the motion is different'):

Thus he [sc. Chryses] spoke in prayer, and Phoebus Apollo
heard him.
Down from the peaks of Olympus he came, irate at heart,
bearing his bow on his shoulder and his covered quiver.
The arrows rattled on the shoulders of the angry god,
while he was moving, and his coming was like the night.

Ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ,
τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην·
ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο,
αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος· ὃ δ' ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς.

This is Apollo's highly dramatic entry into literature—a wrathful divinity striding down from Mt. Olympus to shoot his plague-bearing arrows into the Greek camp. In Virgil, the detail lifted from Homer, the arrows of destruction rattling in the quiver on Apollo's shoulders, comes as an unpleasant surprise after the peaceful scenes of dancing and hair-dressing: it is a dark reminder that both the god and the hero he is compared to may have a baleful impact on others. Specifically, it recalls the deer-simile at 69–73, where a *pāstor*, who represents Aeneas, mortally wounds a deer with his arrows. The sudden switch in theme from celebration of beauty to death by slaying with arrows in the simile thus mirrors in microcosm the progression from what is supposed to be a wedding ([127]*hymenaeus*) to the beginning of a tragic plot that leads to misery and death ([169–70]*ille diēs prīmus lētī*...). With supreme economy, Virgil thereby recapitulates the Homeric paradox that the god of brightness and light (cf. his epithet Phoebus) may also resemble darkness and night; that the god of healing may cause a plague.

Extra information

The question of whether the passage from *Iliad* 1 is 'relevant' triggered a tussle between Oliver Lyne and Nicholas Horsfall. Lyne (1987: 124) offers the following interpretation of our passage:

> Aeneas is armed for Apollo, armed for the hunt. But Apollo in arms is surely too significant and ominous a figure to perform merely this function: poets introduce him in warlike as opposed to peaceful guise with deliberation, and for awesome purposes. Added to which, the arms here in question are particularly sinister arms, for this is Apollo from a most sinister source. A highly disturbing allusion is in fact operating. 'Tela sonant umeris' is a translation of Hom. *Il*. 1.46. And *Il*. 1.46 describes *Apollo the plague-bringer*, describes, to be precise, the very means by which Apollo delivered plague. In *Iliad* 1 Apollo came down from Olympus to punish the Achaeans with plague, and 'his arrows', the instruments of that plague, 'clashed on his shoulders' as he descended – a striking, ominous, and memorable moment: ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων, 'tela sonant umeris'. Vergil's simile therefore culminates in a recall of this most memorable moment, the advent of the divine plague-bringer. So the allusion (assuming it to be such) intimates the suggestion: *Aeneas the plague-bringer*. Aeneas a plague-bringer?

Nicholas Horsfall reviewed Lyne in *Classical Review* 38.2, 243–45, and objected: 'L.'s hunt for allusions comes up with answers of varying credibility: I can see why he finds the Homeric plague god behind *Aen*. 4.143ff., but not here alone we might pause to ask "is that association actually relevant?", "does it make sense, or serve any real purpose?" and above all, "can we believe that that is what V. himself wanted us to conclude?".' To which Lyne responded in *Greece & Rome* (1994: 199): 'We have no evidence for what Vergil wanted us to conclude – beyond the text. The question is pointless and *evades* the interest[ing] fact in the text. "Is that association actually relevant?" Why shouldn't it be, unless we have preconceptions about what Vergil "intends" to be relevant?'

Do both scholars miss a point? Horsfall's question of 'is that association actually relevant?', far from being 'pointless' (as Lyne would have it), seems a good one—challenging the reader who happens to have this association to *make* it 'relevant' (whatever this is taken to mean: 'relevance', too, is under continual negotiation, as the history of engaging with Latin texts amply shows) by offering a good argument in its favour (and the criteria for what counts as 'good' are, of course, also in flux to some extent). Conversely, Horsfall seems to be appealing to some (non-existent) criterion of truth immanent in the text itself that rules out relevance in this instance. Yet Lyne shows that the reference to

Iliad 1 (if it is one) makes a lot of sense and serves a very real purpose: it makes for a perfect fit with the overarching dynamics of this section, renders Virgil's text more resonant with meaning, and enhances the complexity and appeal of his artistry. Put differently, if Virgil did not want his readers to have this association and consider/make it relevant, he should have.

149[b]–150: haud illō sēgnior ībat | Aenēās, tant(um) ēgregiō decus ēnitet ōre: Virgil foregrounds two points of comparison juxtaposed asyndetically, between Aeneas (enjambed: the name serves as pivot between the two clauses of which he is the subject) and Apollo: the graceful energy that animates Aeneas' movements (emphasized by means of the litotes *haud ... sēgnior*); and his beauty. *illō* is abl. of comparison and refers to Apollo; in the second clause, the comparison is implied: so much (*tantum*) beauty shines forth from the face of Aeneas (understand: 'as (*quantum*) shines forth from that of Apollo'). The pattern of attribute[1]: *tantum*, attribute[2]: *ēgregiō*, noun[1]: *decus*, verb: *ēnitet*, noun[2]: *ōre* is almost 'golden'.

151–153[a]: postqu(am) altōs uent(um) in montīs atqu(e) inuia lustra, | [152]ecce ferae saxī dēiectae uertice caprae | [153a]dēcurrēre iugīs: *uentum, sc. est* (= 3rd pers. sg. perf. ind. pass. of *ueniō*, here used impersonally: 'they came'. The preposition *in* stands *apo koinou* with both *altōs ... montīs* and *inuia lustra*. The line's three elisions, which blur the boundaries between words, serve to emphasize the thicket-filled landscape the group is navigating. Formal features to underscore steepness include the clash of accent and ictus in both *altōs* (fronted and foregrounded by anastrophe: these mountains are high) and *montīs*. The mountaineering surprises: Juno, in her masterplan, had twice mentioned 'groves' as venue for the hunt ([118]*in nemus īre parant*; [121]*saltūsque indāgine cingunt*) and there are other incongruous touches, such as hunters on horseback (135, 156–57), including Ascanius, who enjoys himself 'in the middle of the vale' ([156]*mediīs in uallibus*). Weber (2002: 333) explains the unexpected mountain setting as a means of sustaining affinities between Aeneas and Dionysus: 'As Dionysus is a mountain god who hunts, Aeneas is a hero who hunts in the mountains', or, more specifically, 'Aeneas is the Virgilian counterpart of Euripides' Dionysus, as both the hunter who survives the hunt and a stranger newly arrived from Asia. His advent,

like that of Dionysus, leads to the death of the reigning monarch' (334).

[152a]*ecce*: the particle—a colloquialism integrated into high poetry by Virgil—marks a moment of transition, from preparation to the start of the hunt. It occurs thirty-seven times in the *Aeneid*: for its function in the epic, see Dionisotti (2007). Our instance receives mention on page 80, 'when Dido's hunt moves from brilliant show into action'; more generally: 'insofar as it [sc. *ecce*] has a definable meaning, it is that of expressing immediacy and engagement, in relation to happenings, people or thoughts, whether visible or not' (83).

[152b–53a]*ferae saxī dēiectae uertice caprae | dēcurrēre iugīs*: Virgil interlaces words referring to the hunted animals (*ferae – dēiectae – caprae*) with words describing the topography (*saxī – uertice*). The result is a combination of symmetry and order on the level of form that generates a moment of suspense before the sudden resolution in subsequent lines: *dēcurrēre* (= *dē*(*cu*)*currērunt*) *iugīs*. The placement of *dēiectae* between the genitive attribute (*saxī*, here used as a synonym of *montis*) and the noun on which it depends (*uertice*) enacts its meaning and prepares for the main verb (*dē-iectae ~ dē-currēre*): the mountain goats are separated from ('driven off') their usual haunts on the rocky mountain crags.

153[b]–155: aliā dē parte patentīs | [154]**trānsmittunt cursū campōs atqu**(**e**) **agmina ceruī** | [155]**puluerulenta fugā glomerant montīsque relinquunt:** the subject of all three clauses (*trānsmittunt*, *glomerant*, *relinquunt*) is the much-delayed *ceruī* (corresponding in metrical position to [152]*caprae*). There is a sharp change in rhythm from 154 (where all the feet, except the fifth, are spondaic) to 155 (where all the feet, except the fourth, are dactylic). In each case, the rhythm is thematically appropriate: first, the deer crowd together; then, they take off. Virgil further enhances the speed of their flight by a *husteron proteron*: logically, the deer must first leave the mountains before they can rush across the plain; inversion of the natural order conveys a 'head-over-heels' impression. (Compare, for instance, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act 3, Scene 10: 'The Antoniad, the Egyptian admiral, | With all their sixty, fly and turn the rudder'. The logical sequence would require 'they turn the rudder and fly'.) Other unsettling features include the hyperbata *patentīs ... campōs* (which 'opens' a space for the words of movement *trānsmittunt* and *cursū* that

Virgil places within the 'open .... fields') and *agmina ...* | *puluerulenta* (reinforced by verse break). The sequence of attribute – noun : noun – attribute is chiastic, an effect reinforced by the chiastic symmetry of verb *trānsmittunt* – abl. *cursū* – acc. obj. *campōs* : acc. obj. *agmina* – abl. *fugā* – verb *glomerant*. The excitement of the design calms down and resolves itself in the final colon, which is simplicity itself: *montīsque relinquunt*.

156–159: at puer Ascanius mediīs in uallibus ācrī | [157]**gaudet equō iamqu(e) hōs cursū, iam praeterit illōs,** | [158]**spūmantemque darī pecor(a) inter inertia uōtīs** | [159]**optat apr(um), aut fuluum dēscendere monte leōnem:** a vignette of Ascanius in the middle of the vales (true to its meaning, *mediīs* is also placed plumb in the middle of the line) concludes the depiction of the hunt. He displays the exuberant enthusiasm of youth, hustling and bustling around the hunters on his high-spirited horse ([156]*ācrī*, prominently placed at the end of the line, harks back to Ascanius via alliteration, but modifies [157]*equō*) and indulging in heroic fantasizing. The verses form a tricolon, organized around the three main verbs [157]*gaudet* – [157]*praeterit* – [159]*optat*. *optat* governs a bipartite indirect statement coordinated by *aut*: the first features a boar (*spūmantem ...*|*... aprum* in massive hyperbaton) as subject acc., the second a lion (also marked by a hyperbaton, though a less impressive one: *fuluum ... leōnem*). Ascanius' fascination with hunting will play a major role in the second half of the poem, where his shooting of a treasured stag is one of the main reasons why war breaks out (7.475–510). One of the ensuing battles affords him the opportunity to utter a prayer to Jupiter in response to Numanus Remulus' mockery of the Trojans' 'Eastern effeminacy' (9.597–640), resulting in his first kill (see further Rogerson 2017; adolescent Ascanius was notably, if unsurprisingly, absent from Juno's R-rated script).

[158]*pecora inter inertia*: the preposition *inter* 'between', true to its meaning, is placed *between* the two segments of the phrase it coordinates. *iners* here means something akin to 'unadventurous' or 'harmless', thus not suited to test the mettle Ascanius thinks he has.

[158]*uōtīs*: in the dative with *darī*: '...may be granted to his vows'. *Vōtum* is a technical term of Rome's civic religion and usually involves a promise to a god in return for his or her aid, especially in situations of military

crisis. Here the term ironically ennobles Ascanius' day-dreaming and wishful thinking.

[159]*fuluum ... leōnem*: for lion similes in epic (used to illustrate the fiercest warriors), see Tarrant (2012: 85–86) on *Aeneid* 12.4–9, where Turnus is compared to a lion. Ascanius, of course, is nowhere near receiving such formal distinction.

160–161: intereā magnō miscērī murmure caelum | incipit; īnsequitur commixtā grandine nimbus: repetition with variations of Juno's earlier announcement: [120]*nigrantem commixtā grandine nimbum* > [161]*commixtā grandine nimbus*; [122]*tonitrū caelum omne ciēbō* > [160]*magnō miscērī murmure caelum*. This last phrase is a magnificent instance of onomatopoeia, combining *m*-alliteration with assonance (*-rī*, *mur-*, *-mur-*, *-re, -um*) and a topsy-turvy mixing of all the vowels (*a*, *o*, *i*, *e*, *i*, *u*, *u*, *e*, *ae*, *u*). The formulation recalls Virgil's description of the cave of the winds, which are said to roar around their prison [1.55]*magnō cum murmure montis*, before they are set loose at Juno's behest (—> ***TD*** 'Content and Form'). The goddess again takes control of the weather, taking over a domain which her husband Jupiter is normally in charge of, and unleashes chaos and destruction. The asyndeton *incipit*; *īnsequitur* emphasizes the speed with which the cloud gathers: it is there in an instant. The word thus does what it means: it follows immediately upon what precedes, leaving no room for a connective. The insistent alliterative beat *in-* (*-ci̲-*, *-pi̲t*), *īn-* reinforces the effect. (Cf. [1.104–5]*tum prōra āuertit et undīs | dat latus; īnsequitur cumulō praeruptus aquae mōns* 'then the prow turns and exposes the ship's side to the waves; down in a heap follows a steep mountain of water'.)

162–164: et Tyriī comitēs pass(im) et Trōiāna iuuentūs | [163]Dardaniusque nepōs Veneris dīuersa per agrōs | [164]tēcta metū petiēre; ruunt dē montibus amnēs: the verses account for all previously mentioned parties of the hunt: the Carthaginians, the Trojans, and Ascanius (= *Dardanius ... nepōs Veneris*). But the narrator devotes more space to the entourage than Juno in her preview, who dismissed it in two words ([123]*diffugient comitēs*). He also introduces an element of variation: when anticipating the preparations for the hunt, Juno spoke of Carthage's [130]*dēlēcta iuuentūs* and Aeneas' Phrygian companions ([140]*Phrygiī comitēs*);

here the Carthaginians (from Tyre) are the companions ([162]*Tyriī comitēs*), and the Trojans the youth ([162]*Trōiāna iuuentūs*). The 'confused' word order echoes the description of the hunted beasts in flight at 153–55. The hyperbaton, reinforced by enjambment, of [163–64]*dīuersa ... tēcta* enacts the notion of 'being scattered' across the fields (*per agrōs*, deftly placed between), with two adverbial modifications sprinkled in at beginning ([162]*passim*) and end ([164]*metū*): cf. [153–55]*cursū* and *fugā*. The main verb (*petiēre* = *petiērunt*: 'a perfect of sudden action': Austin, 68) is long in the coming. Just as [161]*incipit* and *īnsequitur*, [164]*petiēre* and *ruunt* are juxtaposed asyndetically—a startling effect enhanced by the preceding polysyndeton *et ... et ... -que*. Overall, the design of 160–64 is systematically chiastic: clause 1: subject (*caelum*) & verb (*incipit*); clause 2: verb (*īnsequitur*) & subject (*nimbus*); clause 3: subject (*Tyriī comitēs*, *Trōiāna iuuentūs*, *Dardanius nepōs*) & verb (*petiēre*); clause 4: verb (*ruunt*) & subject (*amnēs*). In his coverage of personnel and weather conditions, Virgil has achieved 'asymmetrical balance': three clauses (1, 2, and 4) are about the weather and its consequences, one clause (3) is about the personnel, but the number of subjects for each of the two topics is identical: *caelum*, *nimbus*, *amnēs*—Carthaginians, Trojans, Ascanius.

165–166[a]: spēluncam Dīdō dux et Trōiānus eandem | dēueniunt: an almost verbatim repetition of [124–25]*spēluncam Dīdō dux et Troiānus eandem | dēuenient*; only the future *dēuenient* has become a present (*dēueniunt*). See above 291–92 for comments on the design.

Virgil's closest Greek model for the cave encounter is Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.1128–69, which recounts the consummation of the marriage between Jason and Medea (also in a cave). But in Apollonius, the situation is different: the Argonauts have just reached the land of the Phaeacians, ruled by king Alcinous and his wife Arete, with the enraged Colchians in hot pursuit. In desperation, Medea pleads with Arete not to be handed over to her people who would take her back to her father's home (4.1014–28), mentioning in passing her virginity (4.1024–25). When Arete presents Medea's case to her husband, Alcinous, disinclined to offend either Zeus or Aeetes with a partial judgment in favour of Medea, makes his judgment dependent on Medea's virginity (or lack thereof): 'If she is a virgin, I direct that she be returned to her father; if, however, she is sharing a bed with a husband,

I will not separate her from her spouse, nor will I hand over to enemies any child she may be bearing in her womb' (1006–9). Thereupon he falls asleep, giving Arete the opportunity to inform the Argonauts of her husband's intent. Put into the picture, Jason and Medea swiftly proceed with the wedding ceremony and consummation of their union (4.1128–69, cited above 74–75). True, they miss out on the palace wedding they dreamed of: arrangements are makeshift and the mingling in the cave was perhaps not quite what they had in mind for their first night together. And yet they enjoy a proper wedding ritual: nymphs honour the bride in joyful humour at the behest of Hera, and Hera herself oversees the proceedings and gives her blessings. The Golden Fleece, one might have thought, is a reasonable substitute for a wedding couch, and the music (a male choir singing to Orpheus' lyre!) is sublime. That's still a Big Fat Greek Wedding, in stark contrast to the illicit romp we get in *Aeneid* 4, where Dido and Aeneas—sweaty from the hunt and drenched by the sudden downpour—just 'happen' to find themselves all alone, with Juno's nymphs discordantly howling on top of the mountain. It is the difference between a one-night stand motivated by sudden opportunity and overwhelming passion, and deliberate and purposeful (if somewhat reluctant) entry into marriage following ritual protocol and the explicit consent of both partners: Jason and Medea 'get legal'; Aeneas and Dido do not. (Jason and Medea will take off together and have not just one son but a spare. And they teach us that all the story lines available guarantee a horrific outcome.)

166^{b}–168: prīm(a) et Tellūs et prōnuba Iūnō | dant signum; fulsēr(e) ignēs et cōnscius aethēr | cōnubiīs, summōq(ue) ululārunt uertice nymphae: the sentence- and verse-design projects high excitement as Virgil, upon the arrival of Dido and Aeneas in the same cave, shifts the focus back to the divine sphere, in a euphemistic side-stepping of what, precisely, the pair got up to while spelunking: the first verb (and acc. obj.), *dant signum*, are enjambed (the dynamic is 'ready, steady, ... go!'): they give the sign—for what? The second verb follows like a shot, in asyndeton: *fulsēre* (= *fulsērunt*), with the two subjects (*ignēs* and *cōnscius aethēr*) arguably forming a hendiadys (= *fulsit ignibus aethēr*: Pease: 207). The attribute of *aethēr*, *cōnscius*, governs the dat. *cōnubiīs* ('privy to the wedding'; for the plural of a single marriage, cf. 3.319), again found in enjambment, requiring a surprise adjustment: *cōnscius aethēr* 'aether,

in-the-know' could have functioned as a stand-alone formulation. The witnessing and what is being witnessed are linked by alliteration: *cōn*scius – *cōn*ubiīs. The enjambed *cōnubiīs* correlates with the enjambed *dant signum* in the previous line, thus forming the notional sentence: *dant signum cōnubiīs*. The clause picks up [126]*cōnubiō iungam stabilī* from Juno's speech. After the visuals comes the soundtrack, provided by howling nymphs on the mountain top (the *-que* after *summō* links *ululārunt* and *fulsēre*). The onomatopoeic *ululō* here means 'to howl in religious excitement' (*OLD* 2c). Significantly, it recurs in the collective response to the news of Dido's suicide: [667–68]*lāmentīs gemitūque et fēmineō ululātū | tēcta fremunt; resonat magnīs plangōribus aethēr* 'the palace rings with lamentations, sobbing, and the howling of women, heaven echoes with loud wails'. It thus foreshadows Virgil's comments in the subsequent lines that the event in the cave, whatever it was, inaugurated a plot ending in death (*lētī ... causa*). The lexical intertwining of sex and death has a proto-Freudian ring to it.

The cosmic spectacle put on by Tellus, Juno, Aether, and the Nymphs mimics aspects of a wedding ritual. A presence of Earth (or Mother Earth) nicely complements the presence of *aethēr* and the flashes of lightning that come down from the sky, though neither Tellus nor Aether are standard divinities in the context of a Roman wedding (Hersch 2010: 266–67). As for [166b]*prōnuba Iūnō*: a *prōnuba* was 'a married woman who conducted the bride to her bridal chamber' (*OLD* s.v.). It derives from *nūbō*, to marry, and is hence etymologically related to *cōnŭbium* (for the scanning, see https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/conubium). Here the term is used as an epithet of Juno, clearly in her self-assigned role as assistant in the wedding she plans, stages, but arguably fails to execute properly. Juno is thus portrayed as present during the cave encounter in her ritual function as goddess of marriage. Intriguingly, however, *prōnuba* is not attested as an attribute of Juno before our passage (though it later becomes common in Virgilian imitators, from Ovid onwards). This raises the question: 'does Virgil use the epithet *Prōnuba* in an ironic sense?' (Hersch 2010: 193, in the context of a broader discussion of the attestations of *prōnuba* in Latin literature from Plautus onwards).

The cave encounter and its supernatural context have given rise to a range of critical responses. Here is a selection:

- Austin (69): 'Virgil thus makes the wedding ritually correct, as one would expect him to. But it remains a supernatural ceremony, and an uncanny one for all its seeming correctness.'
- Moles (1984: 52): 'For her own purposes Juno desires the union of the two lovers to be a permanent marriage: this does not amount to an objective statement of the nature of their union. While the divine responses to the "wedding" are indeed ritually correct the *emotional* effect is of a ghastly parody of the norm, suggesting rather that this marriage presided over by Juno is not a true marriage at all.' Cf. Pöschl (1962: 82): 'But the signs, multiplied by earth tremor...are not those of a gay wedding feast, but are rather related to the epiphanies of the gods of the nether world.' He notes that 'here begins the activity of Fāma, which as an inescapable, growing demoniacal power, somewhat like another Allecto, announces and sets off the tragic development.'
- O'Hara (38): 'Vergil's passage suggests either a wedding or a parody of a wedding, and the event is described in such a way that it is hard to know what is really happening.'
- Henderson: 'This is royal negotiation, this is frontier society, this is fictive myth – the writ of Rome, or of the historical West for that matter, needn't run here, not *ad litteram*?'

169–170[a]: ille diēs prīmus lētī prīmusque malōrum | causa fuit: the transition from the flashes of lightning and the howling nymphs of the previous lines to the sober and brutal assessment of the consequences is stark, especially since Virgil states them (death and evils) before giving the reasons, which follow in lines 170[b]–72. (This inversion, of course, also enables the proximity of sex and death discussed above, and suggests that the event in the cave itself—and not just its impact on Dido—causes what follows.) Virgil stresses that his narrative has reached a tragic turning point (in Aristotelian terms: *peripeteia*) through the reiteration of *prīmus*. Some scholars understand it adverbially, as indicating 'degree rather than chronology' (Pease: 209), i.e. 'that day *above* all others'. It is true that the encounter in the cave has a prehistory and does not change Dido's pathological condition; rather, the physical consummation of her passion entails a change in her behaviour, which has tragic

consequences. But chronology is also involved. Virgil uses a similar formulation in *Aeneid* 7.481–82 with reference to Ascanius' shooting of the pet stag that stirs the Latins to pick up arms: *quae prīma labōrum | causa fuit* 'this was the first cause of travails'. And as John Henderson points out, the Homeric word for this notion, which would turn into a cliché of tragic historiography, is *arche-kakos*: 'the beginning of evil'. One also wonders when the evils are supposed to have run their course. Do they end with Dido's suicide? Or with the end of the *Aeneid*? With the figure of Hannibal? Or with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE? Or do they continue to run their course, via Dido's curse, from the death of Pallas to the foundational fratricide of Remus to the century of civil warfare down to Actium (and beyond)? Virgil's formulation is open-ended in terms of chronology and endows Dido's and Aeneas' romp in the cave with world-historical significance, along the lines of William Butler Yeats, *Leda and the Swan*, 19–21, which traces the destruction of Troy and the subsequent murder of Agamemnon back to a divine/human/bestial orgasm: 'A shudder in the loins engenders there | The broken wall, the burning roof and tower | And Agamemnon dead.'

170^{b}–171: nequ(e) enim speciē fāmāue mouētur | nec iam fūrtīuum Dīdō meditātur amōrem: Dido 'comes out', indifferent to appearances (*speciē*) and reputation (*fāmā*, which sets up the personified entry of the concept *Fāma* in 173). Her agency gradually increases: Virgil starts out with a negated passive (*neque ... mouētur*) and continues with a negated deponent (*nec iam ... meditātur*), which together serve as foil for two active verbs *uocat* and *praetexit* in the following line. *fūrtīuus* in the sense of 'stealthy' or 'clandestine' is used of love affairs by Catullus 7.8 and occurs in other love poets as well (*OLD* 2a), though it is difficult to say whether it has a distinct generic flavour here. If it does, the adj. marks a switch from 'elegy' to 'tragedy'.

172: coniugium uocat, hōc praetexit nōmine culpam: considerations of face or reputation no longer bother Dido: she lives her love out in the open and calls it marriage. The diaeresis after *uocat* is unusual: a caesura in the third foot (after *hōc*, in this case) is far more frequent. There is, then, a 'premature' shift from a description of what Dido is doing to a critical evaluation of her action, from 'subjective' to 'objective' point of view. At the same time, one could construe *hŏc* both with *coniugium*

(acc. n. sg.: *hŏc*) and *nōmine* (abl. n. sg.: *hōc*), especially since *coniugium* lacks a predicative complement: 'she calls this marriage, and with that name covers her *culpa*.' *hŏc*, then, functions as a marked pivot between Dido's lie or self-delusion (*coniugium*) and the authorial assessment (*culpam*). There is a shift from the dactylic *coniugium uocat* to the heavily spondaic *hoc praetexit nōmine culpam*, reinforced by the coincidence of accent and ictus in each word after *uocat*. As Moles (1984: 52) puts it: 'Virgil's words clearly imply that Dido is behaving badly and knows it: she "is no longer influenced by appearances or reputation; no longer is it a secret love she practises. She *calls* it marriage – with this *name* she *conceals* her 'culpa'." Dido, now shameless, *says* something ... which is not true. Virgil draws a clear contrast between Dido's *outward* behaviour and the *inner* reality.' The two alliterative nouns *coniugium* and *culpam* frame the line. The verb *praetexō* [*prae* + *texō*], here in the figurative sense of 'to cloak (with)' (*OLD* 2b), provides another link between sex and death in the Dido episode: it recurs when Anna does not realize that her sister is about to commit suicide: [500]*nōn tamen Anna nouīs praetexere fūnera sacrīs | germānam crēdit* 'yet Anna does not believe that her sister cloaks her death with these new rites'.

What does the *culpa* consist in? Moles (1984: 51–52) discusses the various possibilities that have been suggested, including the popular view that the *culpa* lies in her disloyalty to Sychaeus, her reneging on her oath of eternal faithfulness. But, he argues, 'this makes no sense in context. To defend herself against criticism Dido calls her "culpa" a "coniugium". Her "culpa" cannot be disloyalty to Sychaeus, for *any* association with a man, whether licit or illicit, *necessarily* involves abnegation of her oaths to Sychaeus and to protest that her association with Aeneas was a "coniugium" does nothing at all to meet that charge, as indeed Dido herself has already recognized (*Aen*. 4.15–19).' The right answer, according to Moles, is that the *culpa* 'consists in the *illicit* nature of her love-making with Aeneas, which Dido, to defend her reputation, tries to present as proper "coniugium".' This generates a powerful split in perceptions (or versions) of reality. Dido may be dishonest in trying to cover up her sexual misdemeanour, but Juno certainly is of the considered opinion that the act of intercourse that took place in the cave represents a proper marriage (see *Aeneid* 4.99, 103–4, 125–27), for which she has even solicited the agreement of Venus. So what is missing? Most

importantly, as Moles makes clear, the consent of the supposed groom. Even if one were to assume that the sex act could serve as substitute for the speech act ('I do'), for it to be felicitous would seem to require mutual consent that the coitus constitutes matrimony. But Aeneas refuses to regard his fling in the cave (and whatever commingling and cohabitation comes after) as a *coniugium* (or, at least, refuses to concede that he ever verbalized his consent to marriage). While the sex seems the have been consensual, the marriage apparently wasn't. See esp. 338–39 (Aeneas speaking to Dido) *nec coniugis umquam | praetendī taedās aut haec in foedera uēnī* 'I never held out the torch of a bridegroom or entered into such a contract'. = << 'I mean, I just took what was on offer, and blow the consequences. Guys, can you blame me? Gals?'...>>

Ironically, Aeneas symbolically offers the paradox of an 'unlawful marriage' upon arrival, in the form of a mantle once worn by Helen. Welcomed by Dido, he gives orders to fetch his son and bring the queen gifts of ominous value (1.647–55):

> mūnera praetereā Īliacīs ērepta ruīnīs
> ferre iubet, pallam signīs aurōque rigentem
> et circumtextum croceō uēlāmen acanthō,
> ōrnātūs Argīuae Helenae, quōs illa Mycēnīs,
> Pergama cum peteret inconcessōsque hymenaeōs,
> extulerat, mātris Lēdae mīrābile dōnum;
> praetereā scēptrum Īlionē quod gesserat ōlim,
> maxima nātārum Priamī, collōque monīle
> bācātum et duplicem gemmīs aurōque corōnam.
>
> [Presents, too, snatched from the wreck of Ilium, he bids him bring, a mantle stiff with figures wrought in gold, and a veil fringed with yellow acanthus, once worn by Argive Helen when she sailed for Pergamus and her *unlawful marriage* – she had brought them from Mycenae, the wondrous gift of her mother Leda – the sceptre too, which Ilione, Priam's eldest daughter, once had borne, a necklace hung with pearls, and a coronet with double circlet of jewels and gold.]

To gift Dido garments worn by Helen embarking upon 'unlawful marriage' with Paris is to court precisely the disaster which materializes.

Aeneas clearly has a limited sense of the 'agency of objects'—and no sense at all that he here ironically acts like the Greeks he despises. (At 2.49, Aeneas, as internal narrator, cites Laocoon's warning *timeō Danaōs et dōna ferentīs* 'I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts', and well he might: 'gifts' is a reference to the Trojan horse, which Aeneas turns into for Carthage: admitted into the city, he'll eventually leave it burning...) See further Quint (1993: 65): 'Dido in Book 1 receives the veil of Helen and the scepter of Ilione (647–55), Latinus in Book 7, a libation bowl of Anchises and the scepter and robes of Priam (244–48). These Trojan spoils carry with them a kind of curse, and their new possessors are condemned to play out the tragic roles for which the costumes fit them. Their cities now become new versions of the fallen Troy: Carthage's walls seem to be on fire with the flames of Dido's pyre (5.3–4); Laurentium's walls are literally burnt down (12.574f.).'

173–197: The News Goes Viral

173–177: Introduction to *Fāma.*
178–183: Her parentage and appearance.
184–188: Generic description of her movements.
189–197: The rumours she spreads of Aeneas and Dido.

The term *fāma* already made an oblique appearance at [170]*neque enim speciē fāmāue mouētur* (sc. Dido). Now *Fāma* enters the epic as goddess. She remains a latent presence after her first intervention, not least at the end of Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter (if unanswered, he implies, Jupiter is nothing more than an idle rumour, a [218]*fāma inānis*) and in the form of the [222]*fāma melior* that Aeneas and Dido have become oblivious to. In Dido's case, it would seem to refer to the unblemished reputation she needs for effective civic leadership; in his case it refers, as Jupiter's subsequent address to Mercury makes clear, to the future *glōria* that comes with the founding of Rome and the Roman people ([232]... *tantārum glōria rērum*). *Fāma* personified then reappears. By reporting news of Aeneas' intention to leave, she triggers the same reaction in Dido as she triggered in Iarbas with the report that Dido and Aeneas are hooking up ([298–300]*eadem impia Fāma*...). She makes two further interventions in Book 4: at 556–59 she gleefully conveys news of Aeneas' impending departure to Dido in a dream appearance; and at 666 she glories in spreading news of Dido's suicide through the stricken city.

There are literary precedents for Virgil's figure. Two are particularly noteworthy: *Iliad* 4.439–43, where Strife (Eris) grows from small beginnings until her head reaches heaven; and Hesiod, *Works & Days* 760–64, where Rumour is identified as a pernicious goddess. (For the workings of rumour, see also Homer, *Iliad* 2.93 and *Odyssey* 24.413.)

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- Homer, *Iliad* 4.439–43:

> The Trojans were urged on by Ares, and the Greeks by flashing-eyed Athene, and Terror, and Rout, and Discord that rages incessantly, sister and comrade of man-slaying Ares; *she at first rears her crest only a little, yet thereafter plants her head in heaven, while her feet tread on the earth*.

> ὦρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄρης, τοὺς δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
> Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα,
> Ἄρεος ἀνδροφόνοιο κασιγνήτη ἑτάρη τε,
> **ἥ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα**
> **οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει**·

- Hesiod, *Works & Days* 760–64:

> Act this way. Avoid the wretched *talk* of mortals. For *talk* is evil: it is light to raise up quite easily, but it is difficult to bear, and hard to put down. No *talk* is ever entirely gotten rid of, once many people *talk* it up: it too is *some god*.

> ὧδ' ἔρδειν· δεινὴν δὲ βροτῶν ὑπαλεύεο **φήμην**·
> **φήμη** γάρ τε κακὴ πέλεται κούφη μὲν ἀεῖραι
> ῥεῖα μάλ', ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι.
> **φήμη** δ' οὔ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα πολλοὶ
> λαοὶ **φημί**ξουσι· **θεός** νύ **τίς** ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.

Yet despite these precedents, *Fāma*'s appearance in Virgil's narrative surprises: 'For the modern reader *Fāma* seems to spring from the poet's head as the first circumstantially elaborated personification set to work within the action of a human narrative' (Hardie 2009: 108). As the personification of an all-too-familiar phenomenon (rumour and gossip, often malicious), she is a fascinating figure: *Fāma* is, as it were, Virgil's equivalent of the modern tabloids, not least in how she delights in (illicit) sex, scandal, and sensation. (One nickname of the now defunct *News of the World* was 'News of the Screws': http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14070733.) And she has a 'meta-poetic' side: besides her activities *within* Virgil's epic world, she has strong affinities with the poet *of* the *Aeneid* (hence 'meta-poetic'), who is trying to spread his 'epic news' far and wide: 'The personification of *Fāma* in Book 4 of the *Aeneid* (173–

97) is a Hellish female monster, the embodiment of the unattributable and irresponsible voices of the multitude, the many-headed beast, who thrives on distortion and defamation, as she spreads a malicious version of the behaviour of Dido and Aeneas. At the same time *Fāma* is a figure for the ambitions of the male epic poet and for the fame that he confers on his subject-matter and on himself' (Hardie 2009: 67, with a more detailed discussion at 116–25 'The Sublime and Grotesque Body of the Poet'). For a survey of earlier authors as well as imitators of Virgil from Ovid onwards, see Pease (211–13).

173–174: extemplō Libyae magnās it Fāma per urbēs, | Fāma, malum quā nōn aliud uēlōcius ūllum: verb (*it*) and subject (*Fāma*) flash up right in the middle of the phrase that designates the sites through which she moves (*Libyae magnās ... per urbēs*), an effect reinforced by hyperbaton and anastrophe. The epanalepsis ('taking up again, repetition') of *Fāma* is syntactically superfluous but rhetorically striking. (Another instance of this trope occurs in Aeneas' address to Turnus at the very end, telling him that it is Pallas—yes, Pallas—who deals him the fatal blow: [12.948–49]*Pallās tē hōc uulnere, Pallās | immolat et poenam scelerātō ex sanguine sūmit*.) The relative pronoun *quā* is in the abl. of comparison (dependent on *uēlōcius*); the antecedent is *Fāma*; the verb (*est*) is elided. Virgil's identification of *Fāma* as a *malum* recalls [169]*malōrum*. Together with *ūllum*, *malum* flanks the relative clause into which it belongs, but the entire passage shows that *Fāma* cannot be expressed by or contained within ordinary syntax.

For speed as a quality of *Fāma*, see Cicero, *Letters to his Brother Quintus* 1.1 = 1 Shackleton Bailey: *Fāma* will outpace Cicero's letter 'with her well-known speed' (*suā celeritāte*).

175–177: mōbilitāte uiget uīrēsqu(e) adquīrit eundō, | [176]parua metū prīmō, mox sēs(ē) attollit in aurās | [177]ingrediturque sol(ō) et caput inter nūbila condit: the three lines portray the exponential growth of rumour, which gains in power as it is spreading. The basis of *Fāma*'s strength is her mobility, which Virgil states as a matter of principle (*mōbilitāte uiget*) before glossing it further (*uīrēsque adquīrit eundō*; *uīrēs* is the acc. pl. of *uīs* and forms an alliterative *figūra etymologica* with *uiget*; *eundō* is an abl. of means rather than manner: G–L 431 on abl. of the gerund). After this 'theoretical' perspective, he illustrates the phenomenon with a striking

image: from small beginnings (cf. *parua*), *Fāma* soon grows upwards and eventually extends all the way from Earth to Heaven.

[176]*parua metū prīmō*: fear is a quality that Virgil associates with *Fāma* throughout the passage. Yet there is a curious reversal: to begin with (*prīmō*: perhaps best taken adverbially), *Fāma* is small because of fear, but as she grows, she starts to terrify: [187]*et magnās territat urbēs*. But why should Virgil foreground fear, either that of *Fāma* herself or that caused by her? The dynamics that enable her success and sway are perhaps not dissimilar to what animates Freddy Krueger, the child murderer from Wes Craven's *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, who, though dead, comes to haunt those who give credence to his continued existence, by which he transforms nightmare into reality. So, with *Fāma*: in terms of physique, she is a repulsive monster; but her frightening powers gain in force only for people engaging with her—by perpetuating what they hear and believing what she says.

A Lucretian intertext adds a further consideration: as Philip Hardie has pointed out, *Fāma* in Virgil corresponds to *Religiō* in Lucretius; and the prime function of *religiō*, according to Lucretius, is to generate (unjustified) fear of the gods: '*Religio* and *fama* go together, *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 1.68–9 (*Religio*'s weapons of terror) *quem* [sc. Epicurus] *neque fama deum nec fulmina nec minitanti | murmure compressit caelum* "he was quelled neither by stories about the gods, nor by thunderbolts, nor by the heaven with its threatening rumble"' (Hardie 2009: 72; see also 93: 'The unpacking of *Religio* into *fama* (*deum*), *fulmina*, *minitans murmur* provides us with an identikit for *Fama*: her name, the meteorological phenomenon with which she is allusively identified, and the hostile mutterings that are her mode of operation'). In general, Virgil 're-mythologizes' Lucretius' mechanical universe, which is devoid of meaningful religious agency: according to the philosophy of Epicurus, which Lucretius professes, the gods live carefree lives in so-called *intermundia* ('between worlds') and take no interest in human affairs. *Fāma* is an extreme case of the opposite: Virgil not only revalidates divine agency as an important factor in the human sphere, but even turns an abstract concept ('rumour') into a powerful, supernatural agent who thrives on human fear and feedback.

Alternatively, one could simplify the text by adopting the conjecture *initū* for *metū* 'small at her first beginning' (Kraggerud 2017: 179–80),

which would align Virgil's passage with Homer, *Iliad* 4.439–43 (cited above).

[177]*ingrediturque solō et caput inter nūbila condit*: the design of the verse is chiastic: *ingreditur* correlates with *condit*, *solō* with *inter nūbila*; and the acc. obj. of the second verb (*caput*) stands at the centre of the arrangement (not unlike [175]*uīrēs*).

178–183: illam Terra parēns īr(ā) inrītāta deōrum | [179]**extrēm(am), ut perhibent, Coe(ō) Enceladōque sorōrem** | [180]**prōgenuit pedibus celer(em) et pernīcibus ālīs,** | [181]**mōnstr(um) horrend(um), ingēns, cui quot sunt corpore plūmae** | [182]**tot uigilēs oculī subter (mīrābile dictū),** | [183]**tot linguae, totid(em) ōra sonant, tot subrigit aurīs:** the basic structure of the sentence is simple: subject ([178]*Terra parēns*), main verb ([180]*prōgenuit*), acc. obj. ([178]*illam* = *Fāmam*), which is the antecedent of the relative clause introduced by [181]*cui*. Virgil pads out this skeleton, turning the sentence into the equivalent of the misshapen monster it describes. He expands [178]*illam* by means of the predicative complement [179]*extrēmam ... sorōrem* and the appositional phrases [180]*pedibus celerem et pernīcibus ālīs* and [181]*mōnstrum horrendum, ingēns*, thus 'growing' *Fāma*'s presence from inconspicuous beginnings to verse-exploding proportions. By comparison, the presence of *Fāma*'s mother ([178]*Terra parēns īrā inrītāta deōrum ...* [180]*prōgenuit*) dwindles in importance, though she receives proper recognition as 'universal mother' capable of parthenogenesis, here triggered by her anger at the gods. Two hyperbata contribute to the monstrosity, ensuring that both the figure of *Fāma* and Virgil's verse design and syntax are 'out of shape': (i) *Terra parēns ... prōgenuit* (reinforced by the proleptic *illam*); (ii) *extrēmam ... sorōrem*. Rhythm, too, matches theme: 180, which describes *Fāma*'s swiftness, is almost entirely dactylic (the exception being the fourth foot), whereas the subsequent verse has a horrendously spondaic opening *mōnstrum horrendum ingēns*, featuring two elisions that generate the word ogre *mōnstrhorrendingēns*. (Cf. *Aeneid* 3.658, of Polyphemus: *mōnstrum horrendum īnfōrme ingēns...*) The heavy assonance *mōns-*, *horr-* and the plodding homoioteleuton *-strum*, *-dum* (which impacts despite the elision) in 181 contrast with the impression of speed in 180, achieved by means of alliteration (*prōgenuit*, *pedibus*, *pernīcibus*) and preference for the 'light' vowels *e* and *i*, especially in the central portion *pedibus celerem et pernīcibus*.

The relative clause continues the (syntactical) monstrosity. Virgil seems to be saying that *Fāma* has as many (*quot*) feathers on her body as she has eyes (*oculī*), tongues and mouths (*linguae*, *ōra*), and ears (*aurīs*). In the *quot*-clause, an *eī* (matching *cui*) needs to be supplied mentally, just as the verb [sc. *sunt*] needs to be supplied in the first *tot*-clause: *cui, quot* [*eī*] *sunt corpore plumae, tot uigilēs* [*sunt*] *oculī subter*. Virgil then gradually abandons this construction. To stay within the relative clause in the second segment, we must posit a shift in the kind of dative; and there is a complete break in syntax ('anacoluthon') in the third segment:

- *cui ... tot uigilēs* [*sunt*] *oculī subter*, with *cui* a dat. of possession.
- [*cui*] *tot linguae, totidem ōra sonant*, with *cui* an ethical dat.
- [*quae*] *tot subrigit aurīs*, with the notional relative pronoun in the nominative and *Fāma* as the implied subject of *subrigit*, though it is perhaps better to assume that Virgil has abandoned the construction altogether.

The anacoluthon is deliberate: ordinary syntax is incapable of describing this extraordinary creature. And in one sense, the image seems reasonably straightforward: rumour flies, after all (hence the feathers), and needs the specified organs (*ōra*, *aurīs*) to spread effectively. Problems arise because of *subter*, which seems designed to specify where, precisely, the watchful eyes are located: one each under each feather? And are we supposed to imagine that the same applies to tongues, mouths, and ears? Visualized, this would turn the underside of each feather into a full-blown face—a seemingly grotesque idea.

One solution would be to say, in agreement with Dyer (1989), that the first and second *tot*-clauses do not refer to *Fāma*'s physique at all but to the fact that as she flies, human beings watch and chatter below her (*subter*), feeding her as she passes by and pricks her ears. He argues that this interpretation would go some way towards explaining Virgil's preference for *mīrābile dictū* over *mīrābile uīsū* (though this can be accounted for in other ways; cf. critically Hardie 2009: 95–96). Dyer thus construes (and hence punctuates) the *cui* differently, as a connecting relative that belongs to the *quot*-clause only: *cui quot sunt*..., 'How many feathers she has, so many watchful eyes there are ... [etc.]' But this reading rather reduces *Fāma*'s monstrosity. One could, however, ponder a deliberate ambiguity, insofar as *Fāma* is both a goddess and the sum-

total of all human gossipmongers, not least since Virgil emphasizes the need for our collaboration with *Fāma* for her to grow. The open-ended construction may gesture to the fact that the concentrated assemblage of eyes, tongues and mouths, and ears on her body has a numerical, if dispersed, equivalent of individual eyes, tongues, mouths, and ears among us humans: she is not unlike Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan, who, in Abraham Bosse's famous frontispiece, emerges from the earth as a monstrous creature put together from many individual human beings.

A variant of this construction recurs at 7.325–26 in Virgil's description of the Fury Allecto: *cui trīstia bella | īraeque īnsidiaeque et crīmina noxia cordī* 'whose heart is set on gloomy wars, passions, plots, and baneful crimes', which in turn points back to Ennius' representation of *Discordia* ('Strife') in his epic *Annālēs*, fr. 220–21 Skutsch *corpore tartarinō prōgnāta Palūda uirāgō | cui pār imber et ignis, spīritus et grauis terra* 'the virago named Paluda, born with hellish body, in equal proportion of water and fire, air and heavy earth' (Hardie 2009: 99–100). *Discordia* (called 'hideous' by Ennius: fr. 225 Skutsch *Discordia taetra*) is, like *Fāma*, an outbirth of chthonic divinities and of obvious relevance to the *Fāma* episode. Her personified appearance in Ennius may have had archetypal status for Virgil: 'Ennius' *Discordia* was perhaps the original embodiment in Roman poetry of the monstrous sublime, her impact heightened by the judicious obscurity of her elemental body' (Hardie 2009: 101, with a more detailed discussion in 103–7, drawing in part on Feeney 1998: 109–11).

[178]*Terra parēns īrā inrītāta deōrum*: the mother of *Fāma* is Earth, who brought her forth because she was angry at the gods. *deōrum* is an objective genitive dependent on *īrā* (abl.); the paronomasia *īrā inrītāta* almost amounts to a *faux figūra etymologica*.

[179]*extrēmam, ut perhibent, Coeō Enceladōque sorōrem*: *Fāma* figures here as the last of the giants. Her brother Enceladus already made an appearance at 3.578–62: *fāma* (sic!) has it, so Aeneas says while recounting their adventures in Sicily, that Jupiter struck Enceladus low with his thunderbolt and then piled Mt. Etna on top of him. In Greek mythology, Coeus is one of the Titans, but the 1st-century CE mythographer Hyginus (writing in Latin) includes him in a list of giants. He is the obscure father of Leto/Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana. Ovid makes fun of his

obscurity at *Met.* 6.185–86 (Niobe speaking) *nesciō quōque audēte satam Titānida Coeō* | *Lātōnam praeferre mihī*... 'dare to prefer to me the Titan-daughter Latona, born from some Coeus or other...'. With his vague reference to 'hearsay' (*ut perhibent*), the author both acknowledges his use of sources and distances himself from their truth value. The technique is particularly apposite in the present context: Virgil is picking up rumours about Rumour.

[180]*prōgenuit pedibus celerem et pernīcibus ālīs*: *Fāma* is swift on the ground (*pedibus*) and in the air (*pernīcibus ālīs*; *pernīx*, *-īcis*: 'swift', 'agile'). The verse enacts the quality: 'note the swift rhythm and the hard, clattering consonants': Austin (72), referring to the preponderance of dactyls and the alliteration plus assonance of *pro-*, *-ge-*, *pe-*, *ce-*, *pe-*, *-ci-*.

[182–83]*tot uigilēs oculī...*, | *tot linguae*, *totidem ōra sonant*, *tot subrigit aurīs*: within the tricolon marked by the triple anaphora of *tot*, Virgil introduces an element of variation in the second colon, following up the *pars prō tōtō* (= *linguae*) with the *tōtum* (= *ōra*). This enables him to slip in another reference to the innumerable devices of communication that *Fāma* has at her disposal in *totidem*.

[182]*mīrābile dictū*: *dictū* is an abl. supine: 'marvellous to relate'. Virgil does not say *mīrābile uīsū* 'marvellous to behold'. Why does he put the emphasis on verbal rather than visual representation? Most obviously, this is about *Fāma*, etymologically related to *fārī* 'to speak': within his visualization/personification of the concept, Virgil points to its primary meaning and mode of operation.

184–188: After a portrait of the figure, we get a description of her activities, both during night-time ([184]*nocte uolat*) and daytime ([186]*lūce sedet*). The two verse openings, which both feature a choriambic pattern, correspond to each other syntactically and metrically. After taking two lines each to describe *Fāma* during night (184–85) and day (186–87), Virgil sums up his general description of the monster in 188, before focusing on her actions in the case at hand.

184–185: nocte uolat caelī mediō terraeque per umbram | strīdēns, nec dulcī dēclīnat lūmina somnō: the two verses on *Fāma* at night revolve around the present participle *strīdēns*, which serves as an emphatic

pivot between 'she flies' (*uolat*) and 'she never sleeps' (*dēclīnat* ...). *mediō* enacts its meaning 'midway between' twice: it is placed in the middle of 184 and in the middle of its two genitive attributes *caelī* and *terrae* (linked by *-que*). (Mercury, who is, in many ways, chthonic *Fāma*'s Olympian double, is also depicted as flying midways between sky and earth, [256]*terrās inter caelumque uolābat*). The effect is enhanced by the frame: *nocte* is picked up by *per umbram*, which could go either with *uolat* as a pleonastic reinforcement of *nocte* or with *strīdēns*. If one construes *per umbram* | *strīdēns*, *strīdēns* most likely signifies the whirring sound of her wings as she flies through the dark; if *strīdēns* stands without any circumstantial qualification it may also refer to *Fāma*'s screeching. 185 is spondaic (except the fifth foot); the soothing alliterative assonance *dulcī dēclī-* and the coincidence of accent and ictus in *dēclīnat lūmina somnō* would lull any reader to sleep, but not *Fāma*!

186–188: lūce sedet custōs aut summī culmine tēctī | turribus aut altīs, et magnās territat urbēs, | tam fictī prāuīque tenāx quam nūntia uērī: as when describing *Fāma* at night, Virgil uses two verbs linked paratactically to capture her action during daylight: *sedet* and *territat*. The *aut ... aut* (with the second postponed) coordinates *summī culmine tēctī* and *turribus ... altīs*. *Fāma* is always on her guard (cf. *custōs*, in predicative position), keeping under surveillance both private dwellings (*tēcta*) and public fortifications (*turrēs*), and choosing the most advantageous spot from which to keep watch: she sits on the *highest* point (*culmine*) of the *highest* (*summī*) roof. *tenāx* and *nūntia* stand in apposition to the (implied) subject of *uolat*, *dēclīnat*, *sedet*, and *territat*, i.e. *Fāma*. The design is chiastic: (a) *fictī prāuīque* (b) *tenāx* : (b) *nūntia* (a) *uērī*. The objective genitives frame the adjective and the noun on which they depend, both of which have a verbal force: 'grasping' (*tenāx*); 'announcing' (*nūntia*). The phrase, however, is slightly unbalanced because *tenāx* governs two genitives: with *Fāma*, it seems, for each bit of truth we get two bits freely invented (*fictī*) or distorted (*prāuī*).

189–197: After the account of who *Fāma* is, what she looks like, and how she operates, Virgil shows her in action with specific reference to Aeneas and Dido. First, she spreads the news far and wide that Dido and Aeneas have become, to echo Horace, 'two pigs in the sty of Epicurus', giving themselves over to a life of luxury and sex, enslaved to their desires (189–

95): 'Dido's court', *Fāma* intimates, has become 'the location for a[n] ... attempt to realize an Epicurean life': Hardie (2009: 71), with reference to Pease (36–38) and Dyson (1996). Then she hones in on Iarbas, knowing full well how upsetting he will find the rumours (196–97).

189–190: haec tum multiplicī populōs sermōne replēbat | gaudēns, et pariter fact(a) atqu(e) īnfecta canēbat: *haec* = *Fāma.* Usually human sounds fill spaces (e.g. [2.679]*gemitū tēctum omne replēbat*), but *Fāma* with her manifold discourse (*multiplicī ... sermōne*) fills humans (*populōs*). (Cf. 11.139–40, where, in the wake of Pallas' death, she fills both humans and spaces: *et iam Fāma uolāns, tantī praenūntia lūctūs | Euandrum Euandrīque domōs et moenia replet* ... 'and now Rumour in her flight, heralding this piercing woe, fills Evander's ears, his palace and his city ...'). *replēbat – canēbat* is an unusual rhyme, operating in synergy with *pariter facta atque īnfecta*. The assonance in *facta ~ īnfecta* and *replēbat ~ canēbat* 'effectively suggests the way in which *Fāma* keeps hammering away remorselessly' (Austin: 73). What makes rumour so insidious is the perfect mixture of truth and falsehood: Virgil enacts the blurring by way of the two elisions in *fact(a)atqu(e)īnfecta*. In what *Fāma* says, it is impossible to draw a line between what is true and what is false. And everything she says seems true to some extent: she might give facts an insidious spin but does not utter outright lies. Disconcertingly, she is in much the same business as the epic narrator and his internal narrator Aeneas: she sings (*canēbat*), just like Virgil ([1.1]*arma uirumque <u>canō</u>*). Virgil's choice of this charged word here suggests an analogue between *Fāma* and epic poetry and between the problematic truth-value of the monster's rumours and his narration (as well as that of Aeneas in Books 2–3). Not unlike epic poetry, *Fāma* 'represents the power of the spoken word to exceed the truth while yet remaining anchored to it' (Hardie 1986: 274, who points out the affinity with the rhetorical trope of hyperbole, which, as he shows, is fundamental to Virgil's aesthetics; more problematically, it extends to the entire Dido episode, especially Dido's fall from the grace of *Pudor*, which seems to be a Virgilian invention).

[190]*gaudēns*: in terms of syntax, verse position (in enjambment), scansion, and rhetorical function, *gaudēns* mirrors [185]*strīdēns*. There is a sadistic glee to *Fāma*'s screeching mischief.

191–192: uēniss(e) Aenēān Trōiānō sanguine crētum, | cui sē pulchra uirō dignētur iungere Dīdō: indirect discourse governed by [190]*canēbat* with *uēnisse* as inf. and *Aenēān* as subject acc., further modified by *Trōiānō sanguine crētum*: Virgil, unlike his epic predecessor Ennius, is much concerned with 'blood-descent' (*Trōiānō sanguine* is abl. of origin): see above 207–8. Virgil interlaces the two lovers, in what could be seen as an enactment of *iungere*: Aeneas (*cui*) – Dido (*sē pulchra*) – Aeneas (*uirō*) – Dido (*dignētur ... Dīdō*). *uirō* ('as a husband') complements *cui*. But *Fāma* picks on 'beautiful Dido' (note the hyperbaton), especially by her choice of verb: *dignētur*, in assonance with Dido, slyly refers to her earlier refusal to entertain proposals of renewed wedlock; that she deems the foreign cast-away proper husband material must grate with the local dignitaries who suffered the indignity of rejection when they went courting.

193–194: nunc hiem(em) inter sē luxū, quam longa [sit]**, fouēre | rēgnōr(um) immemorēs turpīque cupīdine captōs:** indirect speech dependent on [190]*canēbat* continues, with Aeneas and Dido as implied subjects (easily extrapolated from *inter sē*) and *fouēre* as infinitive, which takes *hiemem* (f.) as acc. obj. The adjectival phrase *rēgnōrum immemorēs* and the participle construction *turpī ... cupīdine captōs* linked by *-que* after *turpī* agree with the implied subject acc. *sē* (= Aeneas and Dido). *Fāma* uses a suggestively contrived expression. Literally, she says that 'Dido and Aeneas keep the winter warm between them', but what she means is that 'all winter long (*quam longa* [*sit*]: 'however long it is'), Dido and Aeneas keep *each other* warm', in what is a thinly veiled allusion to sweaty sex and postcoital hugging. The formulation, together with *luxū*, is designed to generate envy in those left out in the cold.

[193]*luxū*: *luxus* refers to 'soft or extravagant living', or '(over-)indulgence' (*OLD* 1), a theme that continues in *turpī ... cupīdine captōs* 'captured by morally depraved desire'. It is a lifestyle often associated with effeminacy and an alleged decadence of 'the East'. In Rome, the term had a stellar career in stories of decline that set in over the last centuries of the republic, with the influx of wealth and the apparent loosening of the martial-marital ethos that supposedly made Rome great and under Augustus, went the line, would make it great again. One influential representative of this view is Sallust, both in *War Against Jugurtha* and *War Against Catiline* (53.5). The theme of luxury plays a key role in Iarbas' reaction (198–218). See further Biesinger (2016) and Berno (2023).

[194]*rēgnōrum immemorēs*: this does not simply refer to *Fāma*'s point of view as becomes manifest at 221, where Aeneas and Dido are described in the authorial voice (or perhaps through the eyes of Jupiter) as *oblītōs fāmae* [*sic!*] *meliōris amantīs* 'lovers forgetful of their better reputation'. Epic is a 'genre of memory and remembrance', from Homer onwards: the basic premise of the *Iliad* is Achilles' choice of a short life in return for everlasting fame in Homeric song (the Greek term is *kleos*) over a long life in forgettable obscurity; and in the *Odyssey*, the memory of his wife and home in Ithaca sustains Odysseus on his travels and protects him from all temptation (even the option of acquiring a divine consort, Calypso, and the attendant prospect of immortality): the basis of his *kleos* ('immortal fame') is, not least, a successful *nostos* ('return home'). The theme of forgetting is central to the episode of the 'Lotus-eaters' (*Odyssey* 9.91–104), where some of Odysseus' men feed on the sweet-tasting lotus and become mindless (or, in Latin, *immemorēs*) of their desire to return to their native island. In the *Aeneid*, memory and forgetting operate in an even more complex key, as Aeneas has to overcome his memories and allegiances to the Trojan past to facilitate and found the Roman future. In Carthage, this basic storyline of the epic has reached a temporary dead end.

195: haec passim dea foeda uirum diffundit in ōra: concluding the general section of *Fāma*'s newsreel, the verse correlates in diction and meaning with [189]*haec tum multiplicī populōs sermōne replēbat*. The openings are identical: *haec*, followed by an adverbial qualification of time (*tum*) or space (*passim*); the meanings of the verbs (*replēbat*, *diffundit*) are similar; and the formulations *multiplicī populōs sermōne* and *uirum ... in ōra* are well-nigh synonymous. The adjective *foeda* could modify either *haec* 'these foul things' (acc. n. pl.), or *dea* 'the foul goddess' (nom. f. sg.), or *ōra* 'the foul lips of men' (acc. n. pl.). Most naturally, it is an epithet of the goddess based on proximate placement, but the various possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Arguably, the range of options is deliberate, designed to convey something of *Fāma*'s infectious power: the rumours (*haec*) the foul (*foeda*) goddess (*dea*) spreads are foul (*foeda*) as well, and those who listen to her and disseminate her rumours become 'foul-mouthed' (*foeda ... in ōra*) as a result.

196–197: prōtinus ad rēgem cursūs dētorquet Iarbān | incenditqu(e) animum dictīs atqu(e) aggerat īrās: after the shot-gun approach indicated by *passim*, *prōtinus* conveys a clear sense of purpose and direction. *Fāma*'s plan unfolds in three steps, with the first colon (acc. obj. *cursūs* & verb *dētorquet*) standing in chiastic order to the second (verb *incendit* & acc. obj. *animum*) and third (verb *aggerat* & acc. obj. *īrās*). *dictīs* is best taken *apo koinou* with both *incendit ... animum* and *aggerat īrās*. The sense of *aggerō*, *aggerāre* (= *agger* + *o*; 1st conjugation) here is 'to reinforce, intensify' (*OLD* 6a). Born out of wrath (178), *Fāma* knows how to fuel it. *dētorquet* means something akin to 'she changes her path to seek out specifically king Iarbas'.

198–218: In Dad I Tru$t(ed)

Iarbas is the African king who granted Dido the land on which to build her city (see Fig. 24) and became one of her suitors. He did not take kindly to being rejected (Anna singles him out from among the other African princes: [36–37]*dēspectus Iarbās | ductōrēsque aliī*). Already aggrieved by Dido's rejection of his advances, he offers a perfect target for *Fāma*'s malicious gossip: the queen's liaison with the Trojan refugee adds insult to injury. Iarbas also happens to practise an expensive form of transactional piety as a way of insuring himself against such injustices: his financial investment in the worship of his father Jupiter and legions of other divinities is immense (198–205), performed not least with the expectation of some happy returns. But what he hears from *Fāma* shatters his faith in the divine oversight of the universe to its core: if such a thing as the affair of Dido and Aeneas can happen despite his religious efforts, he might as well give up on trying to cultivate benign relations with Jupiter (206–18).

198–202: hic Hammōne satus raptā Garamantide nymphā | [199]**templa Iouī centum lātīs immānia rēgnīs,** | [200]**cent**(**um**) **ārās posuit, uigilemque sacrāuerat ignem,** | [201]**excubiās dīu**(**um**) **aeternās, pecudumque cruōre** | [202]**pingue sol**(**um**) **et uariīs flōrentia līmina sertīs:** the five lines offer a brief introduction to Iarbas (= *hic*), his lineage, and his extraordinary devotion to Jupiter. The main verbs are [200]*posuit* and [200]*sacrāuerat*, with the syntax becoming a bit hazy after [201]*aeternās* (see below). The flashback serves as explanatory foil for his outrage at *Fāma*'s news about Dido.

Iarbas is born (*satus*) of Hammon (*Hammōne* is abl. of origin), a Libyan deity who came to be identified with Greek Zeus and Roman Jupiter (the phenomenon called 'syncretism'). The mother remains obscure: she is an anonymous nymph from the region inhabited by the Garamantes (a loanword from Greek Γαράμαντες; the tribe is first

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mentioned in Latin literature by Virgil at *Eclogue* 8.44; here he is using the female adj. *Garamantis* in the Greek abl. modifying *nymphā*). He deprives her of active participation in the act of procreation, a point reinforced by the abl. abs. *raptā ... nymphā* and the choice of *satus*, the perf. pass. part. of *serō*, *sēuī*, *satus* 'to sow', which reduces the mother to providing a vessel for Jupiter's seed. Syntax and lexicon thus reinforce Virgil's callous account of Iarbas' parentage.

[199]*templa ... centum ... immānia ...*, [200]*centum ārās* is one of the more impressive acc. objects in the poem. The word order enacts the deliberate placement (cf. [200]*posuit*) of the temples in his expansive kingdom: Virgil intersperses the phrases signifying temples (*templa*), their number (*centum*), and their size (*immānia*) with references to their dedicatee (*Iouī* 'for Jupiter') and their position (*lātīs ... rēgnīs*). Iarbas seems to have situated the temples at various places *throughout* his realm; but at 204 he prays in front of altars (pl.), which suggests that several are concentrated in one location. The focus shifts from temples to altars in the temples to fire on the altars: a gradual, climactic narrowing, even though the tenses (*sacrāuerat* is pluperfect, *posuit* perfect) imply that Iarbas first dedicated the ever-watchful fires before constructing buildings to house them (O'Hara: 42).

[201]*excubiās ... aeternās* stands in apposition to *uigilem ... ignem* (explaining its function), with a chiastic inversion of attributes and nouns. [202]*pingue solum* and *līmina* are either further acc. objects of *sacrāuerat* or, more likely, nominatives with the verbs (*erat*, *erant*) elided. Overall, the nouns in the second half of the description pick up the acc. objects in the first half in inverse order, creating the pattern [a]*templa* [b]*ārās* [c]*ignem* ~ [c]*excubiās* [b]*solum* [a]*līmina*: the thresholds ([a]*līmina*) denote the entrance to the temples ([a]*templa*); the ground ([b]*solum*) that is fat with the blood of sacrificial victims harks back to the altars where the beasts are slaughtered ([b]*ārās*); and [c]*excubiās* specifies the purpose of the fire ([c]*ignem*). [202]*uariīs flōrentia līmina sertīs* generates a word-picture, with varied garlands 'wreathed around' *flōrentia līmina*. *serta*, *-ōrum* n. comes from *serō*, (*seruī*), *sertus* 'to wreathe', not to be confused with *serō*, *sēuī*, *satus* 'to sow', which Virgil used in 198 (see above on *satus*).

203–205: isqu(e) āmēns anim(ī) et rūmōr(e) accēnsus amārō | [204]**dīcitur ant(e) ārās medi(a) inter nūmina dīuum** | [205]**multa Iouem manibus supplex ōrāsse supīnīs:** the basic structure of the sentence consists of [203]*is* ... [204]*dīcitur* ... [205]*Iouem supplex ōrāsse* 'he is said to have

beseeched Jupiter as suppliant'. Virgil also specifies: (a) why he did this (he was ***ā**mēns **a**nimī* and *rūmōre **a**ccēnsus **a**mārō*, with the *a*-alliteration underscoring the mindset); (b) where he did it (*ante ārās*, *media inter nūmina dīuum*); (c) how he did it (*manibus ... supīnīs*: Iarbas prays with his hands turned upwards, towards the god he is trying to reach); and (d) with what frequency or intensity he did it (*multa*: perhaps best taken as an adverbial acc.: 'many times'). These verses recall and invert Juno's speech: [1.48–49]*et quisquam nūmen Iūnōnis adōrat | praetereā aut supplex ārīs impōnet honōrem?* 'And will anyone still worship Juno's divine powers or humbly lay sacrifice upon her altars?' If there a goddess asserts her power to avoid a crisis of identity, here Iarbas demands the same of Jupiter.

Commentators read the striking phrase *āmēns animī* (where *animī* is either a locative or a genitive of reference or specification) as a Virgilian response to Lucretius' phrase *mēns animī* (*Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 3.615, 4.758, etc.), in which *mēns* designates 'the intellectual rather than the emotional side of *animus*' (Hardie 2009: 72). If that is the case, it would imply that Iarbas, whose *animus* has lost (*ā-*) its *mēns*, is now ruled entirely by his passions. *accēnsus* picks up the metaphorics of fire from [197]*incendit ... animum*. This is the first of a series of news deliveries that cause the recipient to lose their mind and become incensed. See [279]*obmūtuit <u>āmēns</u>* and [281]*<u>ārdet</u> abīre fugā* (Aeneas in shock at Mercury's epiphany and reacting to his message) and [300–1]*saeuit <u>inops animī</u>, tōtamque incēnsa per urbem | bacchatur* (Dido reacting to *Fāma*'s news that Aeneas is getting his fleet ready). Iarbas approaching his altars offers a replay of [62]*ante ōra deum pinguīs spatiātur ad ārās* (of Dido). Both characters heavily invest in religious pursuits with dubious outcomes.

[204]*media* again occurs in the middle, [204]*inter* 'between' the components (*media* and *nūmina*) of the phrase it governs (= *inter media nūmina dīuum*), and [204]*ante* 'before' the noun it governs (*ārās*). The pleonasm of *inter* + *media* and the plural of *nūmina* and *dīuum* highlight the vast array of divine powers Iarbas worships as foil for his address to Jupiter. For *nūmen*/*nūmina*, see above 278.

206–218: Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter falls into three parts:

206–210: Opening remarks issuing a challenge to Jupiter.
211–214: Dido's past misdemeanour.
215–218: Dido's current lewdness and its religious implications.

206–210: Iarbas begins with two questions of roughly equal length, in which he poses a dilemma: either Jupiter sees what is happening at Carthage or there is no point in worshipping him; but if he is aware of events, as implied, then his inaction is disgracefully negligent given the dutiful veneration he receives.

206–208[a]: Iuppiter omnipotēns, cui nunc Maurūsia pictīs | [207]**gēns epulāta torīs Lēnaeum lībat honōrem,** | [208]**aspicis haec?:** the rhetorical force of the question finely calibrates respect for the god and outrage at his inaction. Iarbas begins in prayer mode, with a vocative (*Iuppiter*) and honorary epithet (*omnipotēns*) as if to invoke the divinity or address him in a hymn. The relative clause, however, subtly shifts the focus. In a hymn, this construction often serves to detail the powers and achievements of the divinity invoked. But Iarbas does not retain Jupiter in the subject position. Instead, with a whiff of indignation, he puts on record what he and his people are doing *for* Jupiter (the relative pronoun *cui* is in the dat. of advantage). The force of the *nunc* is either that now, i.e. under the rule of Iarbas, the people of Mauretania (*Maurūsia*/Μαυρουσία is the Greek name for the region of Northwest Africa) have started to worship Jupiter whereas they did not do so before; or that the worshipping is going on at this very moment, so it is concurrent with Iarbas' prayer (Pease: 230). Then comes, effectively placed in enjambment, the choriambic punchline: [208]*aspicis haec?*, placed at dead centre of 198–218. Far from voicing a respectful entreaty, Iarbas accuses Jupiter of negligence in overseeing human affairs.

omnipotēns is a standard epithet of Jupiter, but Iarbas uses it with a polemic edge: given that Jupiter is assumed to be all-powerful (an erroneous assumption, as we shall see), the question of whether he sees what happens in Carthage becomes rhetorical; and as a rhetorical question it carries a bitter accusation: you see this—and do nothing? The very fact that Iarbas questions whether Jupiter has been paying attention puts an oblique interrogation mark over the supreme divinity's epithet. Iarbas adds a second aspect to his accusation: the relative clause introduced by *cui* underscores the material investment that he and his people have devoted to ensuring Jupiter's approval and support. In the economy of exchange and services that tends to inform many religious transactions (sacrifice and worship in return for divine benevolence), Jupiter miserably fails to uphold his part of the bargain.

[206–7]*pictīs ... torīs*: translators and commentators are virtually unanimous in thinking that the phrase refers to 'couches decorated with *embroidered* covers', but Clemence Schultze, an expert in ancient clothing, assures me that they are mistaken: *pictus*, she argues, simply means 'decorated' and here refers most likely to woven, figurative decoration rather than embroidery (which apparently was very rare compared to weaving patterns and figures). Cf. 1.708: during Dido's banquet, the Trojans are 'summoned to decline on decorated couches' (*torīs iussī discumbere pictīs*).

[207]*epulāta*: as often, the deponent past participle expresses an action that started in the past but continues contemporaneously with the action of the main verb.

[207]*Lēnaeum lībat honōrem* is a contrived way of saying 'pours an offering of wine' (*Lēnaeus*, *a*, *um* = Bacchic, from Greek Ληναῖος, in turn derived from ληνός/*lēnos* 'wine-press'). *lībāre* is a ritual action: to pour wine in honour of the god.

208[b]–210: an tē, genitor, cum fulmina torquēs, | [209]**nēquīqu(am) horrēmus, caecīqu(e) in nūbibus ignēs** | [210]**terrificant animōs et inānia murmura miscent?:** the *an*-question explores the implications of Jupiter *not* seeing what is happening at Carthage. If that were the case, Iarbas argues, the meteorological phenomena that tend to be seen as expressions of his will are devoid of meaning and the religious awe they trigger are irrelevant. He raises the possibility of absence of divine purpose in the universe (which implies that one may well cease to pay attention to divinities or try to interact with them) in a subordinate clause (*cum fulmina torquēs*) and three main clauses: *tē ... nēquīquam horrēmus*; *caecī ... in nūbibus ignēs terrificant animōs*; and *inānia murmura miscent* (with the subject remaining *caecī ignēs*). Jupiter retains meaningful agency in the *cum*-clause, whereas the three main clauses gradually cancel it. Each contains a term that evokes a world defined by supernatural indifference: *nēquīquam*, *caecī* ('blind' in the sense of 'random', i.e. without point or purpose), and *inānia*.

Iarbas removes Jupiter from the scene bit by bit. In the first colon, which includes a direct address in apostrophe (*genitor:* the meaning is both generic and specific; Iarbas *is* a son of Jupiter), he juxtaposes a frightening action undertaken by Jupiter (*cum fulmina torquēs*: 2nd per.

sg.) with fear on the part of humans (*horrēmus*: a generic 1st per. pl. 'we humans'); *tē*, the acc. obj. of *horrēmus*, links the *cum*-clause and the main clause. In the second and third main clauses, matters look very different. Iarbas continues to consider the same natural phenomenon but without any implication of divine agency, pointedly shifting from the personal 'you – we' to the 3rd pers. pl. While *terrificant* picks up *horrēmus*, he no longer presupposes a relationship between Jupiter and humanity. Instead of regarding lightning (*ignēs*) and thunder (*murmura*) as the result of divine action (Jupiter throwing his thunderbolts for a reason), Iarbas gives a 'natural' explanation: they become meteorological occurrences that are devoid of intention (cf. *caecī*) and purpose (cf. *inānia*). The breaking apart of *fulmen* 'thunder-bolt' into bolt (*ignēs*) and thunder (*murmura*, in onomatopoeic alliteration with *miscent*) hints at a quasi-scientific approach to a phenomenon often endowed with religious import. Virgil/Iarbas here use the idiom of Epicurean physics as elaborated by Lucretius.

In short, after getting into Jupiter's face with the importunate question *aspicis haec?*, Iarbas becomes even more aggressive. He had the option of clarifying that the question is rhetorical (with the implied answer from Jupiter being 'of course I do') by following it up with a request for divine intervention to right the wrong. Instead, he leaves the answer open and proceeds to generate a dilemma by suggesting that *either* Jupiter sees what is going on *or* he is impotent. The set of beliefs behind his posturing seems to be:

> (i) Jupiter, far from being impotent, is omnipotent (at least that's what Iarbas calls him);
> (ii) he hence sees exactly what is going on (which turns *aspicis haec?* into a rhetorical question);
> (iii) he does nothing about it despite the worship he receives from his son and his people.

Iarbas frames the situation in such a way that Jupiter cannot plead ignorance and hence is guilty of negligence. He interprets the absence of divine disapproval of Dido's affair with Aeneas as proof that the rationale for religious worship no longer holds sway. Yet, as the following narrative makes clear, the presuppositions that inform the prayer are not aligned with the realities of the surrounding narrative: (i) is only partially correct: Jupiter is *neither* impotent *nor* omnipotent;

(ii) is incorrect; and (iii) is moot since (ii) is incorrect and will acquire an ironic charge: Jupiter reacts to the prayer, just not to reciprocate but to ensure that Aeneas fulfils his destiny. In other words, Iarbas joins Anna as a minor character who makes theological assumptions and engages in religious activities while being shown up by the poet as ignorant of the supernatural realities that apply within his epic world.

211–214: fēmina, quae nostrīs errāns in fīnibus urbem | [212]**exiguam pretiō posuit, cui lītus arandum** | [213]**cuique locī lēgēs dedimus, cōnūbia nostra** | [214]**reppulit, ac domin(um) Aenēān in rēgna recēpit:** the *fēmina* is Dido, but Iarbas cannot bring himself to call her by her name; instead he spits out the generic 'a woman'. To bring out his sense of grievance, Iarbas links the affair between the Carthaginian queen and the Trojan castaway to his initial encounter with Dido, outlined via a series of relative clauses ([211]*quae*, [212]*cui*, [213]*cui*) and framed by the exposed subject [211]*fēmina* and the rest of the main clause (*cōnūbia ... recēpit*). Cf. 1.365–68 (Venus giving Aeneas Dido's backstory:) *dēuēnēre locōs ubi nunc ingentia cernēs* | *moenia surgentemque nouae Karthāginis arcem*, | *mercātīque solum, factī dē nōmine Byrsam*, | *taurīnō quantum possent circumdare tergō* 'They came to the place where today you will see the huge walls and rising citadel of new Carthage, and bought ground—Byrsa they called it therefrom—as much as they could encompass with a bull's hide'. Line 214 features a deft antithesis between *reppulit* at the beginning of the verse (in enjambment and followed by a well-placed diaeresis after the first foot enabling the scandal to sink in) and *recēpit* at the end: linked by alliteration (reinforced by *rēgna*), the two verbs refer to the two diametrically opposed actions on Dido's part, each of which incenses Iarbas.

[211]*nostrīs errāns in fīnibus*: just as Dido, whose name means 'the wanderer', has come wandering around Iarbas' territory, so '*errāns*' has roamed into the midst of [211]*nostrīs ... in fīnibus*. Iarbas uses an abl. rather than an acc. of direction, to suggest haphazard and random movements.

[211–12]*urbem* | *exiguam*: 'to be contrasted with the *ingentia ... moenia* of 1, 365–366 and the *minae ... mūrōrum ingentēs* of 4, 88–89. Perhaps Iarbas had not lately seen the city which had risen so rapidly, or else he wished to disparage the upstart town or to emphasize the smallness of the tributary territory upon which its economic life depended' (Pease:

233). A third possibility is perhaps even more likely: he knows full well what Carthage has become but refuses to acknowledge that he has been bested by a woman.

[212]*pretiō posuit*: the phrase puts the emphasis on the mercenary fashion in which Dido took possession of the land: she purchased (*pretiō* is an ablative of price) rather than conquered her kingdom. Austin (77) detects 'snarling contempt' in the *p*-alliteration. Virgil may here be hinting at the reputation of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians as nations of traders.

[212]*lītus arandum ...* [213]*locī lēgēs*: Iarbas continues to deprecate Dido's achievements: after his reference to the supposedly small size of the city, he laughs at her people ploughing the shore (not the most fertile of soils) and highlights that he has dictated the terms on which she can use the land. From a legal point of view, he considers himself her overlord. And still she rejected his offer of marriage, adding insult to injury by embracing the Trojan castaway.

[214]*dominum Aenēān*: *dominum* is best taken predicatively: 'Aeneas as (her) lord'. *dominus* (unlike *uir*) is a marked term: like Juno ([103]*liceat seruīre marītō*), Iarbas diagnoses a servile streak in Dido, implying that she has willingly enslaved herself to Aeneas. These internal perspectives on her status and condition contrast sharply with Virgil's systematic use of *rēgīna* throughout the book. Dido thereby turns into a challenging paradox: she belongs to both the highest and the lowest category of humans, nominally a queen but, according to some of her fellow characters, thinking and acting like someone who is enslaved. The formulation also stands in implicit contrast to *cōnūbia nostra* and suggests that Dido has got a worse deal by choosing Aeneas over himself.

215–217[a]: et nunc ille Paris cum sēmiuirō comitātū, | [216]**Maeoniā mentum mitrā crīnemque madentem** | [217a]**subnexus, raptō potitur:** the design is similar to 211–14: Iarbas begins with a contemptuous reference to Aeneas (*ille Paris*; cf. [211]*fēmina*), which he pads out with a prepositional phrase (*cum ... comitātū*) and a lengthy participle construction (*Maeoniā ... subnexus*; cf. the relative clauses in 211–13) before the main verb of the sentence (*potitur*). Dido and her city are reduced to the level of a spoil (*raptō*: like *ūtī*, *fruī*, *fungī* and *uescī*, *potī*(*rī*) takes an abl. object; it is either 3rd—as here—or 4th conjugation). Iarbas construes an analogy: as Paris

is to Helen and Menelaus, so Aeneas is to Dido and himself. In each case, the rightful husband had his wife stolen by an unwarlike Trojan prince. The notion that Aeneas is 'another Paris' recurs as an insult at [7.321]*Paris alter* (Juno speaking); cf. 7.363; 9.138–39. This is 'part of an all-pervasive typological struggle for the roles of Trojans and Achaeans in Virgil's re-make of the *Iliad*, which eventually casts Aeneas as Achilles, and his victim Turnus as Hector—*mūtātīs*, however, *mūtandīs*' (Henderson). *cum sēmiuirō comitātū* 'with his entourage of eunuchs': *semiuir* (combining *semi-* and *uir*) seems to be a Virgilian neologism, but he relies on a more general discourse: 'This particular taunt was made by Greeks and Romans against various Oriental peoples, from the Persian Wars onward, including the Trojans' (Pease: 235). The verse design adds to the effect: 'the rhythm produced by the four-syllable line-end *comitātū*, with clash of ictus and accent in the fifth foot ..., adds to the "foreign" sound of the line' (O'Hara: 44). The construal of the other as 'foreign', 'feeble', and 'effeminate', as both threatening and inferior, is an insidious if widespread rhetorical technique. The insults also continue the oblique affiliation of Aeneas with Dionysus: 'Iarbas' allegation that the entourage accompanying Aeneas is male only in part (*cum sēmiuirō comitātū*) applies quite literally to Dionysus, whose *thiasos* in fact consists partly of men, partly of women' (Weber 2002: 336).

[216–17a]*Maeoniā mentum mitrā crīnemque madentem* | *subnexus* 'his chin and perfumed locks bound with a Lydian turban': placement of the participle *subnexus* in enjambment illustrates its prefix *sub-*. The *m*-alliteration, combined with the assonance *crinemque madentem* (one can almost feel the oil dripping), conveys disgust. The Maeonian mitre or 'Phrygian cap' again evokes an Eastern locale (Maeonia refers to Lydia, a region situated next to Phrygia) and Dionysus: it is a 'headgear so typical of Dionysus that in Propertius, the god Vertumnus claims that donning a mitre will allow him to pass for Dionysus [Prop. 4.2.31]. ... Iarbas' mockery of Aeneas for hair damp with perfume is paralleled in Pentheus' ridicule of Dionysus for the same affectation' (Weber 2002: 336). Some editors prefer to read *subnixus* (from *subnītor*: 'propping up from below drooping chin and dripping hair with (the bands of) a Maeonian *mitra*'), which has good manuscript support and would heighten the insult.

217[b]–218: nōs mūnera templīs | quippe tuīs ferimus fāmamque fouēmus inānem.': Iarbas construes an antithesis between Aeneas ([215]*ille*) and himself (*nōs*): Aeneas takes possession of what is not his (*raptō*), whereas Iarbas offers gifts (*mūnera*) to the supreme divinity. At the end of his prayer, he thus returns to his personal relationship with Jupiter, underscored by the alliterative attribute of *templīs*, i.e. *tuīs*. For *quippe,* see Austin (80): 'Like *scīlicet* and *nīmīrum*, it is often ironical, as here; it should probably be taken closely with *tuīs*, although its effect colours the tone of the whole sentence.' The *f*-alliteration, combined with homoioteleuton (*-mus ... -mus*), again may convey a sense of irritation. *Fāma*'s news leads Iarbas to reduce Jupiter to the level of a rumour (*fāma*), and one that is *inānis* on top. He thereby continues his Epicurean/Lucretian deracination of divinely animated nature to atmospheric phenomena. Put differently, he is supplying the Epicurean physics to match Dido's pseudo-Epicurean ethics. (*ināne* is the technical term for the void through which Epicurus' atoms move; Iarbas had already used the adjective at [210]*inānia murmura*.)

Iarbas' prayer has intriguing parallels with the accusations Dido levels at Aeneas when she hears of his preparations for departure: [373–75]*ēiectum līttore, egentem | excēpī et rēgnī dēmēns in parte locāuī | āmissam classem, sociōs ā morte redūxī* 'I welcomed him, a castaway on the shore, a beggar, and madly gave him a share in my kingdom; his lost fleet I rescued, his crews I saved from death'. She prefaces these observations with an invocation of the gods as guardians of justice ([371–72]*iam iam nec maxima Iūnō | nec Sāturnius haec oculīs pater aspicit aequīs*; 'Now neither mighty Juno nor the Saturnian father looks on these things with righteous eyes!'), but then goes on to mock the notion that Aeneas' desire to leave Carthage has been kindled by a messenger from Jupiter, endorsing in the process a quasi-Epicurean conception of the gods as tranquil beings uninterested in human affairs (376–80), only to follow up on this with a renewed appeal to *pia nūmina* to shipwreck Aeneas on his way to Italy (382–84): just like Iarbas, Dido, too, is initially confused about the supernatural forces at work in the (literary) world she inhabits, though she manages to work it all out by the end of the book. —> ***TD*** 'Religion'

219–237: Jupiter's Wake-up Call

Jupiter does heed Iarbas' prayer, just not in the way Iarbas intended him to. Far from engaging with the concerns voiced by his son, he instructs Mercury, traditionally responsible for delivering messages from the divine to the human sphere, to pay a visit to Carthage and get destiny back on track:

219–222: Narrative.
223–237: Jupiter's speech to Mercury.
  223–226: Jupiter's order to Mercury.
  227–231: Appraisal of Aeneas' failure to live up to expectations.
  232–236: Expression of bafflement at said failure.
  237: Concluding order to be conveyed to Aeneas.

This section is in part a re-run of the narrative sequence in *Aeneid* 1 that unfolds after the storm. There, too, Jupiter's attention is drawn to what is going on in Libya (1.226*Libyae dēfīxit* [*sc. Iuppiter*] *lūmina rēgnīs*); Venus appears to remonstrate with him on behalf of her son; and Jupiter, after un-scrolling the scripts of destiny for the benefit of Venus, sends down Mercury to ensure that fate takes its course (1.223–304).

The closest Homeric model comes from *Odyssey* 5. Following an impassioned appeal by Athena on behalf of her hero Odysseus (held captive on Ogygia by Calypso), Zeus dispatches Hermes to instruct the nymph to let Odysseus return home (*Odyssey* 5.28–42):

> He spoke, and said to Hermes, his loyal son: 'Hermes, seeing that you are at other times our messenger, declare to the fair-tressed nymph our fixed resolve, the return of steadfast Odysseus, that he may return with guidance neither of gods nor of mortal men, but that on a stoutly bound raft, suffering woes, he may come on the twentieth day to deep-soiled Scheria, the land of the Phaeacians, who are near of kin to the gods. These shall heartily show him all honour, as if he were a god, and shall send him in a ship to his own native land, after giving him stores of

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> bronze and gold and clothing, more than Odysseus would ever have won for himself from Troy, if he had returned unscathed with his due share of the spoil. For in this manner it is his fate (οἱ μοῖρ᾽ ἐστὶ) to see his own people, and reach his high-roofed house and his native land.'

219–221: tālibus ōrantem dictīs ārāsque tenentem | [220]**audiit Omnipotēns, oculōsqu(e) ad moenia torsit** | [221]**rēgi(a) et oblītōs fāmae meliōris amantīs:** some commentators take *audiit* (= *audīuit*) to mean 'answered', yet this would imply that Jupiter listened to, agreed with, and acted on Iarbas' pleading. But the prayer only functions as 'alarm bell' that Aeneas' historical mission is currently on hold in Carthage. He does not seem to care a jot for Iarbas' personal grievances and desires. Hence 'heard' gives a better sense. *Omnipotēns* harks back to the beginning of Iarbas' prayer [206]*Iuppiter omnipotēns...*, just as *oculōs ... torsit* picks up [208]*aspicis haec?* The reiteration of *omnipotēns* is either affirmative ('yes, Jupiter is indeed all-powerful') or slightly ironic ('he who was hailed as "All-Powerful"') or a bit of both. Virgil/Jupiter appraises the walls of Carthage differently from Iarbas: *moenia ...* | *rēgia*, with the attribute in emphatic enjambment, underscores Dido's royal-imperial ambition and the scope of her construction site. Jupiter first casts his gaze on the royal walls (*ad moenia ...*| *rēgia*) and then the lovers (*amantīs*, also governed by *ad*), with *et* as link. *fāmae meliōris* (the genitive is dependent on *oblītōs*) = 'renown/reputation' as opposed to *fāma* = 'rumour'. Virgil plays throughout with the double sense of *Fāma* as both 'Rumour' and 'Renown', either cultivating the ambiguity (as in [170]*neque enim speciē fāmāue mouētur*) or disambiguating (as here).

222: tum sīc Mercuri(um) adloquitur ac tālia mandat: with Jupiter's address to Mercury (ever present to do the supreme divinity's bidding; cf. Fig. 25), compare [8]*cum sīc ūnanimam adloquitur male sāna sorōrem* (Dido addressing her sister Anna, of equally subaltern status as Mercury).

223–226: 'uād(e) age, nāte, uocā Zephyrōs et lābere pennīs | [224]**Dardaniumque ducem, Tyriā Karthāgine quī nunc** | [225]**exspectat fātīsque datās nōn respicit urbēs,** | [226]**adloquer(e) et celerīs dēfer mea dicta per aurās:** 223 features four imperatives—*uāde*, *age*, *uocā*, *lābere* (of the deponent *lābor*)—and one vocative (*nāte*): Jupiter takes charge, and no mistake. *uāde* and *age* are best taken together as a colloquial 'off you go', which gives the opening commands a tripartite structure. *Zephyrī*

are the western winds, though it is not easy to correlate geography and favourable flying conditions: how do you best get to Carthage from Mt. Olympus via Mt. Atlas? Here is Henderson on the sound effect: 'just say the w-w-word (*ua- uo*) "Zephyrōs" and hey presto! you're gliding: soft sound for soft puff.' The sequence of imperative continues with two further ones in 226: *adloquere*, linked to *lābere* by the *-que* after *Dardanium*, takes *Dardanium ... ducem* as acc. object. Jupiter fills the ensuing hyperbaton with a relative clause that comments on Aeneas' disgraceful behaviour. Word order reinforces sense: by pulling the specification *Tyriā Karthāgine* (in the locative) in front of the relative clause into which it belongs, Virgil generates a jarring juxtaposition with *Dardanium ducem*: why, Jupiter implies, does a *Trojan* leader dally in *Tyrian* Carthage? Likewise, *Karthāgine* stands in contrast to the *urbēs* that the *fāta* have granted to Aeneas and his descendants upon his arrival in Italy: Lavinium, Alba Longa, Rome. Dido's city is thus poised midway between a reference to Aeneas' past, i.e. Troy (founded by Dardanus), and a reference to Aeneas' future. Cities—and not Iarbas' grievances or Dido's sense of shame—concern Jupiter. The post-positive relative pronoun *quī* generates a dramatic moment at the end of 224 which, unusually, concludes with the two monosyllables *quī nunc*: '... who now ...'—does what, precisely? Line break, [225]*exspectat* 'wastes his time' (lit. 'to wait in expectation'; for intransitive use of *exspectāre*, see *OLD* 4). After [226]*adloquere*—a verb which Virgil used of Jupiter addressing Mercury in 222, a reiteration that lexically reinforces the 'chain of command' Jupiter > Mercury > Aeneas—[226]*dēfer* is the sixth and final imperative. The word order again creates an enactment of the sense, with *dēfer mea dicta* placed in between (= 'passing through') *celerīs ... per aurās*. Pease (241) notes 'the figurative transfer of speed from the messenger to the medium through which he passes', but *celerīs ... aurās* may also pick up [223]*Zephyrōs*.

227–228: nōn illum nōbīs genetrīx pulcherrima tālem | prōmīsit Grāiumqu(e) ideō bis uindicat armīs: *illum*, together with its predicative complement *tālem*, is the acc. obj. of *prōmīsit* and *uindicat*. The *nōn* negates *tālem*: 'not as such a one (read: not as a slothful womanizer forgetful of his destiny) did her mother promise him to me and rescued from the arms of the Greeks (*Graium* = *Grai*(*ōr*)*um* is Virgil's preferred form of the gen. pl.).' The hyperbaton underscores the

difference between Venus' promise and current realities. Jupiter implies that Aeneas' mother Venus (= *genetrīx pulcherrima*) once vouched for her son to him (= *nōbīs*), though we are dealing with an ironic reflex of the scene in Book 1.235–37, where Venus accosted Jupiter to remind *him* of a promise he made to *her* (see following note). With *Grāium ... ideō bis uindicat armīs* Jupiter refers to the rescue operations Venus performed on the battlefield of Troy (*Iliad* 5.311–18) and during the sack of the city (*Aeneid* 2.620, 665). *uindicat* is present: the consequences of her interventions continue in the here and now.

229–231: sed fore quī grauid(am) imperiīs bellōque frementem | [230]Ītaliam regeret, genus alt(ō) ā sanguine Teucrī | [231]prōderet, ac tōtum sub lēgēs mitteret orbem: [228]*prōmīsit* continues as the main verb but the construction has shifted from direct object to indirect statement: *sed fore* = *sed futūrum esse*; the subject acc., which is the antecedent of the generic *quī*-clause, is an implied *eum*: 'rather (*sed*) she promised *him* to be someone who...' Jupiter anticipates Aeneas' future in Italy (as well as Italy's future) in a tricolon: ... *regeret*, ...*proderet* (= *prōpāgāret*), ...*mitteret*.

As noted, these lines riff on 1.235–37 *hinc fore ductōrēs, reuocātō ā sanguine Teucrī, | quī mare, quī terrās omnīs diciōne tenērent, | pollicitus* [sc. *es*] 'you promised that from Teucer's restored bloodline should come leaders, who hold the sea and all lands under their rule...', with obvious parallels in terms of syntax, lexicon, and theme:

1.235 *hinc fore ductōrēs ... quī*	>	4.229 *sed fore, quī*
1.235 *reuocātō ā sanguine Teucrī*	>	4.230 *genus altō ā sanguine Teucrī*
1.236 *quī mare, quī terrās omnīs*	>	4.231 *tōtum ... orbem*
1.236 *diciōne tenērent*	>	4.231 *sub lēgēs mitteret*
1.237 *pollicitus*	>	4.228 *prōmīsit*

The joke is multi-layered: in Book 1, Venus quotes Jupiter back at himself. Here Jupiter recalls Venus recalling what he himself had promised on an earlier occasion and twists matters such that his original promise to her, which she reminded him of in Book 1, becomes her promise to him. Gods in the *Aeneid* (and Jupiter especially) are not beyond shysterism.

[230]*Ītaliam*: placed in enjambment, with a bipartite predicative complement. The two adjectives [229]*grauidam* and *frementem* (linked by *-que* after *bellō*)

frame the two nouns they govern (*imperiīs* and *bellō*) in a chiastic design. It is unclear what moment in history the image of Italy 'pregnant' with military commands (*imperia*) and 'buzzing' with war refers to: to the time of Aeneas' arrival in Italy, or to Italy as the future centre of a world empire, or both? Jupiter condenses the entirety of Roman history in the figure of Aeneas and the key concept of *imperium* (in war).

[230]*genus*: the idiom of blood-descent and racial founding further blurs the distinction between the *gēns* of Aeneas and the *gēns Rōmāna*: the *genus* is both specifically the *gēns Iūlia* and more generally the people of Rome. Virgil, as noted (207), first introduces the theme of 'Trojan blood-descent' in the proem ([1.19–20]*prōgeniem sed enim Trōiānō ā sanguine dūcī | audierat* [sc. Juno]). By casting his accusatory assessment in the idiom of the proem (*prōgenies* and *genus* are virtual synonyms), Jupiter suggests an affinity between the author and the supreme Olympian. He also prefigures the 'Roman mission statement' that Anchises will pass on to his son at 6.847–53, esp. 851–3:

> tū regere imperiō populōs, Rōmāne, mementō
> (hae tibi erunt artēs), pācīque impōnere mōrem,
> parcere subiectīs et dēbellāre superbōs.
>
> [you, Roman, be mindful to rule the peoples with the power to command (these shall be your arts), to impose traditional order upon peace, to spare the vanquished, and to war down the proud.]

The image combines imperial conquest on a cosmic scale (*tōtum ... orbem* is a hyperbole) with the imposition of legal order (*sub lēgēs*): Roman civilization and its worldwide spread are grounded in superior violence and a commitment to law. (Readers of the *Aeneid* debate furiously whether the *Aeneid* has Aeneas fail to live up to the mission statement at the death of beaten and pleading Turnus that concludes the poem.)

232–234: sī nūll(a) accendit tantārum glōria rērum | [233]nec super ipse suā mōlītur laude labōrem, | [234]Ascaniōne pater Rōmānās inuidet arcēs?: in the bipartite *sī*-clause, Aeneas is the understood acc. obj. of *accendit* (sc. *eum*) and the emphatic subject (cf. *ipse*) of *mōlītur*. The sequence of Aeneas first figuring as an absent presence and then coming fully into focus serves as foil for the main clause where Jupiter remonstrates that

at least Aeneas' role as father ought to militate against his Carthaginian escapade: he insidiously implies that Aeneas dallies with Dido since he begrudges his son his stellar future. The preposition [233]*super* governs the ablative phrase *suā ... laude*. As Pease (243) notes, '*super ... suā ... laude* is interlocked with *ipse ... mōlītur ... labōrem*', generating thematically effective juxtapositions of *ipse* and *suā* and of *laude* and *labōrem*. (The alliterative *laude labōrem* verges on a specious *figūra etymologica*: *labor* tends to entail *laus*.) The particle *-ne* attached to *Ascaniō* indicates that the apodosis is a (rhetorical) question, which again interlocks syntactic units: *pater ... inuidet* is situated between *Ascaniōne ... Rōmānās ... arcēs*: *Rōmānās* modifies *arcēs* and *Ascanione* and *arcēs* are linked by alliteration and assonance; the supposed envy (*inuidet*) of father (*pater*) Aeneas breaks this unity apart. Jupiter's insinuation is spiteful not least since Aeneas elsewhere takes loving care of his offspring. Jupiter's musings are (perhaps deliberately?) absurd in light of 1.643–47: 'Aeneas—for a father's love (*patrius ... amor*) did not suffer his heart to rest—quickly sends Achates forward to the ships to carry this news to Ascanius and lead him to the city; in Ascanius all his fond parental care is centred (*omnis in Ascaniō cārī stat cūra parentis*).'

glōria and *laus* represent core ambitions of Rome's ruling elite: immortality through fame, involving the public recognition of praiseworthy deeds on behalf of the community. These ambitions sustained and defined the political culture of the Roman republic and continued to play a decisive role in imperial times even though the presence of the *prīnceps* put a glass ceiling on what heights of *glōria* other members of the ruling elite could reach. Jupiter refers to the glory that will accrue to Aeneas if he pursues his destiny: [232]*tantārum ... rērum* refers to both his epic quest in the *Aeneid* and the aftermath, the history of Rome. He again uses the language of the (extended) proem: *labor* is a leitmotif since [1.10–11]*... tot adīre labōrēs | impulerit*; and *mōlītur*, together with *tantārum* and *Rōmānās*, echoes the proem's final line ([1.33]*tantae mōlis erat Rōmānam condere gentem*). Aeneas' current conduct suggests striking disregard for Roman values: he has morphed, at least temporarily, from a proto-Roman into an anti-Roman character. (Though Aeneas is by no means averse to *labor*: see 235; he just misapplies his efforts.)

235: quid struit?: after Iarbas' prayer, in which he expressed outrage at the 'love n' leisure' Dido and Aeneas supposedly indulge in, this question comes as a surprise. Clearly, what Jupiter *sees* does not entirely

correspond to what *Fāma reports* (and Iarbas mindlessly repeats). Apparently, Aeneas, far from being idle, is hard at work building up Carthage! Later (259–71), we learn that Jupiter's gaze captures the truth better than *Fāma*'s gossip does.

235–236: aut quā spē inimīc(ā) in gente morātur | nec prōl(em) Ausoni(am) et Lāuīnia respicit arua?: there is a hiatus (absence of elision) between *spē* and *inimīcā*. Jupiter's description of the Carthaginians as a *gēns inimīca* is in line with his dispatch of Mercury to suppress their 'savage hearts' ([1.302–3]*ferōcia ... | corda*) and foreshadows the inveterate enmity between Carthage and Rome in historical times. Jupiter continues to use charged language, not least from the proem, foregrounding Aeneas' final destination by means of the chiasmus (a) *prōlem* (b) *Ausoniam* (b) *Lāuīnia* (a) *arua*: references to *Ausonia*, a poetic name for Italy, recur throughout the prophetic utterances in *Aeneid* 3; and *Lāuīnia ... arua* recalls [1.2–3]*Lāuīniaque uēnit | lītora*. The geographical specification 'Lavinian' refers to the town of Lavinium, which Aeneas is destined to found and name after his future Italian wife, Lavinia. Jupiter's discourse thus spans the entire epic (and beyond), looking backwards to the prophetic proem and forward to events in Italy that are recounted in the second half of the epic, as well as '*Aeneid* 13'. *quā spē ... morātur* picks up [225]*exspectat*, just as *respicit* reiterates [225]*respicit*. The repetitions indicate that Jupiter is drawing his speech to a close.

Extra information

The *Aeneid* ends abruptly with Aeneas' killing of Turnus at 12.952. It does not include such 'happy-end' material as Aeneas' marriage to Lavinia and his founding of Lavinium. Dissatisfied with this (lack of) closure, the Renaissance scholar Maffeo Vegio (1407–1458) composed a further book, a fan fiction known as *Aeneid* 13, which contains all the good—and not so good—stuff that happened after the final showdown between Turnus and Aeneas. (Inevitably, when peace breaks out, the wedding will have the Trojan son usher his new stepmother down the aisle that will lead to an Italian half-brother...) See the bilingual edition (Latin text/English translation) by Michael C. J. Putnam in the *I Tatti Renaissance Library*, or (for the Latin text only) see http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/vegius.html.

237: nāuiget: haec summa (e)st; hic nostrī nūntius estō.': *nāuiget* is a subjunctive of command: 'let him set sail!': 'the chief point in Jupiter's command, emphasized by its position in the line, yet entirely omitted by Mercury in 4, 265–276' (Pease: 246). *estō* is 3rd pers. sg. fut. imperative of *sum*; *nostrī* is the genitive of *nōs* (Jupiter uses the so-called 'majestic plural'): 'let this be the message from Us'. He here sums up and crosses his 't's: see the assonance in *no<u>st</u>rī nūn<u>t</u>ius e<u>st</u>ō*.

At this stage we may revisit the issue of how Jupiter reacts to Iarbas' prayer. His son's pleading may have alerted the god to the situation in Carthage, but Jupiter does not pay attention to the details of the complaint. Iarbas gets what he prays for—a break-up of the union between Dido and Aeneas—but also more than he bargained for, insofar as Dido then commits suicide. And Jupiter interferes not out of consideration for his son and his hundred altars but because he is committed to the fated plot. Iarbas may well think that his prayer has been efficacious; but the reader knows that the efficaciousness of the religious speech-act is coincidental. Iarbas succeeds not because Jupiter cares for him, but because he fortuitously happened to wish for something which the god was committed to anyway. Even though he reacts to the prayer, Jupiter intervenes for his own reasons rather than to fulfil the wishes of a mortal, even a son of his with a proven track-record of (material) piety. —> ***TD*** 'Religion'

238–278: The Mercourier Express

Mercury's departure is closely modelled on those of his Homeric counterpart Hermes in *Iliad* 24 and *Odyssey* 5. This allusive engagement has intrigued readers since antiquity (see Macrobius, *Sāturnālia* 5.6.11–12). In the *Iliad*, Zeus dispatches Hermes to ensure that Priam will arrive safely at the tent of Achilles to ransom the body of his son Hector (*Iliad* 24.339–48):

> So he spoke, and the messenger, the slayer of Argus, did not disobey. Straightway he bound beneath his feet his beautiful sandals, immortal, golden, which were wont to bear him over the waters of the sea and over the boundless earth together with the blasts of the wind. And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber. With this in his hand the strong slayer of Argus flew, and quickly came to Troy and the Hellespont.

The first time we meet Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, he lives the life of a castaway on the island of Ogygia, the dwelling place of the nymph Calypso, who is madly in love with the hero and wishes to make him her husband (a proposition that includes the offer of immortality). Odysseus, however, just wants to go home. He sleeps with the nymph but otherwise sits forlorn on the shore, gazing out upon the waves, and weeps. Zeus orders Hermes to tell Calypso to let Odysseus go (cf. Fig. 32). *Odyssey* 5.43–54 recounts Hermes' departure:

> So he spoke, and the messenger, the slayer of Argus, did not disobey. Straightway he bound beneath his feet his beautiful sandals, immortal, golden, which were wont to bear him over the waters of the sea and over the boundless earth together with the breeze of the wind. And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber. With this in hand the strong slayer of Argus

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flew. On to Pieria he stepped from the upper air, and swooped down upon the sea, and then sped over the wave like a bird, the cormorant, which in quest of fish over the dread gulfs of the unresting sea wets its thick plumage in the brine. In such fashion did Hermes ride over the multitudinous waves.

ὣς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης.
αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,
ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοιῇσ' ἀνέμοιο.
εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει,
ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει·
τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης.
Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ·
σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῦμα λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς,
ὅς τε κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο
ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσσων πυκινὰ πτερὰ δεύεται ἅλμῃ·
τῷ ἴκελος πολέεσσιν ὀχήσατο κύμασιν Ἑρμῆς.

In both Homer and Virgil, we get a detailed appreciation of Mercury's special attributes, especially his winged shoes and his magic wand (see Fig. 27), and his functions. He is a god who operates at interfaces, acting as messenger between mortals and immortals and negotiating the boundary between life and death, the upper- and the underworld, and, relatedly, being awake and being asleep.

The final passage to compare with Mercury's departure here is 1.297–304, which describes his first mission in the *Aeneid*:

haec ait, et Maiā genitum dēmittit ab altō,
ut terrae, utque nouae pateant Karthāginis arcēs
hospitiō Teucrīs, nē fātī nescia Dīdō
fīnibus arcēret: uolat ille per āera magnum
rēmigiō ālārum, ac Libyae citus adstitit ōrīs.
et iam iussa facit, pōnuntque ferōcia Poenī
corda uolente deō; in prīmīs rēgīna quiētum
accipit in Teucrōs animum mentemque benignam.

[This he says and sends the son of Maia down from the sky that the lands and towers of newly-built Carthage may open in welcome to the Teucrians and Dido, ignorant of fate, may not

keep them away from her realm. He flies through the wide air on the oarage of his wings and quickly stands on the shores of Libya. At once he carries out the orders and, with the god willing it, the Punic people lay aside their savage hearts; above all the queen receives a gentle soul and friendly mind towards the Teucrians.]

In *Aeneid* 1, Virgil covers the plot elements briskly: we neither get Jupiter's order to Mercury in direct speech nor Mercury's preparation for departure. Details of the voyage are likewise skipped over, and the god carries out his orders unseen. Unlike Aeneas, Dido does not benefit from a theophany. Mercury simply ensures that the disposition of the Carthaginians (and especially their queen) aligns with Jupiter's wishes, without the recipients of divine attention being any the wiser that a god has manipulated their outlook.

Extra information

Mercury is '*Fāma*'s good double' (Hardie 2009: 75). He elaborates (78): '*Fāma* and Mercury are related as two divinities of the word: both fly freely through the air on the horizontal and vertical axes, both easily span the gap between heaven and earth, and reach still further into the Underworld (Mercury as psychopomp, *Fāma* through her chthonic origin). There is a strong polarization between *Fāma* as a divinity of the perverted word, and Mercury as the embodiment of the rational *logos* of Jupiter, but this is a dichotomy that is not in the end maintained. Mercury's final message to Aeneas is a defamation of Dido as tendentious as *Fāma*'s initial report of her and Aeneas' behaviour, 4.569–70 *uarium et mūtābile semper | fēmina* "woman is always an unstable and changeable thing".' On Mercury within Virgil's literary world, see further Feeney (1998/2021) and Fratantuono (2015).

238[a]: dīxerat: the Latin equivalent, also metrically, of the Homeric 'thus he spoke' (ὣς ἔφατ').

**238[b]–239[a]: ille patris magnī pārēre parābat | imperi(ō): ** the hyperbaton of the possessive gen. *patris magnī* and the noun on which it depends (*imperiō*: in enjambment) conveys the weight an order by great Jupiter carries (though it is not that Mercury jumps into action). *patris* is both specific (Jupiter sired Mercury with Maia) and generic (he is called the father of gods and humans). The insistent *p*-alliteration, which

frequently suggests movement, here contains a hint of retardation: the most prominently placed item in the sequence *patris*, *pārēre*, *parābat*, which continues with the assonance in *imperiō* (and *prīmum* and *pedibus* in 239[b]), is *parābat*. Teenagers faced with an urgent parental request are particularly well placed to appreciate the joke in the paronomasia *pārēre parābat*, which combines *pāreō*, *pārēre* 'to obey' with *parō*, *parāre* 'to prepare, get ready'. The tense (imperfect) adds to the humour: is it inceptive (Mercury is starting to get ready)? Or durative (meaning that Mercury is taking his time to prepare for take-off)? Or iterative (after *Iliad* 24, *Odyssey* 5, and *Aeneid* 1, this is already the *fourth* time he is heading off on such a mission—faced with yet another such request, who could blame Mercury for dragging his winged feet)? Comparison with the Homeric models reinforces the sense that the Virgilian divinity dallies: 'the messenger, the slayer of Argos, did not disobey. Straightaway...'.

239[b]–241: et prīmum pedibus tālāria nectit | aurea, quae sublīm(em) ālīs sīu(e) aequora suprā | seu terram rapidō pariter cum flāmine portant: Mercury first (*prīmum*) ties his winged sandals (*tālāria*, from the adjective *tālāris* meaning 'of the ankle'). On his first trip to Carthage, he flew [1.300]*rēmigiō ālārum* 'on his oarage of wings', and below he touches down on 'winged soles' ([259]*ālātīs ... plantīs*). *tālāria* as the Latin equivalent of πτερόεντα πέδιλα/*pteroenta pedila* 'winged sandals' is first attested in Cicero, *Aratea* fr. 33.24 (Soubiran) ... *pedēs uinctōs tālāribus aptīs* (about Perseus) and *Dē Naturā Deōrum* 3.59 *pinnārum tālāria* (about Minerva). Then ([245]*tum*) Mercury picks up his magic wand (*uirga*; also known as *cādūceus*). Virgil lavishes detailed attention on both pieces of equipment. As in Homer, the glosses delay Mercury's departure. *sublīmem*: the adj. (acc. m. sg.) agrees with an implied *eum* (sc. Mercury) and is best translated adverbially: 'which [sc. the sandals] carry him *up high* on their wings...' *suprā* (prep. + acc.) governs both [240]*aequora* and [241]*terram*. The fronting of *rapidō* (it agrees with *flāmine*; the phrase is governed by the preposition *cum*) enacts the word's meaning. These lines are closely modelled on *Odyssey* 5.44–46 (cited above 357–58), but with marked departures and additions. —> ***TD*** 'Allusion' 49–51.

242[b]–244: hāc animās ill(e) ēuocat Orcō | pallentīs, aliās sub Tartara trīstia mittit, | dat somnōs adimitqu(e), et lūmina morte resignat: *hāc* (instrumental abl.) = *uirgā*. *animās ... pallentīs*: the phrasing recalls Dido's

self-imprecation at [25–26]*ad umbrās, | pallentīs umbrās Erebō*, where *pallentīs* figures in the same metrical position (beginning of line in enjambment) and thematic context. *Orcō*: abl. of separation. Orcus is a generic designation of unknown etymology for 'the Lower World = abode of the dead' and the name of the god of the Underworld (the equivalent of Greek Hades and an alternative to *Plūtō* and *Dīs*: cf. Ennius, *Euhemerus* fr. 3 *Plūtō Latīnē est Dīs pater, aliī Orcum uocant*). *Tartara, -ōrum*, n. pl. (from Greek Τάρταρα) also refers to the infernal regions, specifically to the pits of hell, as in Lucretius' demythologizing *Dē Rērum Nātūrā*: [3.966]*nec quisquam in barathrum nec Tartara dēditur ātra* 'no one ever falls into the deep pit or black Tartarus' and [3.1012]*Tartarus horriferōs ērūctāns faucibus aestūs* 'Tartarus belching horrible flames from its throat', where 'hell (its monsters) is (just) a horrible belching noise' (Henderson). The design suggests the unconditional speed with which Mercury dispatches the dead: alliteration and assonance (*tar-, -tar-, trīs-, tia, mit-, -tit*) reinforce the dactylic rhythm; that the last three words only contain the vowels *a* and *i* enhances the effect. The attribute *trīstia* helps to 'remythologize' the Underworld geography post-Lucretius. The *-que* links *dat* and *adimit* with the shared acc. obj. nicely centred.

Scholars are unsure of what *lūmina morte resignat* means. There are four options: (i) 'he unseals eyes in death', implying a reference to the Roman custom of opening the eyes of the dead on the funeral pyre: cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 11.150. (ii) The ancient commentator Servius believes, conversely, that *resignat* here has the same meaning as *claudit*, which is to say that it refers to the custom of *closing* the eyelids of the deceased. (iii) An older line of interpretation, recently reinvigorated by Fratantuono–Smith (419–21), takes the phrase close with the first half of the line, in the common pattern of 'theme and variation', with *morte* an ablative of separation: 'he unseals eyes from the death-like condition of sleep'. (iv) 'he unseals eyes from death', also taking *morte* as an ablative of separation but locating the unsealing *post-mortem* in the netherworld. Cf. O'Hara (47): 'the rendering "unseals from death" would return to the idea of 242 *animās ille ēuocat Orcō*, or refer mysteriously to some aspect of existence in the underworld.' Recent translators and commentators show a marked preference for (i), but (iii) has its appeal, and (iv) also deserves consideration, not least in light of *Aeneid* 6.748–51 (the end of Anchises' account of reincarnation, with an emphasis on the reanimation of sight before renewed ascent to the upperworld):

> hās omnīs [sc. animās], ubi mīlle rotam uoluēre per annōs,
> Lēthaeum ad fluuium deus ēuocat agmine magnō,
> scīlicet immemorēs supera ut conuexa reuīsant
> rūrsus, et incipiant in corpora uelle reuertī.

> [All these souls, when they have rolled the wheel of time through a thousand years, the god summons to the river Lethe in a vast throng, so that, without recall, they may revisit and view again the vault above, and conceive of the wish to return into bodies.]

As this passage shows, Virgil assigns a key role to the phenomenon of 'metempsychosis', which is the re-entry of souls that have become disembodied into new bodies. (For the philosophically inclined, Plato offers a discussion of the complementary states of 'awake/asleep', 'alive/dead', with either emerging from the other, in *Phaedo* 71c–72a, with Socrates summing up the discussion as follows: '... in that way too we're agreed then that the living have come into being from the dead no less than the dead have from the living, and this being the case I presume that it seemed sufficient proof that the souls of the dead must exist somewhere from where indeed they come back into being'.) The heavy emphasis Virgil places on Mercury as a god who calls shades up from the Underworld becomes apparent if one compares 242–44 with the two formulaic lines from Homer he is reworking (*Iliad* 24.344–45 = *Odyssey* 5.47–48; cf. *Odyssey* 24.1–5):

> And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber.

> εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει,
> ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει·

The parallels are striking—as are the differences:

- *tum uirgam capit* 'Then he takes his wand': εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον 'And he took the wand'
- *hāc* 'with this': τῇ 'wherewith'
- *animās ille ēuocat Orcō | pallentīs* 'he calls pale ghosts from Orcus': no Homeric equivalent

- *aliās sub Tartara trīstia mittit* 'and sends others down to gloomy Tartarus': no Homeric equivalent
- *dat somnōs adimitque* 'gives and takes away sleep': ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει, | ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει 'he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber'
- *et lūmina morte resignat* 'and unseals the eyes in/from death': no Homeric equivalent.

Following Homer, Virgil opts for a parenthetical elaboration of Mercury's wand (*uirgam*, ῥάβδον) but alters his model in two ways. He streamlines presentation of Hermes' primary Homeric role, managing the boundary between sleeping and waking states, and he adds an elaborate description of a second function associated with the wand: patrolling the crossings between the living and the dead. Hermes in his role as *psychopompos* (= guide (*-pompos*) for souls (*psycho-*) of the dead) is a frequent presence in Greek literature, particularly Greek tragedy and Orphic writing, but also in Homer. At *Odyssey* 24.1–5, Hermes acts as guide to the Underworld for the shades of the murdered suitors. Yet while the Homeric Hermes summons souls to lead them down to the Underworld, Virgil's Mercury also calls souls up from the Underworld. Virgil's enrichment of Homer, which associates Mercury with fluid transitions from the heights of heaven to the pits of Hell, supports Hardie's argument that he is here striving for a sense of the 'cosmic sublime', with a figure who measures out the entire universe (seemingly over and above his Greek model—were it not for the fact that 'Virgil's Homer had been consecrated through centuries of cosmological allegorizing interpretation': Henderson).

For more lore on Hermes' wand(s), see *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 528–38 with Thomas (2020: 437–43) and Hyginus, *Dē Astronomiā* 2.7, who reports the story that Mercury used the staff to separate snakes that seemed to be fighting, which explains their coiling around the *cādūceus*.

245–246[a]: illā frētus agit uentōs et turbida trānat | nūbila: *illā*, abl. dependent on *frētus*, is still the wand ([242]*uirgam*). With *agit uentōs*, Virgil reinforces the point that his Mercury does not drift in the winds—he *drives* them. The design and vowel sequence (*u–i–a*, *ā–a*, *u–i–a*) of *turbida*

trānat | *nubila*, enacts the idea of Mercury passing or literally swimming *through* thick clouds on either side.

246ᵇ–251: iamque uolāns apic(em) et later(a) ardua cernit | [247]**Atlantis dūrī, caelum quī uertice fulcit,** | [248]**Atlantis, cinct(um) adsiduē cui nūbibus ātrīs** | [249]**pīniferum caput et uentō pulsātur et imbrī;** | [250]**nix umerōs īnfūsa tegit, tum flūmina mentō** | [251]**praecipitant senis, et glaciē riget horrida barba:** the main verb is [246b]*cernit* (with Mercury as implied subject). There are two acc. objects: *apicem* and *latera ardua*. They come with the possessive genitive [247]*Atlantis dūrī*, reiterated without attribute in the following line: [248]*Atlantis*. Each of the genitives serves as antecedent of a relative clause, with the relative pronoun in postpositive position: [247]*caelum quī uertice fulcit* (*caelum* belongs in the relative clause as acc. obj. of *fulcit*); [248–49]*cinctum adsiduē cui ... imbrī*. Here the relative pronoun is in the dat. of reference ('for whom'). The subject is *caput*, modified by the participle *cinctum* (with *nūbibus ātrīs* as abl. of agency, as often in poetry without the preposition *ā/ab*) and the attribute *pīniferum*. [249]*uentō* and [249]*imbrī* are abl. of agency (without preposition, synced by *et ... et*) with *pulsātur*. *adsiduē* is an adverb with *cinctum*, meaning 'constantly'. The clauses that follow in 250–51 either continue the relative clause introduced by *cui* or constitute three main clauses in anacoluthon.

Whether or not the construction changes after *imbrī*, Virgil only loosely connects the different elements of the enumeration: (a) [249]*caput ... pulsātur* and (b) [250]*nix ... tegit* are juxtaposed asyndetically; (c) [250–51]*flūmina ... praecipitant* is linked to the preceding by *tum* (Virgil seems to be referring to glaciers, i.e. 'frozen rivers', that hang down from Atlas' chin: *senis* is gen. sg. of *senex*, dependent on *mentō*); and (d) [251]*riget barba* is linked to the preceding by *et* (the sequence 'verb – subject' inverts the order in the previous three clauses). Overall, he has created an anthropomorphic landscape that plays on correspondences between Atlas the man and Atlas the mountain with a proto-Ovidian sensibility (Ovid describes Atlas' transformation into a mountain at *Met*. 4.657–62). While Atlas is a geological formation to begin with, humanoid parts come gradually into focus without him ever ceasing to be a mountain: *uertex*, *caput*, *umerī*, *mentum*, *barba*. Austin (87) notes the progressive personification: 'from using *uertex* and *caput*, which suit the mountain as well as the human figure, Virgil passes to purely human features in *umerōs*, *mentō*, *barba*, while the mountain has become a *senex*.'

The gemination *Atlantis dūrī – Atlantis* and the disintegrating syntax after a relative clause introduced by *cui* have pointed parallels in the *Fāma* episode (173–74, 181–83). The stylistic and syntactic twinning helps to turn *Fāma* and Atlas into complementary monsters. Atlas was one of the first of the Titans (Hesiod, *Theogony* 507–11), just as *Fāma* was the last ([179]*extrēmam*) of the Giants. Both therefore belong to the generation of primordial, and often monstrous, divinities that preceded the Olympian order. After the so-called Titanomachy (the battle between Titans and Olympians), Atlas was forced as punishment to support the vaults of heaven on his shoulders, stationed in Northwestern Africa. In certain versions, he was said to have been petrified into the mountain range, which Virgil here (re-) personifies. For the wider significance of Atlas in the set passage and his relationship with *Fāma*, see Hardie (1986: 278):

> Mercury's descent is interrupted by the striking picture of the man-mountain Atlas. This apparent digression may also be integrated into the wider context. Atlas is the measure of the vertical distance between heaven and earth that Mercury has to cover; he occupies the space which *Fāma* threatened to infect. He, like *Fāma*, is a giant, and, like *Fāma*, he has his head in the clouds, but, unlike *Fāma*, he reaches beyond the clouds to touch and support the heavens themselves. Atlas is a giant who has been immobilized and rendered safe; from hubristic sky-reacher he has been transformed into a stable prop of the established order, a guarantee of cosmic cohesion. ... The descent of Mercury thus represents a reversal of the ascent of *Fāma*, the reimposition of Olympian order in a space which has been threatened by an evil chthonic power.

Virgil's description of the severe weather conditions around Atlas is the negative counterpart to the description of Mt. Olympus in *Odyssey* 6.43–45, which Lucretius reworked in *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 3.18–22 to describe the blissful abode of the Epicurean divinities: 'Wind, rain, snow, and clouds are ever present on Atlas, as they are ever absent from Olympus; Atlas is obscured in black clouds, a white brilliance illuminates Olympus. The calm of Olympus was an obvious symbol of the *ataraxia* of the Epicurean gods, and hence of the calm to which Epicurean man should aspire, and was thus exploited in a translation of the Odyssean lines by Lucretius. The mountain Atlas belongs unambiguously to a Stoic, not an Epicurean, geography' (Hardie 1986: 282).

Titanic and Olympian lineages intersect in complex ways. Aeneas himself happens to be a distant descendent of Atlas, as we learn in Book 8, where he draws on this ancestral connection to plead kinship bonds with Evander, a settler on the future site of Rome, to whom he appeals for help (8.134–41):

> Dardanus, Īliacae prīmus pater urbis et auctor,
> Ēlectra, ut Grāī perhibent, **Atlantide** crētus,
> aduehitur Teucrōs; Ēlectram maximus **Atlās**
> ēdidit, aetheriōs umerō quī sustinet orbīs.
> uōbis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
> Cyllēnae gelidō conceptum uertice fūdit;
> at Maiam, audītīs sī quicquam crēdimus, **Atlās**,
> īdem **Atlās** generat caelī quī sīdera tollit.
>
> [Dardanus, the first father and founder of the city of Ilium, born (as Greeks recount) of Electra, daughter of **Atlas**, came to the Teucrians. The mightiest **Atlas** who sustains the heavenly spheres on his shoulder, sired Electra. Your ancestor is Mercury, whom fair Maia once conceived and gave birth to on the icy peak of Mt. Cyllene. But Maia, if we believe at all in what we have heard, **Atlas** brought forth, the same **Atlas**, who holds up the stars of heaven.]

252–253[a]: hīc prīmum paribus nītēns Cyllēnius ālīs | cōnstitit: a dynamic image combining stability and motion: Mercury first poises himself on his wings *paribus nītēns ... ālīs* before touching down, if only for a moment or a metrical foot: at the diaeresis after *cōnstitit* he is again on his way. The *ē* in *Cyllēnius* scans long since it represents an 'ēta' in Greek, which is naturally long: see e.g. *Odyssey* 24.1 Ἑρμῆς ... Κυλλ**ήν**ιος/ *Hermēs ... Kullēnios*. The name derives from his place of birth on top of Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil uses it only in this passage (thrice: see also 258 and 276), in what is a learned ('Alexandrian') joke, as *Aeneid* 8.138–41 (cited above) makes clear: Maia, daughter of Atlas, who got turned *into* an icy mountain, gave birth to her son *on* an icy mountain, and Mercury in *Aeneid* 4 pays a quick visit to his mountainous grandfather, with a brief touch-down on top of him. Grandfather and grandson thereby enact a deft contrast between (Titanic) fixity and (Olympian) mobility. For those not up on their mythological geography, Virgil kindly offers a pointer in [258]*mātern<u>ō</u> ueniēns <u>ab auō</u> Cyllēnia prōlēs*.

Though sent by his father, Mercury acknowledges the maternal side of his lineage through his flightpath and stepover.

253[b]–255: hinc tōtō praeceps sē corpor(e) ad undās | mīsit auī similis, quae circum līitora, circum | piscōsōs scopulōs humilis uolat aequora iuxtā: *praeceps* modifying the implied subject Mercury continues the 'headlong' theme (cf. [251]*praecipitant*) as part of a 'free-falling bullet' (*tōtō praeceps sē corpore*): he plunges himself downwards body and all, a bungee jumper without cord, *auī similis* 'similar to a bird' (*auī* is in the dat. and the antecedent of *quae*). The repetition of the preposition *circum* enacts the circling and swooping motion of the critter (*līitora* and *piscōsōs scopulōs* are virtual synonyms). Like *praeceps*, *humilis* (nom. f. sg. agreeing with *quae* = *auis*) is best taken adverbially and stands in antithesis to [240]*sublīmem*. *aequora iuxtā*: preposition in postposition.

Virgil is having fun with Lucretius 4.1020–22 *multī*, *dē montibus altīs* | *ut quī praecipitent ad terram corpore tōtō*, | *exterruntur* 'many are terrified with the notion that they are being hurled down to earth body and all from a lofty mountain', describing a typical nightmare of humans (= exactly what Mercury is doing for real, dropping down from Atlas; the 'nightmare' is reserved for Aeneas) while also reworking *Odyssey* 5.50–54. (Homer lacks the mountain stopover, even though—fun fact—the nymph Calypso whose island Hermes is heading to is Atlas' daughter (*Od*. 1.51–54) and is sometimes referred to as Ἀτλαντίς/*Atlantis*, that is 'daughter of Atlas': the nominative feminine patronymic of the Greek is identical to the genitive of Atlas' name, which Virgil is using twice (247, 248) just to make sure, in Latin):

> On to Pieria he stepped from the upper air, and swooped down upon the sea, and then sped over the wave like a bird, the cormorant, which hunting fish over the dread gulfs of the unresting sea wets its thick plumage in the brine. In such wise did Hermes ride upon the multitudinous waves.

> Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ·
> σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῦμα λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς,
> ὅς τε κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο
> ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσσων πυκινὰ πτερὰ δεύεται ἅλμῃ·
> τῷ ἴκελος πολέεσσιν ὀχήσατο κύμασιν Ἑρμῆς.

- *hinc* 'hence [sc. from Atlas]': Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβὰς 'stepping on Pieria'
- *tōtō ... corpore* 'with his whole body': no equivalent
- *praeceps* 'sheer down': no equivalent
- *sē ... mīsit* 'he sent himself': ἔμπεσε 'he dropped down'
- *ad undās* 'to the waves': πόντῳ 'upon the sea' and σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῦμα 'he then sped over the wave'
- *auī similis* 'like a bird': ~~λάρῳ~~ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς 'like a bird, ~~the cormorant~~'
- *quae* 'which': ὅς 'which'
- *circum lītora, circum piscōsōs scopulōs* 'round the shores, round the fish-haunted cliffs': τε κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο | ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσσων 'hunting fish over the dread gulfs of the unresting sea'
- *humilis uolat aequora iuxtā* 'flies low near the water': πυκινὰ πτερὰ δεύεται ἅλμῃ 'wets its thick plumage in the brine'
- *haud aliter* 'even thus': τῷ ἴκελος 'even thus'

Which word-picture is more successful? Homer adds ornithological interest by identifying the avian species; the reference to hunting fish (and cormorants are notoriously greedy) introduces purpose into its flight, and the spraying of the wings with brine adds a bracing note of excitement. In contrast, Virgil's unidentified fowl seems to circulate aimlessly: it is unclear why it is skirting the waves, though the attribute of the cliffs (255*piscōsōs*) at least hints at hunting: these are good grounds for fishing. For etymological reasons, 255*humilis* (from *humus* 'earth') strikes an odd note with 255*aequora iuxtā*, even though it correlates well and antithetically with 240*sublīmem*. Where Virgil arguably has the edge is the bold image of Hermes hurling himself headlong down towards the sea 253b*praeceps sē ... mīsit*, though ἔμπεσε πόντῳ '...he dropped down upon the sea' is also dramatic. In terms of ornamentation, Virgil's lines for once are pretty flat: sure, there is the repetition of 244*circum*, conveying a sense of ceaseless circling, but overall that isn't a patch on Homer's deft handling of alliteration—see in particular κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο 'over the dread gulfs of the unresting sea', where the depth

of the sea is further emphasized by the rhymes δεινοὺς κόλπους and (alliterated) πυκινὰ πτερὰ 'thick plumage' as well as the grand chiastic design that concludes the simile: a[1]: τῷ 'to it' ἴκελος 'equal', modifying Hermes – b[1]: πολέεσσιν 'many', modifying waves – c: ὀχήσατο 'went over', the verb taking Hermes as subject – b[2]: κύμασιν 'the waves' – a[2]: Ἑρμῆς 'Hermes'. But there is Virgil's cheeky intertextual enrichment of the Homeric model with material from Lucretius: it includes the psychology of (mountaineering) dreams, invites thought on the difference between mortals and immortals, and helps to anticipate the nightmarish epiphany that Aeneas is about to experience.

256–258: haud aliter terrās inter caelumque uolābat | [257]**līt**us **harēnōs**(**um**) **ad Libyae, uentōsque secābat** | [258]**māternō ueniēns ab auō Cyllēnia prōlēs:** like Homer, Virgil concludes his description with the god in the nominative, but unlike Homer he uses a learned paraphrase: [258]*Cyllēnia prōlēs* (= Mercury) corresponds to Ἑρμῆς ('Hermes') at *Odyssey* 5.53, also at line-end. The verbs are [256]*uolābat* and [257]*secābat* (imperfect: durative), linked by *-que* after *uentōs*. *inter* again does its meaning proud, sitting snugly between the two nouns it governs (*terrās ... caelumque*) and 'evoking the etymology of "Mercurius" as *medium currēns* (cf. Varro, fr. 138 Funaioli)': Fratantuono–Smith (435). The preposition *ad*, which governs the acc. phrase *lītus harēnōsum*, is in striking postpositive position, perhaps enacting the helter-skelter speed with which Mercury is arriving at his destination. The *māternō ... auō* is Atlas, the father of Maia, mother of Mercury. For *Cyllēnia*, see above 366.

259–261[a]: ut prīm(**um**) **ālātīs tetigit māgālia plantīs,** | [260]**Aenēān fundant**(**em**) **arcēs ac tēcta nouantem** | [261a]**cōnspicit:** the lines capture what Mercury sees 'as soon as' (*ut prīmum*) he touches down in Carthage. The correlation of [260]*Aenēān* and [261]*cōnspicit* at the beginning of two successive lines underscores the moment, further dramatized by the enjambment of *cōnspicit* and the diaeresis thereafter. The verb follows suddenly upon the heavily spondaic line 260, which labours just as much as Aeneas: our proto-Roman hero is laying the foundations of Carthage. The present participles [260]*fundantem* and [260]*nouantem*, which form a chiasmus with their acc. objects (*arcēs*, *tēcta*), capture Aeneas' misplaced energies: far from lording it over Dido as *dominus*, as Iarbas supposes, he is doing her work. (The following lines show that he is amply rewarded for his efforts.)

After [246]*cernit*, Virgil switched to the past tense, first the perfect ([253]*cōnstitit*; [255]*mīsit*, both placed dramatically at the beginning of a verse), then, to emphasize the duration of the flight, the imperfect ([256]*uolēbat*; [257]*secābat*, both placed soothingly at the end of a verse). Now he is back to the present. [261]*cōnspicit* recalls both [246]*cernit* in terms of semantics and [253]*cōnstitit* by way of alliteration and assonance, scansion, and placement in the verse.

[259]*māgālia* (acc. n. pl., object of *tetigit*): Virgil already mentioned *māgālia* at 1.421–22; but in this earlier passage they have disappeared by the time of Aeneas' arrival: *mīrātur mōlem Aenēās*, <u>*māgālia quondam*</u>, | *mīrātur portās strepitumque et strāta uiārum* 'Aeneas marvels at the massive buildings, <u>mere huts *once*</u>; marvels at the gates, the din and paved high-roads'. What precisely these buildings are is not entirely clear. Here is Pease (260–61): 'North African huts, of lowly and temporary character'—here, specifically, 'the first rude and hasty dwellings of the immigrants, not yet replaced by the newer houses which are in the next line represented as under construction.' Compare Briscoe (2012: 144): 'suburban buildings', with reference to a fragment from Cassius Hemina (fr. 6 F 39 Cornell) cited by Servius Auctus in his commentary on *Aeneid* 1.421. He notes that 'the word is clearly related to *mapalia*, a Punic word for Numidian huts; cf. *TLL* viii. 369–70'. The progression from *māgālia* to *mōlēs* in *Aeneid* 1 can be read as part of a programmatic assimilation of Carthage to Rome (most prominently in [1.426]*iūra magistrātūsque legunt sānctumque senātum* 'they choose laws, magistrates, and a sacred senate'). Cf. Reed (2007: 88): 'The very wording insinuates an ethnic assimilation: the settlement, "once mere huts" (*magalia*, aptly using a word the Romans knew was originally Punic), is now a wonderful *moles* (like the great *moles* that describes the founding of Rome at 1.33?).' (It is possible, of course, that Aeneas is projecting here, seeing what he wants to see, imagining the future of his own city: cf. 1.437 (Aeneas speaking) '*ō fortūnatī, quōrum iam moenia surgunt!*' 'Happy they whose walls already rise!'—he is not the most reliable of gazers.) What are we to make of the reappearance of *māgālia* here? It almost looks if Aeneas' company has not only arrested but reversed Dido's building project, and that instead of assimilating Carthage to Rome (as in Book 1), Virgil is here assimilating Aeneas to Dido and the Carthaginians (in turn differentiating Rome and Carthage): he is heading in the 'wrong' direction... See further Giusti (2018) and —> ***TD*** Giusti.

261[b]–264: atqu(e) illī stellātus iaspide fuluā | [262]**ēnsis erat, Tyriōqu(e) ārdēbat mūrice laena** | [263]**dēmiss(a) ex umerīs, dīues quae mūnera Dīdō** | [264]**fēcerat, et tenuī tēlās discrēuerat aurō:** *illī* is dat. of possession. *-que* after *Tyriō* links *erat* (subject: *ēnsis*) and *ārdēbat* (subject: *laena*). After the initial focus on Aeneas' activity, we get a detailed look at his ornate apparel, specifically an ornamental sword (*ēnsis*) and a brightly coloured woollen cloak (*laena*). *ēnsis* is modified by the participle *stellātus*, which in turn governs the abl. *iaspide fuluā* (*iaspis*, *iaspidis*, f. is jasper, a loanword in Latin; more generally, *ia* with vocalic *i-a*, as in *Iarbās*, sounds foreign to Roman ears). *laena* is modified by the participle [263]*dēmissa*: placed in enjambment, it enacts the way the coat is hanging down from Aeneas' shoulders. Both the sword and the cloak are gifts of Dido's, the latter self-made: [263]*mūnera*, which is the antecedent of *quae* (acc. n. pl.) but has been incorporated into the relative clause, stands in apposition to [262]*laena* ('the coat was glowing, a gift, which...'). Conversely, [263]*dīues* is placed in front of the relative clause into which it belongs: it modifies *Dīdō* in alliterative paronomasia. To make it blaze in unison with the orange-red colours of the sword, Dido had interwoven (*discrēuerat*) the dyed fabric (*tēlās*) of the cloak with finely spun gold (*tenuī ... aurō*). *et tenuī tēlās discrēuerat aurō* continues the relative clause, though with a change in construction: the (understood) relative pronoun has shifted from acc. to gen. ('and whose fabric...'). A sword studded with precious gems and a purple cloak shot through with threads of gold are items designed for ostentatious display rather than everyday use: that Aeneas wears them while building the city would seem to suggest that he oversees the building efforts rather than getting his own hands dirty in the trenches.

[262]*ēnsis*: a poetically elevated word for 'sword'—see also 507, 579, 646, 664. Virgil uses it sixty-three times in the *Aeneid*, compared to five instances of the prosaic *gladius* (none in *Aeneid* 4). See Silk (2025): 'Surface elevation tends to involve conventional stylisation. It may mean verse words – vocabulary that is actually, or largely, restricted to verse – which, in fact, usually means inherited archaisms. "Sword" in Virgil is liable to be the verse-word *ēnsis*, rather than the ordinary *gladius* (though he uses that, occasionally, too).' For the sword-motif in *Aeneid* 4, see further Basto (1984).

[262]*Tyriōque ... mūrice*: the *mūrex* is the sea snail from which purple dye was extracted; the best and most expensive variant came from the snails whose habitat was Dido's native Tyre in Phoenicia. See above 300.

[262]*laena*: a thick woollen cloak. Depending on the design, it could be used in a military context or for representational purposes. Here it is clearly a luxury item that assimilates Aeneas to Dionysus (and Antony): 'luxurious robes dyed crimson or yellow and trailing down to the feet are thoroughly typical of Dionysus and so figure repeatedly in descriptions of the god', as well as the Roman who went East and promoted himself as Dionysus reborn, Mark Antony (Weber 2002: 337–38; cf. Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, one of Shakespeare's primary sources for his *Antony and Cleopatra*).

The cloak will reappear at 11.72–75, as one of the garments Aeneas uses to cover the corpse of his protegee Pallas, the son of Evander, in one of the more striking intratextual links in the poem:

> tum geminās uestīs aurōque ostrōque rigentīs
> extulit Aenēās, quās illī laeta labōrum
> ipsa suīs quondam manibus Sīdōnia Dīdō
> fēcerat et tenuī tēlās discrēuerat aurō.
>
> [Then Aeneas brought forth two garments stiff with gold and purple, which Sidonian Dido, glad of the labour, had once made for him herself with her own hands, interweaving the web with fine gold.]

The death of Pallas fulfils part of the curse Dido utters before her suicide where she wishes upon Aeneas the sight of the shocking deaths of his friends ([617–18]*uideatque indigna suōrum | fūnera*). That Dido's garments should reappear in this moment of utter despair hints at the efficaciousness of her imprecation. On the *laena* (and its wider cultural associations), see further Morgan (2020).

265–278: The Homeric model for Mercury's speech is Hermes' exchange with Calypso in *Odyssey* 5.76–148. He delivers orders to the nymph to send the hero on his way. There is, then, a shift in addressee from the clinging host in Homer to the lingering guest in Virgil. (One could have imagined a divine messenger appearing to Dido, but she is cut

off from communication with Olympian divinities and will later doubt that Aeneas has been the beneficiary of a genuine theophany: 379–80.) Mercury displays notable independence in his address to Aeneas: far from repeating Jupiter's discourse word for word (as some messenger figures in Homer are wont to do), he gives his speech an idiosyncratic spin. In part, he is reacting to what he encounters in Carthage. Far from being idle, as *Fāma* had it, Aeneas is hard at work at building a city, just not the one he is supposed to. After taking in the proceedings in 259–64, Mercury bursts into speech (and Aeneas' sight) in 265–76[a], before abruptly disappearing in 276[b]–78.

265[a]: continu(ō) inuādit: Mercury displays startling decisiveness. Without hesitation (*continuō*) he attacks (*inuādit*), if with words: shock at what he sees triggers his confrontational demeanour. Virgil does not even comment on the fact that a theophany has occurred, though he will remark on Mercury's disappearance (276–78).

265[b]–267: 'Tū nunc Karthāginis altae | [266]fundāmenta locās, pulchramqu(e) uxōrius urbem | [267]exstruis, heu rēgnī rērumqu(e) oblīte tuārum?: Pease (264) cites the insightful comment of Servius Auctus on the first two words of this sentence: '*tū*' *inuectiō est, et* '*nunc,*' *id est, hōc tempore, quō tibi nāuigandum uel prō tuā spē labōrandum est* '"*tū*" is an invective attack, and "*nunc*" means "at the very moment when you ought to be sailing or exerting yourself on behalf of your own future"'. *Karthāginis altae* | *fundāmenta*: the placement of *fundāmenta* in the line under 'high' Carthage mirrors the architecture in the verse design.

[267]*exstruis*: linked to [266]*locās* via the *-que* after the highly ironic *pulchram*, the verb reinforces the sarcastic abuse: 'a nice city you are building here!'

[267]*oblīte*: the vocative form of the m. sg. perf. part. of *oblīuīscor* (*oblītus*); it governs the two objective genitives *rēgnī* and *rērum ... tuārum*. Mercury here reuses the idiom from 221, where Jupiter's eyes fall on the two love birds who had forgotten about their reputation (*oblītōs fāmae meliōris amantīs*).

[266]*uxōrius*: 'too much beholden to a woman/wife'. A passage in Dio Cassius (cf. Syed 2004: 188, cited by O'Hara: 49) suggests that accusations of enslavement to a foreign woman formed an important theme in

Octavian's propaganda warfare against Mark Antony and Cleopatra in the run-up to the battle at Actium in 31 BCE (50.26.5–27.1):

> ... but being a slave to that woman, he undertakes the war and its self-chosen dangers on her behalf against us and against his country. In view of all this, what is left to us but the duty of fighting him, together with Cleopatra, and repelling him? Therefore let no one count him a Roman, but rather an Egyptian, nor call him Antony, but rather Serapion.

Mercury, in other words, joins in the ethnic abuse that Aeneas suffers from several other characters in the poem (notably Iarbas and Turnus), who cast him as an effeminate 'Eastern' dandy. In contrast to the human characters, however, who believe they have pinpointed 'the essence' of Aeneas, Mercury knows that his current condition is a momentary aberration: he has slipped into 'un-Roman' behavioural patterns, prefiguring in myth the historical liaison between Mark Antony and another African Queen, Cleopatra. This wider horizon endows Mercury's wake-up call with special urgency: Aeneas, the ancestor of Octavian, is running the danger of turning into a prototype of Mark Antony.

268–270: ipse deum tibi mē clārō dēmittit Olympō | [269]**rēgnātor, cael(um) ac terrās quī nūmine torquet,** | [270]**ips(e) haec ferre iubet celerīs mandāta per aurās:** after giving Aeneas his own treatment, Mercury states why he has come in the first place: Jupiter sent him. The sequence [268]*ipse* – [269]*rēgnātor* – [270]*ipse* at the beginning of the three verses is a quasi-hymnic design reinforced by massive hyperbaton *deum* (= *deōrum*) ... *rēgnātor* (the noun on which the objective genitive depends). *rēgnātor* is also the antecedent of the relative pronoun *quī* in postpositive position and is etymologically related to [267]*rēgnum*: Mercury obliquely hints at the affinity of Aeneas and Jupiter, as prospective and present rulers of empire and cosmos. *caelum ac terrās quī nūmine torquet* continues the cosmic imagery of [247]*caelum quī uertice fulcit* (Atlas) and [256]*terrās inter caelumque uolābat* (Mercury), but now with reference to the Boss (cf. [220]*oculōs ... torsit*). *iubet* introduces an indirect statement: the implied subject acc. is *mē* (easily supplied from the previous clause in which *mē* is the direct obj. of *dēmittit*), the infinitive *ferre*, taking *haec ... mandāta* as acc. object. The noun *mandāta* harks back to [222]*ac tālia mandat*, reinforcing the (erroneous) impression that Mercury has just delivered a *verbatim* message from Jupiter. The phrasing *celerīs ...*

per aurās generates a similar effect: it harks back to [226]*et celerīs dēfer mea dicta per aurās* (Jupiter speaking). But the switch from compound verb [226]*dēfer* to simple [270]*ferre* and the elegant adjustment of [226]*mea dicta* to [270]*mandāta* gives the game away even here: Mercury does not consider Jupiter's words unalterable gospel.

271[a]: quid struis?: Jupiter's question precisely: [235]*quid struit?*

271[b]: aut quā spē Libycīs teris ōtia terrīs?: *teris* is the 2nd pers. sg. ind. pres. act. of *terō*. Mercury's question features a mocking homoioteleuton *Libycīs – terīs – terrīs*, with the last two items also featuring an alliterative paronomasia plus *figūra etymologica*: see Varro, *Dē Linguā Latīnā* 5.4.21 *Terra dicta ab eō, ut Aelius scrībit, quod teritur. itaque tera in augurum librīs scrīpta cum R ūnō* 'Terra is called like this, according to Aelius, because it is trodden upon. This is why in the books of the augurs *tera* is written with one R only'. The basic meaning of *ōtium*, here in the acc. pl. (*ōtia*), is 'leisure'. It is a personal touch of Mercury's. In recasting Jupiter's speech ([235]*aut quā spē inimīcā in gente morātur?*), he suppresses the anticipation of future historical hostilities between Rome and Carthage and disregards that Aeneas is busy at work building up Carthage. The sense of *ōtia* here is thus probably akin to 'idling away time better spent on advancing your own mission'. That Mercury suppresses Punic hostility is apt: after all, in Book 1, he descended to make the Carthaginians kindly disposed towards Aeneas and his followers (297–304); if he does not know that Jupiter is thinking about the future, he may well have considered the label *gēns inimīca* incomprehensible or even insulting (as if dad did not trust him to have done his job well).

272–276[a]: sī tē nūlla mouet tantārum glōria rērum, | [273]nec super ipse tuā mōlīris laude labōrem, | [274]Ascanium surgent(em) et spēs hērēdis Iūlī | [275]respice, cui rēgn(um) Ītaliae Rōmānaque tellūs | [276a]dēbētur.': the final part of Mercury's speech remains close to Jupiter's wording and ideas with significant alterations in the level of detail:

- [232]*sī nūlla accendit tantārum glōria rērum* > [272]*sī tē nūlla mouet tantārum glōria rērum*
- [233]*nec super ipse suā mōlītur laude labōrem* > [273]*nec super ipse tuā mōlīris laude labōrem* [most editors and commentators consider this line an interpolation]

- [234]*Ascaniōne pater Rōmānās inuidet arcēs?* and [236]*nec ... Lāuīnia respicit arua?* > [274–76]*Ascanium surgentem ... | respice, cui rēgnum Ītaliae Rōmānaque tellūs | dēbētur*.

Specifically, Mercury drops Jupiter's invidious (and unwarranted?) speculations about the psychology behind Aeneas' dallying with Dido (resentment over his son's future career in Italy) and takes exactly the opposite approach: he presents the filial prospects and ambitions of his son as a prime motivating factor (in the phrase *spēs hērēdis Iūlī* the genitive can be read as subjective, referring to the hopes Iulus himself harbours, or objective, referring to the hopes others have invested in him). The placement of *Ascanium* and *Iūlī* at the beginning and end of the line respectively hints at the temporal development: Ascanius as Iulus will fully come into his own in Italy. These departures from his father's script also enable Mercury to streamline Jupiter's rhetorical questions (*inuidet? respicit?*) into one imperative: *respice!* Overall, Mercury's version is more economical and to the point: in the main clause, we get two sturdy phrases as acc. objects (*Ascanium surgentem*, *spēs hērēdis Iūlī*) followed by the verb (*respice*) in enjambment, attached to which is a relative clause that repeats this pattern with slight variation: *rēgnum Ītaliae* and *Rōmāna tellūs* are two resonant and compact subjects (the chiastic placement of the geographical indicators reproduces the stylistic effect of Jupiter's [236]*prōlem Ausoniam* and *Lāuīnia ... arua*), whereas the verb (*dēbētur*) is again placed in enjambment. Mercury thereby neatly turns Jupiter's somewhat idle rhetorical questions into a powerful image of the future and a command. What he leaves out, though, is the concluding order ([237]*nāuiget!*), thus depriving Jupiter's order of urgency (and ultimately necessitating a second intervention).

276[b]–278: tālī Cyllēnius ōre locūtus | mortālīs uīsūs mediō sermōne relīquit | et procul in tenu(em) ex oculīs ēuānuit auram: an elaborate account of Mercury's exit, starting with the matronymic *Cyllēnius* 'the Cyllenian' and the ornate *tālī ... ōre locūtus*, literally 'having spoken with such an utterance/face' (the basic meaning of *ōs*, *ōris* n. is 'mouth', but it can also refer to the manner of speaking (*OLD* 4a/b), the content of an utterance (*OLD* 4c), the facial expression during delivery (*OLD* 8a), or it can mean 'command of countenance, assurance' (*OLD* 8b). During his performance, Mercury must have presented a face terrible

to behold. If the speech was high drama, it ends straightforwardly, also in terms of syntax: *mortālīs uīsūs mediō sermōne relīquit* = adj. + noun (acc. obj.), adj. + noun (abl. of time), verb. Mercury's is indeed a *sermō interruptus*: as noted, he does not even pass on Jupiter's command to set sail ([237]*nāuiget!*). *mediō*, here as elsewhere, is placed in the middle of the verse. Virgil then reiterates the god's vanishing act in theme and variation: 'The completeness of Mercury's disappearance is shown by the piling-up of *procul*, *ex oculīs*, *in auram* (*tenuem*, "insubstantial", though a conventional epithet, adds to the effect of mysterious evanescence). The elision after *tenuem* is subtle: the syllable vanishes, just as the god does' (Austin: 91). Mercury materializes out of nowhere and re-vanishes into thin air: no wonder Aeneas is in shock.

279–295: Back to the Future

As Hardie (2009: 78) notes, 'the effect of Mercury's first message on Aeneas had been similar in its incendiary emotional effects to the effect of *Fāma*'s words on Iarbas'—as well as, one may add, to the effect of *Fāma*'s words on Dido (see below, 298–301). Aeneas too has now lost his mind: he is [279]*āmēns* and on fire ([281]*ārdet*), two pathological conditions that also characterize 'Dido in love'. The section falls into unequal parts:

279–282: First reactions.
283–287: Aeneas ponders possibilities.
288–294[a]: Aeneas summons his men and issues instructions.
294[b]–295: His men gladly obey.

Some stylistic features cut across sections, such as the striking *a*-alliteration (most words come at the beginning of the line): [279]***A**t* (followed by ***A**enēās*, ***a**spectū*, and ***ā**mēns*, to set the tone); [280]***a**rrēctaeque*; [281]***ā**rdet **a**bīre*; [282]***a**ttonitus*; [283]*heu quid **a**gat?* (as well as ***a**mbīre*); [284]***a**udeat **a**dfātū?*; [285]***a**tque **a**nimum*. For a full seven lines, Virgil maintains the image of Aeneas silently screaming *Ahhhhh!*, while various thoughts rush through his head (summed up in 285–86, when the sequence of verses starting with *a-* comes to an end). The exception at [283]*heu quid agat?* announces the transition from shock to thought. There is a touch of closure to the pattern in the rhyming line endings [283]*sūmat* and [285]*uersat*.

279–280: at uēr(ō) Aenēās aspect(ū) obmūtuit āmēns, | arrēctaequ(e) horrōre com(ae), et uōx faucibus haesit: Aeneas' reaction to the theophany consists in a tricolon's worth of symptoms: he is speechless (*obmūtuit*), his hair stands on end (*arrēctae* [sc. *sunt*] ... *comae*), and his tongue is stuck in his throat (*haesit*). Alliterations and elisions underscore the vivid if formulaic image: cf. 2.774 (= 3.48) *obstipuī steteruntque comae et uōx faucibus haesit* and 12.868, which is identical to 280. Commentators play down the full force of the attribute *āmēns*:

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'bewildered rather than frenzied, as noted by Conington' (Pease: 268). Yet there is a striking sequence from Iarbas (203*āmēns animī*) via Aeneas here to Dido just below (300*saeuit inops animī*), in which characters lose their rational faculties in response to divine news from *Fāma* (Iarbas, Dido) or Mercury (Aeneas). Aeneas' is the most muted response, but 'bewildered' does not quite capture his state of holy horror (280*horrōre*) that overpowers the reasoning part (*mēns*) of his brain.

281–282: ārdet abīre fugā dulcīsque relinquere terrās, | attonitus tantō monit(ū) imperiōque deōrum: *dulcīs ... terrās*, as a periphrasis of Carthage, makes it clear that Aeneas enjoyed himself during his R&R in Carthage: there is a striking tension between his pleasurable experience and his desire to abscond (cf. *fugā*). The design of the massive and momentous *tantō monitū imperiōque deōrum* is chiastic and climactic: Aeneas is left in no doubt, this admonition (*monitū*) amounts to an order (*imperiō*); the assonance *attonitus tantō monitū* beats the message in. The awkward notion of receiving an 'order to flee', which amounts to a contradiction in terms (obeying an *imperium deōrum* has positive connotations; absconding in flight is shameful), revisits the paradox that defines Aeneas from the outset: he is 1,2*fātō profugus* 'exiled by fate'. What looks like running away is a command to move history forward. The problem of a hero turning his heel is particularly acute in Book 2, where Aeneas does his excruciating best to explain and justify why he left his native Troy in a moment of need (Powell 2011). He is far less eloquent with Dido and much more eager to flee (a.k.a. 'to follow fate') in Book 4: his attachment to Dido is rather more superficial than his devotion to Troy.

283–284: heu quid agat? quō nunc rēgīn(am) ambīre furentem | audeat adfātū? quae prīm(a) exordia sūmat?: *agat*, *audeat*, and *sūmat* are indirect deliberative subjunctives: the poet—hence indirect (direct deliberative subjunctives would be in the first person: *quid agam?* etc.)—is describing the deliberations that pass through the mind of his character. The hyperbaton *quō ... adfātū*, enhanced by enjambment, is as gigantic as Aeneas' aporia and embarrassment are excruciating. Aeneas already knows what the outcome of the encounter will be: Dido will 'make a scene', 'fly off the handle' or, indeed, 'go crazy' (*furentem*). He is not far off the mark: primed by *Fāma*, Dido becomes 298*furēns*. *ambīre* means, literally, 'to go around, to surround', 'to approach', but is also a technical term for 'going around and canvassing (or, indeed, buying)

support before elections'. The Romans had laws *dē ambitū*, designed to punish excessive use of this practice. Some readers have therefore felt that Virgil's use of the term here is meant to present his hero in an unfavourable light. Others disagree, such as Austin (93): 'literally, "to canvass", a good word here, but Page is wrong in thinking that it "hints at cunning and treachery"; the sense of pleading or persuading is uppermost.' O'Hara (51) reverts to Page's view, taking it for granted that *ambīre* 'hints at cunning and treachery'. Whatever the precise semantic charge, Aeneas is thinking of ways to get Dido to see matters from his point of view, knowing full well that he is embarking upon a mission impossible. There are no words... that will wash.

[283]*heu*, *quid agat*: the phrase recurs at 12.486–87, in a similar situation of difficult decision-making: *heu quid agat? uariō nēquīquam fluctuat aestū*, | *dīuersaeque uocant animum in contrāria cūrae* 'Alas, what is he to do? Vainly he tosses on a shifting tide, and conflicting cares call his mind this way and that'. Cf. Tarrant (2012: 216): 'Although such moments blur the distinction between narrator and character, this exclamation ... seems more an expression of A.'s frustration than a show of sympathy from the narrator.'

285–286: atqu(e) animum nunc hūc celerem, nunc dīuidit illūc | in partīsque rapit uariās perqu(e) omnia uersat: the word order in the tricolon *dīuidit*, *rapit*, *uersat* mimics the frantic thoughts rushing through Aeneas' mind. *-que* after *partīs* links *dīuidit* and *rapit*, though *in* goes with *partīs*; the *-que* after *per* links *rapit* and *uersat*. As opposed to the very specific [285]*nunc hūc – nunc ... illūc*, 286 contains two more comprehensive expressions, both split apart: *in partīs ... uariās* and *per ... omnia*. Division also reigns elsewhere: *nunc hūc* 'separates' *animum* from its attribute *celerem* (here used instead of the adv.) just as *dīuidit* splits *nunc* and *illūc*. The systematic separations of words that go together enacts Aeneas' mind in motion.

287: haec alternantī potior sententia uīsa (e)st: *alternantī* is pres. act. part. of *alternāre* ('to oscillate') in the dat., modifying an implied *eī*, dependent on *uīsa est*: 'to him, as he was oscillating [one could imagine mentally supplying an accusative object such as *sententiās*, i.e. between 'alternatives'], this seemed the better course of action'. What are the alternatives? His subsequent instructions to his men make it clear that Aeneas ponders whether he should (a) just approach Dido, come clean,

and try to reason with her (cf. *ambīre*); or (b) do this, but not before telling his men to get everything ready for an immediate departure. He opts for the latter course of action, though as it turns out he never gets the chance to break the news to Dido: she cottons on to what is afoot first.

288–294: Virgil devotes 13.5 feet to the orders Aeneas gives to his men, but 20.5 feet to his ruminations of how best to break the news to Dido: preparing to be off is straightforward; telling Dido about it is not.

288: Mnēsthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum: *Mnēsthea* is a Greek acc. form (Latin would be *Mnēstheum*). Austin (94) draws attention to the 'internal or "leonine" rhyme' *Sergestum* ~ *Serestum*. Prosopographical details for the names include:

- Mnēstheus: 'Mnēstheus is the most frequently mentioned of Aeneas's lieutenants (23 times as compared with 21 for Achates), but has the rather shadowy personality of all such satellites' (Pease: 272). He was the legendary Trojan ancestor of the family-clan (*gēns*) of the *Memmiī*. Members include Lucius Memmius, who in 106 coined a denarius that depicted Venus as charioteer accompanied by a flying Cupid, in allusion to his Trojan ancestry (https://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-349.1?lang=it/1000; Crawford 1974: 320–21); and Gaius Memmius (praetor 58), the friend and patron of Catullus and Lucretius and dedicatee of *Dē Rērum Nātūrā*, which opens not coincidentally with an invocation of Venus as the mother of the Romans conceived as a Trojan ethnos ([1.1–2]*Aeneadum genetrix*, *hominum dīuumque uoluptās*, | *alma Venus* ... 'Mother of the Aeneadae, source of pleasure for humans and gods, nourishing Venus...'). See further Morgan (2018a).
- Sergestus: 'a member of the deputation to Dido (1, 510), commander in the regatta [in *Aeneid* 5] of the ship Centaurus (5, 121–122), which ran aground (5, 204; 5, 221–222)' (Pease: 273). At 5.121, Virgil reminds his readers that Sergestus was the legendary Trojan ancestor of the *gēns Sergia* (*domus tenet ā quō Sergia nōmen*): her most notorious member was none other than L. Sergius Catilina, the conspirator Catiline, but the *gēns* did also produce illustrious members. See Pliny, *Natural History* 7.104, on M. Sergius in particular: he was twice captured by Hannibal and

twice able to flee, and he lost his right hand on campaign but kept fighting with his left hand four times until he had equipped himself with an iron prosthesis and was all in all wounded twenty-three times. (I owe the reference to John Henderson.)

- Serestus: 'thrice (9, 171 = 9, 779 = 12, 549) described as *acer* and coupled with Mnēstheus (with whom he is also linked here and in 12, 561). He participated in the deputation to Dido (1, 611), commanded a ship (5, 487), set up a trophy (10, 541), and occasionally appeared in other connections' (Pease: 273).

For the significance of this verse (and its catalogue of names) within the *Aeneid* as a whole, see Henderson (*per litterās*):

> "Mnestheus" presumably "comes to mind" when Aeneas is "mindful" of his men – given the connection with Greek *mnaomai* ['to remember']. Saying the name out loud makes him and us "recall" the flowery [a Greek word for flower is *anthos*] *Aeneid* 1.510: **Anthea** *Sergestumque* uidet **fortemque** Clo**anthum** AND its repetitious rhyme 1.611–12, ... *Serestum* |, ... ***fortemque*** Gyan ***fortemque*** Cloanthum. And this gets him and us back to where we were before winter off-duty "up the Nile with Cleo" [sc. Cleopatra, as the contemporary equivalent to Dido], and all those nights of talk and heat. The names here stand as a synecdochic recall of both those roll calls, as well as prequels for all their later exploits, all the way to the repeat line(-up) of 12.561 *Mnēsthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum* (where we are called to remember back to *Aeneid* 4 where they came in, in readiness to wipe out another city, not Dido's Carthage but the civilian population of an Italian town, along with even its name...).

289–291[a]: class(em) aptent tacitī sociōsqu(e) ad līitora cōgant, | [290]**arma parent et, quae rēbus sit causa nouandīs,** | [291a]**dissimulent**: Aeneas' order to his comrades includes four parts: *aptent*, *cōgant* (linked by the *-que* after *sociōs*), *parent* (in asyndetic sequence), and *dissimulent* (linked to *parent* by [290]*et*). They are all in the (indirect) jussive subjunctive (matching the indirect *deliberative* subjunctives in 283–84), dependent on an implied verb of command. The four prongs of Aeneas' order operate at two levels: the first three concern the practical things the men should get underway; Aeneas uses straightforward disyllabic words, without particular emphasis. The fourth stands out: *dissimulent* specifies the way in which they should go about their business and implies deceit, following up on *tacitī* (adj. in place of adv.). The verb has twice as many syllables as the other three and is profiled by enjambment, reinforced

by metrical shape (a choriamb) and caesura. [290]*arma* has the double meaning of 'gear' and 'weapons'; Aeneas refers to the former, but the latter may resonate as well. [290]*quae* introduces an indirect question (hence the subjunctive *sit*) dependent on *dissimulent*. [290]*rēbus ... nouandīs*: 'for the radical change in affairs' (a gerundive in the dat.); the phrase *rēs nouāre* 'to alter circumstances radically' recalls the collocation *rēs nouae*, which did not possess a positive ring in ancient Rome. It meant 'revolution': the destruction of the received socio-political order. The radical touch is appropriate: Aeneas' about-face causes Dido's world to collapse. As [292]*tantōs rumpī nōn spēret amōrēs* makes clear, nothing in his behaviour towards Dido hinted at imminent departure, much less headlong flight; everything pointed to a permanent union. What Aeneas plans, in other words, is a 180º turnaround, out of the blue—and he knows it.

The lines have given rise to different readings, some more favourable to Aeneas than others. Here, for instance, is Horsfall (1995: 131): 'the balance of 291 shows that this secrecy is not so much aimed at Dido as (unsuccessfully) at town gossip (cf. 296f.). Aeneas himself, since *optima Dido* ... has no idea of what is up, will try to find the right moment to break the news (293–4)'. This interpretation brings out well how Aeneas presents his plans to his men. But we may wonder whether Virgil's ethopoiea is as innocuous as that—does using a verb that implies dissimulation not highlight an inherent ambiguity in Aeneas' behaviour toward Dido? Sure, he tells his mates that he will approach her when the moment is right; but what would a right moment look like? And would Aeneas have found it? His plan anyway goes awry: Dido, so *Fāma* ensures, gets wind of events, quite apart from the fact that Aeneas turns out to be naive in his assumption that she harbours no suspicion (see below on 296–98). Moreover, [296]*dolōs* is most naturally taken as an *authorial* comment on Aeneas' plans for departure, so irrespective of his intention to wait for an opportune moment to break the news gently, he is tainted with treachery. As one would expect, Dido, in her address, begins by charging him with, precisely, dissimulation (305–6), to which Aeneas responds briefly, denying the charge: [337–38]*neque ego hanc abscondere fūrtō | spērāuī* (*nē finge*) *fugam*: 'I did not hope—don't imagine it! —to conceal this flight in stealth'. He is disarmingly—or callously—honest, conceding that his departure is a flight (a frank assessment of the situation and his own perception of it, as [281]*ārdet abīre fugā* makes clear) but denying that he wanted to depart in secret (also true, in light of a literal reading of

291–94). The scenario he has in mind is to get everything *secretly* ready for an immediate departure, let Dido down easily, and then get out of dodge, in a peculiar mixture of strategic dissimulation (and careful planning) and genuine integrity of character. (In contemporary terms, Aeneas is not someone who would have broken up with his girlfriend by text; he would have dropped by at an opportune moment to end the relationship in person, though with a mate waiting outside in a car, with the motor running, heading for the highway.)

291[b]–294[a]: sēs(ē) intereā, quand(ō) optima Dīdō | nesciat et tantōs rumpī nōn spēret amōrēs, | temptātūr(um) aditūs, et quae mollissima fandī | tempora, quis rēbus dexter modus: Virgil continues in indirect speech (hence the subjunctives *nesciat* and *spēret* in the *quandō*-clause), but the implied verb switches from one of command to one of plain speech: Aeneas now tells his men what *he* plans to do while *they* get the fleet ready. *sēsē* is subject acc. and *temptātūrum* [sc. *esse*] the corresponding infinitive, separated from each other by a massive hyperbaton. *temptātūrum* takes a direct object (*aditūs*: acc. pl.) as well as two indirect questions, enumerated asyndetically: *quae mollissima fandī tempora* [sc. *sint*], *quis rēbus dexter modus* [sc. *sit*]. The hyperbaton and the elisions underscore Aeneas' sense of unease. (Ironically, his thoughts are reflected in Dido's plea to Anna at 421–23 to seek out Aeneas again to see whether anything can be done to change his mind: 'For that treacherous man befriended you alone, to you he confided even his secret thoughts; you alone know how to mooch up to the big guy at schmooze time': *sōla uirī mollīs aditūs et tempora nōrās*.)

Only at the end of the speech does Aeneas come clean with his mates: he has not yet told Dido, their host and his lover, that he is going to ditch her. Not that they care: as [295]*laetī* makes clear, they are only too glad to be off. His plan, however, has various flaws. First, he underestimates the powers of love in general ([296]*quis fallere possit amantem?*) and Dido's powers of premonition ([298]*omnia tūta timēns*). Secondly, he underestimates the talent of *Fāma* to pick up and disseminate sensational news (298–99). Thirdly and conversely, he vastly overestimates the ability of himself and his men to disguise their preparation for departure. What is Virgil telling us about his hero in emphasizing his lack of shrewdness?

[291b]*optima Dīdō*: '*Optima* is heart-breaking in its context; ... It means what it says, that Dido was all the world to him; it is one of the tiny revelations of Aeneas' true feelings, like *dulcīs terrās*, 281' (Austin: 94).

True, but we also get a hint of the line he will take later, the timeless 'look, it's me, not you—you are *optima* and all, and I love you dearly, but I got to find my own *fātum*'. The choice of the epithet thus focalizes not just Aeneas' 'true feelings' and his genuine dilemma but also issues of sincerity (or dishonesty). We may also wonder about Virgil's authorial strategy: Aeneas has been strangely absent from the narrative so far: we have seen him resplendent during the hunt, obliquely active in the cave, mentioned by *Fāma* and Iarbas, and hard at work building Carthage; but 'Aeneas the man' has remained elusive. We get no insight into the mind of the hero while the affair is on; Aeneas only re-enters the narrative when, for him, the affair is over. There is, then, a narrative gap that could presumably be filled with volumes.

[292]*tantōs rumpī nōn spēret amōrēs*: the design emphasizes *tantōs* by means of hyperbaton but ironically underscores that the love, however great, is shattered by way of the words that keep *tantōs* and *amōrēs* apart: *rumpī nōn spēret*.

[293]*fandī*: the genitive gerund of *for*, *fārī* 'to speak', a loaded verb, etymologically related to *fātum* and *fāma*. See Bettini (2008).

294[b]–295: ōcius omnēs | imperiō laetī pārent ac iussa facessunt: everyone instantly (*ōcius omnēs*, linked by alliteration) hustles to carry out the orders. There is no retarding [238]*pārēre parābat* (Mercury responding to Jupiter's orders) here. On the contrary: everyone seems overjoyed that Aeneas has finally come to his senses. As Austin (95) puts it: 'Note how uneasy Aeneas' men have plainly been in Carthage, and compare their simple alacrity with his worried indecision: *they* have no problems like his to complicate their little world.' The contrast between the leader and the led pervades the entire epic and often involves a related contrast between complexity and simplicity. Virgil consistently underscores the difficulty of being a leader. It involves cares and requires skills in decision-making (and decisiveness). The verses highlight that reaching a decision is much harder than carrying out an order. In Virgil's conception of leadership, dissimulation also plays a role: a good leader does not share every worry he has with his troops.

296–330: Caught in a One-Sided Good-Bye

Aeneas' well-laid plans come to naught: Dido catches on to his intentions and confronts him. Virgil leads up to the dramatic showdown with verses that explore the psychology of love and the cognitive potential of emotions. He also reintroduces the figure of *Fāma* and gives notice, via a simile, that the tragedy is about to start for real:

296–299: Dido has her intuition that Aeneas is about to leave confirmed by *Fāma.*
300–303: Dido rages through her city like a Maenad on Mt. Cithaeron.
304–330: Dido unleashes her rage at Aeneas in a desperate tirade.

Aeneas' emotional frenzy after the visit of Mercury is matched by Dido's unhinged state of mind when her biggest fear is about to turn into reality. But whereas Aeneas channels his emotions into calculated action, Virgil has Dido literally lose her mind before she verbally unleashes her rage on Aeneas, joining many a jilted lover from Greek myth, in particular the Medea of Euripides and the Ariadne of Catullus 64.

296–298[a]: at rēgīna dolōs (quis fallere possit amantem?) | praesēnsit mōtūsqu(e) excēpit prīma futūrōs, | omnia tūta timēns: the opening *at rēgīna* introduces the middle section of the book. It echoes [279]*at uērō Aenēās*, recalls the very start of Book 4 ([1]*At rēgīna*...) and points forward to its third occurrence at 504. *amantem*: 'someone in love'; *possit*: potential subjunctive. The rhetorical question demands the answer 'no-one' and therefore ominously anticipates the enjambed *praesēnsit*. 'Dido in love', the outcome of an act of deception on the part of Venus and Cupid (cf. 1.683–8, Venus addressing Cupid, esp. [684]*falle dolō* and [688]*fallās uenēnō*), exists in a state of (self-)deceit. But while love rendered her a hopeless

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practitioner of exstispicy, it sharpens her senses for intuitive insight into the future of her relationship. Intuition and inspiration are modes of divination that do not require special expertise. Rather, *amor* and *furor* induce ecstatic mental states that help suspicion morph into premonition. (Cf. Cicero, *Dē Dīuīnātiōne* 1.34 *carent autem arte iī, qui nōn ratiōne aut coniectūrā obseruātīs ac notātīs signīs, sed concitātiōne quādam animī aut solūtō līberōque mōtū futūra praesentiunt, quod et somniantibus saepe contingit et nōn numquam uāticinantibus per furōrem, ut Bacis Boeōtius, ut Epimenidēs Crēs, ut Sibylla Erythraea* 'On the other hand those do without art who, unaided by reason or deduction or by signs which have been observed and recorded, forecast the future while under the influence of mental excitement, or of some free and unrestrained emotion. This condition often occurs to men while dreaming and sometimes to persons who prophesy while in a frenzy—like Bacis of Boeotia, Epimenides of Crete and the Sibyl of Erythraea.') *dolōs* and *fallere* raise issues of focalization: are we getting Dido's (one-sided) view of the situation or is this (also) the perspective of the authorial narrator?

The *-que* after *mōtūs* links *praesēnsit* and *excēpit*, which here has the sense 'has intercepted, picked up, gathered information' (*OLD* 14b). Acting on her preternatural premonition, she has started to look for concrete evidence. Several aspects of these lines are open to divergent interpretation. *mōtūs... futūrōs* may either gloss *dolōs* by referring specifically to Aeneas' planned manoeuvres (*OLD motus* 5; cf. Statius, *Thebaid* 10.242–43 *...fraudem et operta parāmus | proelia, cēlandī mōtūs*: 'we are preparing a stratagem and covered operations, our movements must be concealed') or have the more general meaning 'upcoming changes or shifts in circumstances' (*OLD motus* 7). *prīma* could be taken either as an adj. instead of an adv. ('instantly') or as predicative to the subject Dido ('she found out *first of all*'). *tūta* (with a short *a*) is similarly ambiguous: does it modify *omnia* (acc. n. pl.) or Dido, the subject of *timēns* (nom. f. sg.)? The former could be taken to mean '(already) fearing everything even while *it* was (still) safe', the latter '(already) fearing everything even while *she* was (still) safe'. Pease (277) notes the second possibility only to reject it: 'that explanation violates all the ancient understandings of the line and lacks appropriateness in the context.' Subsequent commentators (Austin, Maclennan, O'Hara) concur.

In either reading, the phrase gives us an insight into Dido's

psychology: she knows all along that the current arrangements rest on fragile foundations. Arguably, the participle has a causal sense (which would render the ambiguity of *tūta* partly moot): Dido was able to divine the betrayal first *because* she was in a permanent state of (subconscious) fear even when she/everything still seemed safe. Austin (96) suggests that 'Virgil thus makes it clear that Dido in her inmost heart was never free from self-blame'. Conversely, one could argue that she (quite rightly) never trusted Aeneas fully: deep down she knew that her current relationship status (however defined: 'complicated'? 'madly in love'?) could not last: (self-)doubt, then, rather than self-blame. The phrase harks back to 1.583 (Achates commenting to Aeneas on how Dido is receiving their lost comrades with warm welcome) *omnia tūta uidēs*, *classem sociōsque receptōs* 'you see that all is safe, comrades and fleet restored'. See also [373]*nusquam tūta fidēs*. The uncertain focalization, the glosses and variations, and the syntactical ambiguities all help to convey a sense of the crisis that Dido finds herself in, which is in many ways an extension of the emotional turmoil caused by Cupid back in Book 1. Cf. Propertius 2.12.11–12 (about Cupid and his arrows) *ante ferit quoniam tūtī quam cernimus hostem | nec quisquam ex illō uulnere sānus abit* ('he strikes when we think we are safe before we even see the enemy. And no one thus struck departs in good health').

298[b]–299: ead(em) impia Fāma furentī | dētulit armārī classem cursumque parārī: *eadem* and *impia* both modify *Fāma* (i.e. 'the self-same accursed creature who already spread the news of the liaison', or more pithily 'accursed *Fāma* at it yet again'). She conveys her news with exquisite rhetorical ornamentation as if to mock the queen: in the chiasmus *armārī* ***c****lassem* – ***c****ursum parārī*, *c*-alliteration links the two nouns and homoioteleuton (*–ārī*) the two verbs. *Fāma* has clearly been eavesdropping on Aeneas' instruction to his men ([290]*arma parent*) and may have conveyed other aspects of his speech as well (see below 305–6). *furentī*: pres. part. in the dative modifying an implied *eī* (sc. Dido), the indirect object of *dētulit*. The word order 'jumps the gun', thereby indicating how close to the precipice of insanity Dido already is: what pushes her over the edge is *Fāma*'s news (about to be delivered in the subsequent line). The attribute *impia*, just before Aeneas will regain his epithet *pius* (393), is pointed if difficult to translate. The *OLD* gloss is 'showing no regard for the divinely imposed moral duties governing men's relationships with the gods and

between themselves'. Apart from being a tad verbose, this does not quite work when the figure thus modified *is* a divinity. Less wordy options include 'impious' (Bartsch), 'accursed' (Goold, anticipating Dido's curse), and 'unholy' (McGill and Wright).

300–301[a]: saeuit inops animī, tōtamqu(e) incēnsa per urbem | bacchātur: a chiastic design, with the verbs *saeuit* and *bacchātur* prominently placed at the beginning of their lines, flanking descriptions of Dido's mental state (*inops animī*, *incēnsa*). *saeuit*, in emphatic front position further marked by an abrupt switch in subject (from *Fāma* to Dido; but an ambiguity lingers), evokes the savagery of beasts or cataclysmic natural forces (cf. *Georgics* 1.511 *saeuit tōtō Mārs impius* [!] *orbe*, with reference to civil war, and below [532]*saeuit amor* with *Extra information*). *bacchātur*, put in profile by enjambment and caesura (cf. [297]*praesēnsit*), assimilates Dido's behaviour to that of a deranged woman in the entourage of Bacchus, in anticipation of the simile to follow. Both verbs recur later in Book 4, with *amor* and *Fāma* as subjects: [532]*saeuit amor*; [666]*concussam bacchātur Fāma per urbem* (right after Dido has thrown herself on Aeneas' sword, where *concussam ... per urbem* mimics [300]*tōtamque ... per urbem*). See further *Aeneid* 6.78 and *Appendix Virgiliana*, *Ciris* [167]*īnfēlīx uirgō tōtā bacchātur in urbe* and 480.

As Dido morphs into a maenad, boundaries—between city and countryside, civilization and wilderness—implode. The blurring of opposites is a distinctive feature of tragedy, as are deranged minds, here expressed through the collocation *inops animī*, literally 'feeble of mind' (the noun *ops*, *opis* means 'resource', 'strength', *in-* indicates the lack thereof). Cf. Catullus 64.197 *cōgor inops*, Statius *Thebaid* 11.152 and Silius 12.66. The formulation recalls the portrayal of Iarbas as [203]*āmēns animī* (see Pease: 278 for the construction).

Extra information

A Bacchant in the thrall of divine *furor* is everything a Roman senator is not: his stately comportment sharply contrasts with the frenzied behaviour associated with being possessed by divine madness; and his reasoning faculties are the opposite of a mind in the grip of ecstatic intoxication. To gauge the meaning of the verb in a civic context, cf. Cicero, *in Catilinam* 4.11 *cernō animō sepultā in patriā miserōs atque īnsepultōs*

aceruōs cīuium, uersātur mihī ante oculōs aspectus Cethegī et furor in uestrā caede bacchantis 'In my mind's eye I see the pitiful heaps of citizens lying unburied upon the grave of our fatherland; there passes before my eyes the sight of Cethegus and the insanity of him as he raves like a Maenad upon your corpses', or *Dē Haruspicum Respōnsīs* 39 (on Clodius) ... *tum bacchāris, tum furis, tum dās eās poenās quae sōlae sunt hominum scelerī ā dīs immortālibus cōnstitūtae* '... then you are raving like a Bacchant, then you rage insanely, then you suffer the only punishment ordained by the immortal gods for human crime'.

301[b]–302[a]: quālis [sc. bacchātur] **commōtīs excita sacrīs | Thȳias**: *sacrīs* refers to 'either the "rites" in the abstract, or, more probably, the actual "symbols" or emblems of the god, brandished in ecstasy' (Austin: 97). *commōtīs ... sacrīs* could be either abl. abs. or instrumental/causal/circumstantial abl. with *excita*. *Thȳias* 'a woman possessed by divine frenzy' is another label for Maenad, one of the female followers of Bacchus. The designation derives from θυίω/θύω 'to seethe/rage', a Greek equivalent of *bacchārī*. The word seems to have been introduced into Latin by Catullus at 64.391–92 in an analogous context: *saepe uagus Liber Parnāsī uertice summō | Thyadas effūsīs ēu̯antīs crīnibus ēgit* 'Often Bacchus roaming on the topmost summit of Parnassus drove his Thyiads, shouting and with their hair flowing'. Any allusion to Catullus 64 strengthens the link between Ariadne (who becomes Bacchus' spouse after cursing Theseus) and Dido. *Thȳiăs* is disyllabic (with i = j), scanning 'long short'.

302[b]–303: ub(i) audītō stimulant trietērica Bacchō | orgia, nocturnusque uocat clāmōre Cithaerōn: *audītō ... Bacchō* (either 'when Bacchus had been heard' or 'when (the cry of) "Bacchus" had been heard') is an abl. abs. Virgil leaves the degree of divine presence ambiguous. *stimulant* and *uocat* lack a direct obj. such as *eam*—a fine touch that reinforces the numinous powers of the god: the revels and the mountain do not spur on or call anyone in particular; rather, they constitute a force field into which the Thyiad is magnetically drawn, losing control of her rational ego and agency. *trĭĕtērĭca* (agreeing with *orgia*: nom. n. pl.) means 'literally "held every third year", that is, "in alternate years" by our reckoning; the ancient system of reckoning was inclusive, so that in a given group of years ABCD the festival would be held in the years

A and C, the latter being the "third year" inclusive of A' (Austin 97). *nocturnus* 'at night', agreeing with *Cithaerōn*, is an adj. used in place of an adv. Cithaeron is a mountain range between Boeotia and Attica and the site where Pentheus met his doom, being torn apart by the women of Thebes (including his mother and aunt), after they turned into frenzied followers of Dionysus. Perversely, Virgil compares Dido to Pentheus at 469, hinting at the self-destructive nature of her rage: she is both maenad and victim. As we enter tragic territory, the idiom becomes notably Greek: *bacchor*: βακχεύω, *Thȳiăs*: Θυιάς, *trietēricus*: τριετηρικός, *Bacchus*: Βάκχος, *orgia*: Ὄργια, *Cithaerōn*: Κιθαιρών are all loanwords or transliterations. The hybrid diction may reflect Dido's altered mental state: her (justified) paranoia causes her to exist in parallel worlds, delusion and reality, Greek tragedy and Roman epic. In the end, she manages to resolve her generic and cross-cultural personality disorder by firmly embedding a tragic force in Rome's epic history.

304: tand(em) hīs Aenēān compellat uōcibus ultrō: apart from the screaming fifth foot *uōcibus*, this is a spondaic verse of penned-up tension without an obvious break. It centres Dido's verbal attack on Aeneas (*Aenēān compellat*) within a double frame, the scream-bubble generated by *hīs ... uōcibus* (with the hyperbaton placing extra emphasis on the demonstrative) and the two countervailing adverbs *tandem*, signifying 'delay', and *ultrō*, signifying 'instant aggression' (the adverb can be used with reference to unprovoked military or other offensive action; Virgil applies it to taking the initiative in speech: *OLD* 6). The former refers to the time that has elapsed between receiving the news and the confrontation, while the latter suggests that Dido goes at Aeneas at once when they finally meet.

305–331: Dido's first speech falls into four parts:

305–313: **1 Outburst of anger: Focus on Aeneas (with references to herself)**
- 305–308: **1.1** *Rage against the betrayal*
  = 4 lines
- 309–313: **1.2** *Dismay at the timing and speed of his departure*
  = 5 lines

314–319: **2 Supplication to reconsider**
= 6 lines

320–326: **3 Despair: Focus on herself (with references to Aeneas)**
320–323a: **3.1** *Blaming Aeneas for ruining her reputation ...*
= 3.5 lines
323b–326: **3.2** *... before abandoning her to her foes*
= 3.5 lines
327–330: **4 Counterfactual Coda**
= 4 lines

She begins with an outburst of righteous rage (1). It consists entirely of a string of indignant rhetorical questions. Dido focuses her anger on Aeneas' treachery (1.1) and the unseasonable and hence unreasonable moment of his departure (1.2). In 1.1 she follows up sheer outrage at the depravity of Aeneas' character (305–6) with an attempt at argument (307–8 appeal to mutual love, promises of loyalty, and the lethal consequences of his decision for her). In 1.2 she invokes reason (309–11[a]: you want to sail in winter?) backed up by emotion (311[b]–13: you wouldn't even set out for Troy—if it still stood—at that time of year). (Dido's penchant for counterfactual scenarios will resurface at the end of the speech.) Because Aeneas' timing seems so absurd, she arrives at a disastrously flawed conclusion, expressed in yet another rhetorical question ([314]*mēne fugis?*) that opens the central part of the speech (2). It consists of one long appeal to Aeneas to reconsider his decision to leave: Dido packs every ounce of rhetorical umph at her disposal into this utterance (314–19): it is one of the most remarkable sentences in the epic. She reinforces the supplication by sketching out the consequences of its failure (3). The section falls into two equal parts: for 3.5 lines, Dido blames Aeneas for having ruined her reputation (3.1); for 3.5 lines, she then explores the catastrophic consequences (3.2). She concludes her speech with a counterfactual coda (at least Aeneas could have left her with child!) that highlights the futility of her appeal: Dido seems to know that Aeneas will not budge. In terms of overall design, 3 matches 1.2 and 4 corresponds to 1.1, resulting in a double frame around the supplication in Section 2.

What Dido does not bring into play here but will do in her second speech is the fact that she rescued Aeneas and his men in an hour of need.

305–306: 'dissimulār(e) etiam spērāstī, perfide, tantum | posse nefās, tacitusque meā dēcēdere terrā?: the main verb *spērāstī* (syncopated form of *spērāuistī*) governs *posse*, which in turn governs the two supplementary infinitives *dissimulāre* and *dēcēdere* (linked by the explanatory *-que* after *tacitus*: the second phrase glosses the first). But the syntax only becomes clear gradually: initially it appears as if *spērāstī* governs *dissimulāre*. The order is both rhetorically and psychologically insightful: Dido starts impulsively by fronting what she finds most objectionable: not the deed, but the attempt at dissimulation. *etiam* 'even' brings out the idea: 'that takes the cake'! Cf. Fratantuono–Smith (489): 'Dido is angry enough about the planned departure, but it is the perceived trickery and deceit that engenders her greatest indignation'. The delayed reference to the deed itself enacts the etymology of the evaluative label she opts for: *ne-fās*, the acc. obj. of *dissimulāre*, means '*unspeakable* outrage'. The insult, further highlighted by adj. in hyperbaton (*tantum*) and metre (enjambment + caesura), must have stung: a person violating divine law (*fās*) is the textbook definition of *impius* (above 389–90), the opposite of what Aeneas stands for as proud wearer of the epithet *pius*, who self-identifies as such when encountering his mother in disguise: [1.378]*sum pius Aenēās* 'I am dutifully devoted Aeneas'. All three verbs (and *nefās* on top) proffer to Dido plenty of sibilants to start her speech with a 'hiss of hatred' (Highet 1972: 134), an effect to which the vivid *tacitus* in the nominative (acc. would be standard) contributes. The softly plaintive *meā dēcēdere terrā*, with its repetitive use of syllables ending in *-e-* and the framing rhyme *-eā -errā*, offers a tearsome foil. Either informed by *Fāma* or gifted with preternatural intuition, Dido here redeploys diction Aeneas used in instructing his men: [289]*tacitī*, [291]*dissimulent*, [292]*tantōs* (... *amōrēs*), [292]*spēret*, [293]*fandī*.

The vocative *perfide* recalls Ariadne's outburst against Theseus at Catullus 64.132–33 *sīcine mē patriīs āuectam, perfide, ab ārīs, | perfide, dēsertō līquistī in lītore, Thēseu?* 'Thus then, having borne me afar from my father's home, thus have you left me, faithless, faithless Theseus, on the lonely shore?', but instead of doubling the insult here, Virgil 'preserves' the second instance for Dido's second speech (366). Both Catullus ([174]*perfidus*) and Virgil ([421]*perfidus ille*, Dido to Anna) have a final third instance of the lexeme in the nominative: such careful intertextual stitching ties Dido and Ariadne tightly together as two avatars of the figure of the abandoned

heroine and reinforces the persistent presence of Catullus in the *Aeneid* and Book 4 in particular (—> ***TD*** 'Allusion'). It is also part of Virgil's systematic projection of Roman anti-Carthaginian stereotypes (most notoriously 'Punic perfidy') onto Aeneas (Starks 1999).

[305]*dissimulāre*: at 289–91, Aeneas instructs his men to get everything ready for a speedy departure but to 'hide the reasons' behind this change in plans ([290–91]*quae rēbus sit causa nouandīs*, | *dissimulent*). The verb recalls the scene in Book 1 where Aeneas and Achates witness the arrival of Ilioneus and his men at the court of Dido hidden in a Venus-manufactured cloud ([1.516–18]*dissimulant et nūbe cauā speculantur amictī*, | *quae fortūna uirīs*, *classem quō lītore linquant*, | *quid ueniant* 'They keep hidden, and, clothed in the enfolding cloud, look to see what is their comrades' fortune, on what shore they leave the fleet, and why they come'). Having come in stealth-mode, Aeneas is now accused of disappearing in stealth-mode (unfairly? cf. 291–94 where he ponders how to break the news to Dido before leaving). This term also feeds into Virgil's association of Aeneas with anti-Punic prejudices. Cf. Cicero, *Dē Officiīs* 1.108 *callidum Hannibalem ex Poenōrum*, *ex nostrīs ducibus Q. Maximum accēpimus*, *facile cēlāre*, *tacēre*, *dissimulāre*, *īnsidiārī*, *praeripere hostium cōnsilia* 'We read that Hannibal, among the Carthaginian generals, and Quintus Maximus, among our own, were shrewd and ready at concealing their plans, covering up their tracks, disguising their movements, laying stratagems, forestalling the enemy's designs.'

[305]*nefās*, *tacitus*: Dido deftly collocates *nefās* 'unspeakable outrage' and *tacitus* 'without a word'. Cf. Commager (1981: 102).

307–308: nec tē noster amor, nec tē data dextera quondam, | nec moritūra tenet crūdēlī fūnere Dīdō?: the sentence forms an ascending tricolon, outlining three reasons (the subjects of *tenet*: *amor*, *dextera* sc. *manus*, and *Dīdō*) that ought to hold Aeneas back. The rhetorical question is spearheaded by the triple anaphora of *nec* (*tē*): the pronoun is understood also in the third colon (and has an oblique presence and echo: ***tenet***). The first colon invokes mutual love in the present: *noster* could be taken as a self-referential 'majestic plural'; more likely she has not yet given up on the idea of continuing mutual attraction, even though the climactic final words of each colon—*amor*, *quondam*, *Dīdō*—

tell their own story. The second is all about Aeneas' pledges, given at some point in the past (*quondam*). And the third anticipates the cruel death that awaits her (*moritūra* is future participle). Dido moves from an appeal to shared experiences to *Aeneas*' sense of honour and finishes on a note of emotional blackmail focused on *her* objectified self: the climactic use of her proper name in the third person reveals a royal hurt and contrasts with [306]*meā ... terrā*. *data dextera* picks up on [305]*perfide*, though it is unclear whether the reference is to political pledges of friendship and alliance or wedding pledges. The 'words and actions of honour' Aeneas supposedly uttered and performed resurface in 314 and 597, but the text remains (deliberately) silent on specifics.

[308]*crūdēlī fūnere*: Dido quickly follows up the charge of cruelty with the vocative [311]*crūdēlis*. Cruelty is another quality that the Romans liked to associate with the Carthaginians. See e.g. *Rhētorica ad Herennium* 4.20 *quī sunt, <quī> crūdēlissime bellum gessērunt? Kartāginiēnsēs*. 'Who are the people who waged war in the cruellest fashion? The Carthaginians.'

Extra information

The second half of the poem features a parallel scenario involving Evander and Pallas. When Pallas decides to join Aeneas in war against Turnus, we nowhere hear of a pledge that Aeneas gives to Evander about ensuring the survival of his son. But after Pallas' death, he acts as if such a pledge had been given (11.53–55, Aeneas speaking):

> īnfēlīx, nātī fūnus crūdēle uidēbis!
> hī nostrī reditūs exspectātīque triumphī,
> haec mea magna fidēs?
>
> [Unhappy man, you will see the bitter funeral of your son! Is this our return, our awaited triumph? Is this my sure pledge?]

4.308 and 11.53 are the only two instances of the phrase *fūnus crūdēle* in the *Aeneid* (cf. *Eclogue* 5.20 and *Georgics* 3.263). The exclusive reiteration strengthens the link between the curse of Dido and the death of Pallas. And with '*haec mea magna fidēs*', Aeneas essentially accuses himself of having been *perfidus*, by violating the trust (*fidēs*) that Pallas and Evander placed in him.

309–311[a]: quīn eti(am) hībernō mōlīrī sīdere classem | et mediīs properās Aquilōnibus īre per altum, | crūdēlis?: 'Even in the winter season do you actually hasten to labour at your fleet, and to journey over the sea in the midst of northern gales, heartless one?' (Goold). The interrogative particle *quīn* (abl. *quī* + *ne*), which is used not to enquire about facts but to exhort or remonstrate, followed by corroborative *etiam* is a rare but effective entry to a question that oscillates between accusing sarcasm 'why don't you...?' and profound distress 'why indeed are you...?' Our manuscripts are divided between *mōlīris* (2nd pers. sg. pres. ind.) and *mōlīrī* (infinitive). In the former case, the *et* links two main clauses (*mōlīris* ... *et* ... *properās*); in the latter, two complementary infinitives of *properās*, *mōlīrī* and *īre*. Dido sketches an impressive picture of the cosmos, starting with a reference to the sky for the time of year (*hībernō ... sīdere*), moving on to the winds (*mediīs ... Aquilōnibus*), and ending with the sea (*per altum*). Both the season (winter) and the winds (blowing from the North) are unfavourable for Aeneas' intended voyage across the Mediterranean. Her reuse of the phrase Aeneas used to refer to his departure from Troy (3.5–6*classem ...* | *... mōlīmur*) attests to her rapt attention at the welcoming banquet, an intratextual reminiscence that prepares for her upcoming reference to Troy.

Dido is right: the conditions for departure are inauspicious. The North(-Northeast) Wind plays a key role in the storm that pushes Aeneas off course to Carthage (1.102–3*tālia iactantī strīdēns Aquilōne procella*| *uēlum aduersa ferit flūctūsque ad sīdera tollit*) and again churns the waters black upon their departure at 5.2*flūctūs ... ātrōs Aquilōne secābat*. At 3.285*et glaciālis hiems Aquilōnibus asperat undās* 'and icy winter ruffles the waters with northern blasts', Aeneas himself concedes that the baleful coincidence of winter and the North(east) Wind renders sailing hazardous, and Anna invokes the winter as a non-sailing season at 52–53. Of course, some thirty lines into Book 5 the winds have changed: gentle Zephyrs, blowing from the west, waft Aeneas back to Sicily (see further Fletcher 2023).

311a*crūdēlis*: perhaps best taken as vocative (rather than nominative), in wake of 305*perfide*. The 'delayed insult by way of enjambed apostrophe' is a frequent device in speeches fuelled by impassioned outrage: Medea peppers her tub-thumping of Jason in Apollonius Rhodius 4.355–90 with σχέτλιε (376'heartless one') and νηλεές (389'pitiless one'), as does Catullus' Ariadne, who anticipates Dido in following up *perfide* with

crūdēlis (64.136–37 *nūllane rēs potuit crūdēlis flectere mentis* | *cōnsilium*? 'could nothing bend the purpose of thy cruel mind?'). But affection for Aeneas continues to linger: 'he is not only cruel to her in leaving her, but cruel to her in risking his life at such a season' (Austin: 100). If at 308 she imagined her *crūdēle fūnus*, here she imagines his.

311[b]: quid?: 'The interrogative of exasperation, with breathless indignation at the idea that Aeneas would leave now of all times' (Fratantuono–Smith: 496).

311[c]–313: sī nōn aru(a) aliēna domōsque | ignōtās peterēs, et Trōi(a) antīqua manēret, | Trōia per undōsum peterētur classibus aequor?: Dido's next question takes the form of a present counterfactual condition: all verbs are in the imperfect subjunctive. The protasis is bipartite, with the first part negative (Aeneas *is* seeking foreign and unknown lands, or so Dido claims), the second positive (Troy *no longer* exists); the apodosis chiastically recombines elements of both parts (*peterēs*, *Trōia* > *Trōia ... peterētur*). In the second part of the protasis, Dido avails herself of vocabulary from one of the most pathos-fraught passages of Aeneas' narration (not coincidentally also part of a present counterfactual condition), 2.54–56: 'had the gods' decrees, had our mind not been perverse, Laocoon would have driven us to violate with steel the Argive den [= the Trojan Horse], and Troy would now be standing, and you, lofty citadel of Priam, would still abide! (*Trōiaque nunc stāret, Priamīque arx alta manērēs*).' But in the first part, she acts deliberatively, desperately obtuse. *arua aliēna* conjures imperial aggression (the only other instance of the phrase, at 10.78, comes in a speech by Juno in which she objects to the violent takeover of 'foreign territory' by the imperialist Trojan settlers; cf. [10.300]*ratēs aruīs īnferre Latīnīs*), whereas *domōs ignōtās* hints at seeking refuge and hospitality from strangers. Her collocations thus characterize Aeneas' plans as violent and ill thought-out. Aeneas *should* feel at home in Carthage, which is also—like Troy—an *urbs antīqua*. The facts of the matter are different: the *arua* he seeks are not *aliēna* but *sua* (the idiom hints at the difference in Roman legal thought between *aliēnī iūris* vs. *suī iūris*; cf. Aeneas counters with [355]*arua fātālia*) and his *domus* or *gēns*, far from remaining *ignōta*, will be *nōbilis* and renowned. She could have known: far from characterizing the *arua* he is seeking as foreign or the homes as unknown or obscure, Aeneas has shared with her their precise location

(Hesperia, the Ausonian lands, at the River Tiber: 2.781–82, 3.170–71, 495–97, 500–5) and their significance as the site for the refoundation of Troy and (the fame of) his race (3.501*gentī ... meae*). Dido ignores all that. For her, Aeneas' home is the 'real' Troy, not the 'Troy in spirit' (3.505*Trōiam animīs*) he pursues, and even that he would not seek to reach at this time of year; hence it is all the more absurd that he is heading off into the unknown. Her reasoning also hints at Aeneas' current status as *hospes*, preparing for the mocking use of the term at 323.

313*per undosum ... aequor*: continues and develops the cosmic imagery, capturing the impact of the wind on the sea.

314a: mēne fugis?: 'Are you fleeing *me*'?

314b–319: after expressing her horrified suspicion that Aeneas is fleeing *her* with poignant brevity, Dido bursts out into one of the more voluminous sentences in the poem. After an emotional opening, it moves from an appeal to their contractual marriage to services rendered to pleasure incurred, amounting to a composite if desperate plea to Aeneas to change his mind:

314	... **per**	prepositional phrase 1 (start)
314	... **eg(o)**	**main clause (start)**
314	... **hās lacrimās dextramque tuam**	prepositional phrase 1 (end)
314	... **tē**	**main clause (cont.)**
315	**(quand(ō) aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa relīquī)**	parenthetical subordinate clause
316	**per cōnūbia nostra,**	prepositional phrase 2
316	... **per inceptōs hymenaeōs,**	prepositional phrase 3
317	**sī bene quid dē tē meruī,**	conditional protasis 1a
317–18	... **fuit aut tibi quicquam | dulce meum,**	conditional protasis 1b
318	... **miserēre domūs lābentis,**	apodosis 1a
318	... **et istam,**	apodosis 1b (start)
319	**ōrō,**	**main clause (end)**
319	... **sī quis adhūc precibus locus** [sc. est],	conditional protasis 2
319	... **exue mentem:**	apodosis 1b (end)

The 'syntactical skeleton' consists of 314***ego*** (the placement after *per* in adjurations is standard) ... 314***tē*** (emphatic final monosyllable, with clash of ictus and word accent, in antithesis to *mēne fugis?* and generating

a rhyming—sobbing?—pattern with *dextramque tuam*: *-tram*, *-que*, *-am*, *tē*, following on *hās -mās*) ... [319]***ōrō***. Around it we get two blocks of three lines each: (a) three prepositional phrases (the first bipartite) introduced by *per* (314, 316) and a parenthetical subordinate clause introduced by *quandō* (315); and (b) a conditional sequence, with a bipartite protasis linked by *aut* (317–18) and a bipartite apodosis linked by *et* (318–19), with the second part containing a further *sī*-clause (319). The apodosis stands in paratactic relation to *ego ... tē ... ōrō*. What does this design achieve? It conveys both strong emotion and rhetorical prowess: Dido balances an appeal of moving simplicity (*ego tē ōrō*: 'I beg you') with forceful imperatives (*miserēre*, *exue*), a righteous invocation of what she considers facts (the four items in the prepositional phrases governed by *per*) with self-commiseration (the *quandō*-clause), plaintive remonstration (the first *sī*-clause) and performative self-doubt (the second *sī*-clause), in an argumentative plea that operates across a wide range of cognitive and affective registers.

[314]*per ... hās lacrimās dextramque tuam* + [316]*per cōnūbia nostra*, *per inceptōs hymenaeōs*: triple anaphora of *per* enumerating two pairs of four items (all consisting of a noun + attribute, the first consisting of *per* + connective *-que*, the second of two *per* in asyndetic sequence). Each pair is arranged chiastically, though in 314 the nouns (*lacrimās* and *dextram* sc. *manum*) are centred (flanked by the attributes *hās* and *tuam*) and in 316 the attributes (*nostra* and *inceptōs*) are centred and flanked by the nouns (*cōnūbia* and *hymenaeōs*). Dido gets gradually more abstract in the way she pairs herself and Aeneas: starting from her own physiological signs of emotional distress (tears), she moves on to a body part of his that signifies duty (the right hand), which sets up the reference to the marriage bond that supposedly unites both (*cōnūbia* and *hymenaeōs* are virtual synonyms and signify 'legal marriage'—Dido sticks to her version of what happened in the cave). Her idiom resonates ominously both intratextually and intertextually. Among the gifts Aeneas presents to Dido at the welcoming banquet in Book 1 is a veil (*uēlāmen*) adorned by Helen and taken with her 'when she headed for Pergamon and her unlawful marriage' ([1.651]*Pergama cum peteret inconcessōsque hymenaeōs*): a double-edged piece of clothing prophetic of what is to come. And Dido unwittingly ventriloquizes the Ariadne of Catullus 64, when lamenting her betrayal and abandonment by Theseus: 'not this you ordered

wretched me to hope, but a joyful wedlock, but a desired wedding' (140–41*... nōn haec miseram spērāre iubēbās, | sed cōnūbia laeta, sed optātōs hymenaeōs*).

315*quando aliud* ***mihi*** *iam* ***miserae*** *nihil* ***ipsa*** *relīquī*: 'since by now (*iam*) I myself (*ipsa*) have left (*relīquī*) nothing (*nihil*) else (*aliud*) to my miserable (*miserae*) me (*mihi*)': the word order intersperses Dido's references to herself with what she thinks is left of her: tears and an alleged pledge from Aeneas. 'The parenthesis is entirely focused on Dido in a moment of self-reflection and self-pity' (Fratantuono–Smith: 500).

317–18*sī bene quid dē tē meruī, fuit aut tibi quicquam | dulce meum* 'if I have ever done you any service (*quid* = *aliquid* after *sī*) or (= postponed *aut*: for metrical reasons, to capture Dido's agitation, or both) if anything of mine was ever sweet to you'. Dido focuses first on her own agency (*meruī* refers to all the hands-on help and support she has given him and his crew, as well as her DEI—'Diversity, Equity, Inclusion'—approach to the Trojan arrivals with regard to her city-building project), then on the 'sweetness' Aeneas derived from interacting with her. The conditional and the indefinite pronouns are mocking: Dido asserts that both her generosity and his (sexual) pleasure have been phenomenal.

318*miserēre domūs lābentis* + 318–19*istam |... exue mentem*: the deponent *misereor* (here in the 2nd pers. sg. imperative) takes a genitive object. Dido identifies herself with her house(hold), continuing the idiom of 311–12*domōs | ignōtās*. Instead of seeking unknown homes elsewhere, she asks Aeneas to take pity on the household he currently inhabits, which is in the process of coming apart (*lābentis* is pres. part. of the deponent *lābor* in the gen. f. sg. agreeing with *domūs*). The separation of *istam* and *mentem* by way of an enormous hyperbaton filled with words relating to prayer ensures that the sentence concludes on an exclamation mark (aided further by the diaeresis after the first and, especially, fourth foot): '... put this nasty [the demonstrative pronoun *iste* often carries derogatory connotations] thought [= leaving]—*I beg you with all my heart!*—OUT OF YOUR MIND!', though the Latin idiom is more compressed, collapsing the distinction between the mind and its contents (*mēns* can refer to both; cf. 1.676*quā facere id possis, nostram nunc accipe mentem*).

[319]*sī quis adhūc precibus locus* [sc. *est*]: 'if there still is any (*quis* = *aliquis* after *sī*, modifying *locus*) place for prayers'.

320–321[a]: tē propter Libycae gentēs Nomadumque tyrannī | ōdēr(e), īnfēnsī [sunt] **Tyriī:** *tē propter* = *propter tē*; the normal word order would have been metrically possible, but clunky, making 'the first foot occupied by a single spondaic word...and one that by its nature was unsuited to the weight and prominence so given it' (Austin: 102). *ōdēre* = *ōdērunt*. The perfect tense has present meaning, expressing the state that has ensued: 'because of you, x and y have come to hate', sc. *mē*: Dido suppresses the acc. obj. The enjambment highlights the negative emotion and the elision across the caesura conveys the sense that the list of Dido's adversaries goes on and on. The haters are *Libycae gentēs* and *Nomadum*(*que*) *tyrannī* (the *-que* links *gentēs* and *tyrannī*), to which she adds, in asyndeton, the (now?) hostile Tyrians. The label *Tyriī* leaves it open whether Dido thinks of her enemy brother in pursuit from Tyre or her own Carthaginians turning against her. Dido has a point: the 'hospitality with benefits' she extended to Aeneas has certainly enraged the Gaetulian Iarbas (198–218) and might have alienated her people (if the joy of Aeneas' men at the prospect of leaving is anything to go by). At the same time, Anna in her speech to Dido at 35–44 turned an *already* hostile environment into a powerful argument *in favour of* a liaison: she mentions Dido's refusal to marry anyone in Libya or previously in Tyre, singling out specifically Iarbas among 'other leaders' ([37]*ductōrēs ... aliī*) in Africa and then specifies [40]*Gaetūlae urbes*, [41]*Numidae īnfrēnī*, generally inhospitable living conditions ([41]*inhospita Syrtis*) and [42–3]*lātē ... furentēs | Barcaeī* before reminding her sister of pursuit from Tyre. Aeneas has made an already bad situation worse. But the main impact is psychological: if prior to his arrival Dido faced all comers (suitors or enemies) with defiant strength and a profound sense of self-worth grounded in (a reputation for) unblemished *pudor*, she now feels that his departure leaves her compromised and vulnerable.

[320]*Nomadum ... tyrannī*: *Nomas* is a loanword from Greek (νομάς: 'roaming', 'pastoral tribe'). Apart from 320 and 535, the *Nomadēs* only occur in the company of other ethnic communities (clearly marked as 'uncivilized': for the category and the discourse that sustains it, see Scherr 2023 with the review by van Schoor 2026) on the triumphal shield that Vulcan

fashions for Aeneas (8.724–26), featuring an ekphrasis of Roman history culminating in Augustus' triple triumph of 29 BCE: *hīc Nomadum genus et discīnctōs Mulciber Afrōs, | hīc Lelegās Cārāsque sagittiferōsque Gelōnōs | fīnxerat* 'Here Mulciber had portrayed the Nomad race and the un-girt Africans, here the Leleges and Carians and quivered Gelonians.'

321[b]–323[a]: tē propter eundem | exstīnctus [est] **pudor et, quā sōlā sīder**(**a**) **adībam, | fāma prior:** *pudor* and *fāma* are both subjects of *exstīnctus* [*est*], with the former determining the gender of the participle. *fāma* is the antecedent of *quā*, which is modified by *sōlā* ('through which alone...'). The imperfect *adībam* expresses wistful pride, indicating past continuous endeavour, with the elision suggesting that she was in touching distance of the stars before Aeneas ruined everything. (Technically speaking, she should have used the pluperfect: she was making significant progress in achieving positive immortal fame by being a *fēmina dux* renowned for her *pudor*; all that is left at this point is Virgilian infamy.)

In making her point, Dido brings into play two different forms of immortality: through an ontological transformation (turning into a star—a process called 'catasterism', a form of apotheosis); and 'social immortality' through remembrance or commemoration by posterity. She combines the two: her *fāma* ('social immortality') was supposed to be the basis and engine of her ascent to heaven ('ontological transformation'). By contrast, Aeneas is promised a genuine apotheosis (Jupiter addressing Venus [1.259]*ferēs ad sīdera caelī*; this does not happen within the narrative remit of the *Aeneid* but is part of the Aeneas legend more generally: cf. Ovid, *Metamorphōsēs* 14.581–608). The stars figure as destination also in a prophecy to Latinus that in-laws will come from abroad, *quī ... nostrum | nōmen in astra ferant* (7.98–99; cf. 271–72) and Aeneas will trigger a process that will raise the city of Rome itself to the heavens (8.99–100). Caesar acted as trailblazer: in 40 BCE, it was decreed to interpret the comet that had appeared during his funeral as evidence of his catasterism, setting the stage for the deification of deceased emperors in imperial times. See most recently Xinyue (2022). As Dido's star sinks, those of Aeneas are rising.

323[b]–324: cui mē moribundam dēseris, hospes | (hoc sōlum nōmen quoniam dē coniuge restat)?: the interrogative pronoun *cui* could be either masculine ('to whom...?) or neuter ('to what...'). The ambiguity

is deliberate: the range of enemies just surveyed still resonates, but the alliterative phrase *mē moribundam* also hints at more general circumstances ('fate/death'), including her eventual suicide (cf. 308). *hospes* 'guest', in the vocative, is a bitter downgrading of the relationship status from (alleged) *coniūnx* 'husband', *amātor* 'lover', and *socius* 'ally'. The word recalls her sacrifice to Jupiter as a god who oversees the laws of guest-friendship: [1.731]*Iuppiter, hospitibus nam tē dare iūra loquuntur* and her address to Aeneas as *hospes* ([1.753]*... dīc, hospes, ...*). See above on 6.

hoc sōlum nōmen = hospes. The well-balanced line, with the causal conjugation *quoniam* at the centre, plays off [172]*coniugium uocat, hōc praetexit nōmine culpam* and brings into focus the divergent 'reality paradigms' in which Dido and Aeneas seem to have lived since that moment in the cave. For Dido, the act of intercourse transformed Aeneas from a guest-friend (*hospes*) into a husband (*coniūnx*); for Aeneas, the encounter did not significantly alter the status of their relationship: he never ceased to think of himself as anything but a (temporary) guest (or so he will claim shortly at 338–39). Dido's investment in these labels is psychologically complex: her sense of self, powerful emotions (hope and fear, anger and guilt, desire and desperation), and how she sees herself as perceived by others are all tied up in what *Aeneas* thinks he is: a *coniūnx* or a *hospes*. He refuses to be the former and tries to define and confine their relationship to that of 'host' and (temporary) 'guest'. In what follows, Dido reluctantly accepts those terms and pushes for concessions on the basis of guest-friendship. When this fails, she downgrades Aeneas' status further: at 424 and 549 she calls him *hostis* 'enemy' —> ***TD*** Gibson.

325[a]: quid moror?: *quid* can be taken either as acc. obj. ('what do I wait for?') or adverbially ('why do I linger?'). Either way, the question continues the thought built into [323]*mē moribundam*: Dido considers herself death bound. Poignantly, she does linger for a moment before stabbing herself ([649]*paulum lacrimīs et mente morāta*).

325[b]–326: an mea Pygmaliōn dum moenia frāter | dēstruat aut captam dūcat Gaetūlus Iarbās?: the particle *an* introduces a direct question, expressing indignation and expecting a negative answer (*OLD* 1). *dum*, here construed with subjunctive (*dēstruat*, *dūcat* = 'until such time as'), indicates an expected/possible event (*OLD* 5b). The acc. obj. of *dūcat* is an (elided) *mē*, which *captam* agrees with. The arrangement of subjects,

modifiers, and verbs is chiastic with *aut* as pivot: *Pygmaliōn – frater – dēstruat* : *dūcat – Gaetūlus – Iarbās*. Pygmalion wishes to obliterate his sister's rival city (*mea ... moenia*: the separation of attribute and noun through the intervening *Pygmaliōn dum* is expressive of how her brother comes between Dido and her city and recalls [306]*meā ... terrā*), whereas *captam* and *dūcere* evoke both wedding and triumph (and wedding as triumph). This could be translated either as Iarbas 'leads me captured in triumph' (*OLD dūcere* 7) or 'brings me captured home as a wife' (*OLD dūcere* 5). The participle also evokes the phrase *urbs capta*, hinting at the identification of queen and city (cf. 84 in an analogous situation). A reference to walls invariably recalls the proem ([1.7]*altae moenia Rōmae*) and the city theme. To be led in triumph after having been captured was to be the fate of Dido's historical *altera ego* Cleopatra, which the Egyptian queen eluded by committing suicide. See Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 82–86.

327–330: saltem sī qua mihī dē tē suscepta fuisset | [328]**ante fugam subolēs, sī quis mihi paruulus aulā** | [329]**lūderet Aenēās, quī tē tamen ōre referret,** | [330]**nōn equid(em) omnīnō capt(a) ac dēserta uidērer.':** Dido concludes her speech on a temporally staggered counterfactual condition. The first protasis (*sī ... suscepta fuisset*) is in the pluperf. subjunctive: Dido here introduces the idea of having a child with Aeneas, following up on Anna's question [33]*nec dulcīs nātōs ... nōris?* (For the thought that sex and children in a family setting are a source of sweet and soft affection, see Lucretius 4.) This imaginary conception serves as basis for the present counterfactual scenario in the second protasis (*sī ... lūderet ...*: imperf. subjunctive like the apodosis *uidērer*). Similarly, the subject of the first *sī*-clause (*qua ... subolēs*) receives a specifying gloss in the subject of the second *sī*-clause (*quis ... paruulus ...|... Aenēās*). In each case, the use of an indefinite pronominal adjective (*qua = aliqua*, *quis = aliquis*) and hyperbaton across verse boundaries helps to highlight the unreality of Dido's curious desire (see below), expressed with numerous qualifying and adversative touches: *saltem*, *tamen*, *equidem*, *nōn ... omnīnō*. Dido concludes her speech on a note of resignation: she has seemingly accepted Aeneas' departure as a fact ([328]*ante fugam*), which serves as basis for her counterfactual fantasy.

[327]*suscepta fuisset*: *suscipere* is a technical term of Roman ritual, referring to a father recognizing a child as his own by picking it up *from the ground*

(*suscipere* = *tollere*). Gender and syntax militate against this sense here. When Dido imagines offspring received 'by me' (*mihī*) 'from you' (*dē tē*), she refers either to impregnation or the (literal or figurative) handing over of an infant from father to mother (before the father leaves), not to its recognition as legitimate according to Roman ritual within a lawful marriage between two Roman citizens (*iūstum mātrimōnium*).

[328]*subolēs*: at *Dē Ōrātōre* 1.153, Cicero identifies the virtual synonyms and etymologically related terms *subolēs* and *prōlēs* as archaisms: no longer used in ordinary speech, they continue to be employed in poetry and can thus lend dignity and elevation to prose. But in contrast to *prōlēs*, which is all over the *Aeneid* (not least with reference to members of the *gēns Iūlia*), he uses *subolēs* of human offspring only here and in *Eclogue* 4.49 (another hypothetical offspring that did not materialize: the desired world-historical boy who turned out to be a girl). The term also occurs three times in the *Georgics* (3.71, 308, 4.100), with reference to farm animals and bees.

[328]*aulā*: Virgil uses the term six times; in the other five instances the context renders it clear that the reference is specifically to a '*royal* residence' (*Georgics* 2.504, 4.90, 202; *Aeneid* 1.140, 3.354; cf. Cicero, *Letters to Friends* 15.4.6 = 110 Shackleton Bailey) The passages from *Georgics* 4, which come from Virgil's depiction of the bee community—an allegory of contemporary Rome, on some level—are the first instances in which the term is applied to Rome: this is an architectural variant of kingship discourse, reinforcing the associations with Caesarion (see below). Cf. Pease (296) on *aulā*: 'suggesting that she desired an heir to the throne to occupy her royal palace.'

[329]*quī tē tamen ōre referret*: in a not entirely wholesome way, the formulation recalls [11]*quem sēsē ōre ferēns, quam fortī pectore et armīs!*

[330]*nōn equidem omnīnō capta ac dēserta uidērer*: translators vary in how they render *capta ac dēserta*: 'lonely and betrayed' (Bartsch), 'captured and then abandoned' (Fratantuono–Smith), 'vanquished and forlorn' (Goold), 'shattered and alone' (McGill and Wright) 'betrayed and desolate' (West). The sense of 'capture' surely resonates (and extends from queen to city, setting up the *urbs-capta* motif that comes powerfully to the fore in 669–71), but in what sense has Dido been conquered? She was the one setting out

in erotic pursuit (after, to be sure, being 'vanquished' by Amor—but Dido does not know of Venus' limey plot). Arguably, the meaning of *capta* here includes 'enarmoured' (*OLD capiō* 18), 'corrupted' (*OLD* 19), 'deluded' (*OLD* 20) before being abandoned (*dēserta*). Dido resents that she was tricked into allowing Aeneas to take advantage of her favours only to have him suddenly and unceremoniously end the relationship. So perhaps: 'duped and dumped'. From her point of view, she would not look entirely (*omnīnō*) the fool if she had at least a child to write home about.

Dido's baby wish

Virgil continues the Homeric paradigm of 'nonreproductive mingling' for his protagonist during his travels: Aeneas' sex with Dido is as sterile as that of the Homeric Odysseus, who despite regular intercourse with various immortals during his voyage (Circe, Calypso) does not sire offspring. (In an alternative tradition, however, he had several children by Circe, including Telegonos, who ended up killing his father: perhaps a possible plot on Dido's wistful mind.) From a modern perspective, Aeneas abandoning a Dido pregnant with his child might seem the height of betrayal. And yet, Dido bitterly regrets that she did not conceive before his departure. How are we to interpret her counterfactual desire for a 'little Aeneas'?

(a) Dido maintains that the infant look-alike would lessen her loneliness. Her emphasis on the resemblance of father and son highlights conflicted emotions: the imaginary child, as a living reminder of his desired but treacherous dad, is bound to trigger nostalgic love and abiding hatred in equal measure. Dido's tortuous syntax expresses the conflict. As Schiesaro (2005: 90) points out with reference to 329, 'the normal meaning of *tamen* following a relative pronoun is "who however", "although he", and the relative clause "acts as a parenthesis or aside" [*OLD* 6]. Thus the expected meaning of *qui te tamen ore referret* is "[I wish I had a small Aeneas playing in the house] although in/with his face he would remind me of *you*"' (as opposed to the resemblance being a source of consolation, which is the preferred rendering of most translators and commentators).

(b) The marked phrase *paruulus Aenēās* 'mini-Aeneas' (= 'little Aenny'?), with an attribute that amounts to 'diminutive squared'

(*paruulus* is the diminutive of *paruus* = small), recalls another wished-for offspring, the *paruulus Torquātus* of Catullus 61 ([209]*Torquātus ... paruulus*), a wedding hymn that evokes the ideal of mutually enamoured spouses satisfying each other's sexual needs and producing a child who looks just like his father. How does the intertext work? Gutting (2006: 268) foregrounds contrast: 'the *parvulus Torquatus* exemplifies perfectly the use of children as tokens of the conjugal bond. Catullus explains that the child should be a replica of his father in order to serve as a sign to all of his mother's *pudicitia* (61.209–18). But in Dido's case, the typically conjugal desire for a child who looks like his father has become a facet of erotic desire.' And yet: if we take the genre Catullus is writing in seriously, then Dido is thinking of a wedding first of all, a proper and joyful union blessed with offspring. She did not have the proper wedding (although she might cling to the delusion), but she still wants to have offspring. Why? There is an unsettling subtext to Catullus' seemingly joyous celebration of agnatic continuity. The *gēns Mānlia*, to which Torquatus belonged, had a notorious record of fathers executing their own sons for disobedience (Feeney 2010). Does this subliminal Catullan darkness seep subliminally into the *Aeneid* via the allusion?

(c) Arguably yes, especially since infanticide will be on Dido's mind shortly. A prominent *altera ego* of hers is Medea, who butchered her infant brother Absyrtus, dropping him bit by bit from the Argo on the flight from Colchis to slow down the pursuers and later murdered her own children to exact revenge on Jason (cf. Figs 68 and 49. At 601–2, Ascanius is very much in Dido's crosshair. —> ***TD*** Schiesaro.

(d) The references to child-murder also resonate with the practice (apparently historical, certainly believed to be such by various Greek and Roman authors) of Punic Carthage to sacrifice infants to the goddess Tanit (an equivalent of Juno; cf. Fig. 38). Thus, Morgan (2018b, with reference to Davidson 1998) suggests that 'little Aeneas' might have become a sacrificial victim.

(e) Dido's imaginary child, as John Henderson points out, prefigures a real child, born from the union between a member of the *gēns Iūlia* (Caesar) and an African queen (Cleopatra), the ill-fated Caesarion (= a diminutive of Caesar) (23 June 47 – 29 August 30 BCE; he was killed shortly after Actium). Here is Suetonius on Caesar the woman(izer) (*Jul*. 52):

dīlēxit et rēgīnās, inter quās Eunoēn Mauram Bogudis uxōrem, cui marītōque eius plurima et immēnsa tribuit, ut Nāsō scrīpsit; sed maximē ***Cleopatram, cum quā et conuīuia in prīmam lūcem saepe prōtrāxit*** et eādem nāue thalamēgō paene Aethiopiā tenus Aegyptum penetrāuit, nisī exercitus sequī recūsāsset, quam dēnique accītam in urbem nōn nisī maximīs honōribus praemiīsque auctam remīsit ***fīliumque nātum appellāre nōmine suō passus est. quem quidem nonnūllī Graecōrum similem quoque Caesarī et fōrmā et incessū trādidērunt***. M. Antōnius adgnitum etiam ab eō senātuī adfirmāuit, idque scīre C. Matium et C. Oppium reliquōsque Caesaris amīcōs; quōrum Gāius Oppius, quasi plānē dēfēnsiōne ac patrōciniō res egēret, librum ēdidit, nōn esse Caesaris fīlium, quem Cleopatra dīcat. Heluius Cinna tr. pl. plērīsque cōnfessus est habuisse sē scrīptam parātamque lēgem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, utī uxōrēs līberōrum quaerendōrum causā quās et quot uellet dūcere licēret. at nē cui dubium omnīnō sit et impudīcitiae et adulteriōrum flagrāsse īnfāmiā, Cūriō pater quādam eum ōrātiōne omnium mulierum uirum et omnium uirōrum mulierem appellat.

[He had love affairs with queens too, including Eunoe the Moor, wife of Bogud, on whom, as well as on her husband, he bestowed many splendid presents, as Naso writes; **but above all with Cleopatra, with whom he often feasted until daybreak**, and he would have gone through Egypt with her in her state-barge almost to Aethiopia, had not his soldiers refused to follow him. Finally he called her to Rome and did not let her leave until he had ladened her with high honours and rich gifts, and **he allowed her to give his name to the child which she bore. In fact, according to certain Greek writers, this child was very like Caesar in looks and carriage**. Mark Antony declared to the senate that Caesar had really acknowledged the boy, and that Gaius Matius, Gaius Oppius, and other friends of Caesar knew this. Of these Gaius Oppius, as if admitting that the situation required apology and defence, published a book, to prove that the child whom Cleopatra said was Caesar's was not his. Helvius Cinna, tribune of the people, admitted to several that he had a bill drawn up in due form, which Caesar had ordered him to propose to the people in his absence, making it lawful for Caesar to marry what wives he wished, and as many as he wished, 'for the purpose of begetting children'. But to remove all doubt that he had an evil reputation both for shameless vice and for adultery, I have only to add that the elder Curio in one of his speeches calls him "every woman's man and every man's woman."]

Cleopatra and Caesar behave just as Dido and Aeneas do: with *cum quā et conuīuia in prīmam lūcem saepe prōtrāxit* 'with whom he often feasted until daybreak', compare the welcoming banquet: [1.748–49]*nec nōn et uariō*

noctem sermōne trahēbat | īnfēlīx Dīdō, and then also [4.77]*nunc eadem lābente diē conuīuia quaerit* (though they call it a night earlier). In fact, Aeneas resembles Caesar (1.588–91, the moment Dido first catches sight of the Trojan hero):

> restitit Aenēās clārāque in lūce refulsit
> ōs umerōsque deō similis; namque ipsa decōram
> caesariem nātō genetrīx lūmenque iuuentae
> purpureum et laetōs oculīs adflārat honōrēs.

> [Aeneas stood forth, gleaming in the clear light, godlike in face and shoulders; for his mother herself had shed upon her son the beauty of flowing locks [= *caesar-iem*], with youth's ruddy bloom, and on his eyes a joyous lustre.]

The legitimacy or illegitimacy of the offspring is a highly contentious issue from the start. Roman readers who pursued the implications of this intertext, then, would have ended up in uncomfortable territory. After Actium, it was clear that Caesarion was a 'dead child walking'. See Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 81–82: 'But Caesarion, who was said to be Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar, was sent by his mother, with much treasure, into India, by way of Ethiopia. There Rhodon, another tutor like Theodorus, persuaded him to go back, on the ground that Caesar (= Octavian) invited him to take the kingdom. But while Caesar (= Octavian) was deliberating on the matter, we are told that Areius said: "Not a good thing were a Caesar too many" (οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη – a riff on *Iliad* 2.204 οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη "No good thing is a multitude of rulers"). As for Caesarion, then, he was afterwards put to death by Caesar (= Octavian), – after the death of Cleopatra.' Dido's baby-wish conjures the shade of Caesarion in the bitter register of Catullan sentimentality. It is one of those instances that feed into Virgil's comprehensive aetiology: in one way or another, all events in Roman history are prefigured in the epic. And Caesarion was a very recent and contested figure, even if official accounts tend to write him out of history (Powell 2010: 186–87).

331–361: Mandatory Logout

Before we get Aeneas' response, Virgil spends 2.5 lines on a psychological snapshot of his hero, with due attention to both reason (or sense of duty and obligation) and emotion (*cūra* rather than *amor*) as well as their conflicting pulls. The interior is complex and conflicted, his subsequent speech a model of measured discourse. Aeneas differentiates sharply between (i) the standard reciprocities of hospitality, gift-exchange and gratitude, and what Dido claims additionally on the basis of (ii) the intimate nature of their relationship and mutual affection (317–18*sī*... *fuit aut tibi quicquam* | *dulce meum*) and (iii) contractual marriage. In his response, Aeneas avers that he meets the expectations of a good guest (i); that he means well but his heart is elsewhere—that is, he never experienced the same depth of feeling as Dido (ii); and that he has entered no permanent obligations and is therefore free to leave on his terms (iii). Meant as a self-exculpating attempt at damage control, his speech ends up pouring gasoline on the fire.

331–332: dīxerat. ille Iouis monitīs immōta tenēbat | **lūmin**(**a**) **et obnīxus cūram sub corde premēbat:** 331 is a finely modulated verse. We get an exclamatory diaeresis after *dīxerat* (likewise 2.150, 4.238, 9.743, 10.530, all charged moments), a weak caesura after *ille* (putting the spotlight on Aeneas: how will he react?), another weak caesura after *monitīs* (establishing Jupiter's warnings as the primary consideration for Aeneas: the abl. is causal), an evocative paronomasia (*monitīs* ~ *immōta*) across the caesura that shows Jovian motivation in action, and an enjambment of *lūmina* that might be taken to intimate that Aeneas kept or tried to keep (do you interpret the imperfects as durative or conative?) his gaze fixed downwards (or are we to imagine him 'looking steadily at her': Maclennan: 123?). Line 332 by contrast features no meaningful break at all. The elision further ensures a seamless transition

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from his outward appearance of calm to his inner turmoil (*et* may have a slight adversative force: 'and/yet at the same time'). What Dido sees and what happens behind the impassive visage are two different things: *obnīxus* implies strenuous physical exertion pushing up against (*ob-*) something heavy (as in 406; the *OLD* classifies our passage as a figurative use of the verb). As often, the perf. part. of the deponent expresses contemporaneous action with the main verb: 'with great effort (i.e. fighting against impulses of sympathy and love: it is tempting to take *cūram* with both *obnīxus* and *premēbat*) he tried to...' Payback awaits in the Underworld: when Aeneas reaches out to Dido in the realm of the dead, she averts her gaze and keeps her eyes fixed on the ground (6.469*illa solō fīxōs oculōs āuersa tenēbat*).

Extra information

Both *cūra* and *cor* (Virgil primarily mentions the hearts of VIPs: Juno, Aeneas, Dido, Hercules, Turnus, Latinus) are highly emotive words in the *Aeneid*, especially in combination and especially in Carthage. Here is Aeneas after his speech of encouragement to his shipwrecked comrades: 1.208–9*tālia uōce refert* ***cūrīs****que ingentibus aeger* | *spem uultū simulat,* ***premit*** *altum* ***corde*** *dolōrem* 'such words he spoke, while sick with deep distress he feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stifles his anguish'. Suppression of feelings and putting on a brave face are characteristics of Aeneas. By contrast, Dido's welcome to Aeneas' men in their hour of need turns out to be tinged with tragic irony (1.562'*soluite* ***corde*** *metum, Teucrī, sēclūdite* ***cūrās***' 'Free your hearts of fear, Teucrians; put away your cares'. The narrative tracks a transference: the *cūra* of Dido in the sense of *amor* becomes a leitmotif of Book 4: see 205. The specific collocation of suppressing something *sub corde* recurs only once and perhaps not coincidentally just before the death of Pallas (10.464–65*audiit Alcīdēs iuuenem magnumque* ***sub īmō*** | ***corde premit*** *gemitum lacrimāsque effundit inānīs* 'Alcides [= Hercules] heard the youth, and deep in his heart stifled a heavy groan, and shed useless tears'). Aeneas' departure from Carthage sparks a trail of tears that culminates in the death of Pallas (and then Turnus).

331*immōta*: the theme of fixity and flux evoked by *immōta* is implicated in much broader concerns, including the fundamental antitheses of

the poem between stability and flux, cosmos and chaos, *fātum* and *fortūna*: —> ***TD*** 'Content and Form'

333[a]: tandem pauca refert: the adv. *tandem* picks up on Aeneas' inner struggles: he takes his time to find his bearings before replying. It recalls [304]*tandem* but stands in implicit contrast to Dido's instant outburst when confronting Aeneas ([304]*ultrō*). Aeneas seems to have thought carefully about what he is going to say, even though he comes across as negative, confrontational, defensive. What remains open is whether we are to construe *tandem* adversatively or causally vis-à-vis *pauca*: does Aeneas have few things to say despite or because of his deliberate approach? In terms of sheer verbiage his speech is longer than Dido's, which suggests that *pauca* is to be understood qualitatively. Despite his reserve in Book 4, Aeneas displays remarkable eloquence elsewhere (not least in Books 2 and 3); he is also acutely aware of the deceptive potential of speech and its limitations in expressing physical and emotional pain. On Aeneas' 'taciturnity', see further Feeney (1983).

333[b]–361: In contrast to Dido, Aeneas makes sure to have his emotions under control (331–32) before he starts to speak:

A 333[b]–336:	*captātiō beneuolentiae*	= 3.5 lines
B 337–339:	Rejoinder	= 3 lines
C[1] 340–344:	I and my family/ kingdom	= 5 lines
D[1] 345–350:	Divine Instructions received in the past	= 6 lines
	[347]*hic amor, haec patria est…*	
C[2] 351–355:	I and my family/ kingdom	= 5 lines
D[2] 356–359:	Divine Instructions received recently	= 4 lines
E 360–361[a]:	Concluding Exhortation	= 1.5 lines

Virgil begins with a *captātiō beneuolentiae* (A), an attempt to render Dido well-disposed towards his discourse. Then he gives a rejoinder (B) to Dido's two main charges: that he wanted to abscond in secret, and that he is breaking up a marriage. He brushes them aside as a distortion of the truth. In the process, his decision to leave receives non-negotiable consolidation. In the body of the speech, he explains his rationale, giving equal weight to, while alternating between, human and divine considerations. C^1 and C^2 (= 10 lines) focus on his own preferences

and those of his closest kin (father and son). D^1 and D^2 (= 10 lines) focus on past and present instructions received from the gods. He concludes with an exhortation to accept the inevitable (E). Virgil links the C- and D-sections by way of lexical repetition: [340]*mē* = start of C^1, [351]*mē* = start of C^2 (cf. [354]*mē*); [345]*sed nunc* = start of D^1, [356]*nunc etiam* = start of D^2. There is a gradual evolution of perspective: Aeneas begins with his own preferences, which are, like Dido's, counterfactual (C^1). But already in this counterfactual opening, he establishes his devotion to his country as his overriding preoccupation. It simply happens to no longer be Troy but, as D^1 makes clear, Italy. At the most obvious level, and one that Aeneas foregrounds, seeking Italy is a matter of obeying divine injunctions ([346]*iussēre*, reinforced in D^2 [357]*mandāta*) and abiding by proto-Roman religious law ([350]*fās*), which here amounts to *pietās ergā deōs*. But at the very centre of the speech, we get an affectively simple expression of refocused *pietās ergā patriam* ([347]*hic amor*, *haec patria est*). The language of love is striking and in latent contradiction to his emphasis that he is acting under divine compulsion: at heart, Aeneas is and remains a patriot (if currently on the move), though in C^2 he shores up his commitment to his new *patria* by aligning it with the preferences of his father and his son: for an epic autocrat there is no tension between religious, patriotic and familial loyalty, between *pietās ergā deōs*, *pietās ergā patriam*, and *pietās ergā patrem* (*fīliumque*).

Where is Dido in this discourse of Mr. Pietās? If one surveys the speech, she figures primarily at the outset ([333]*tē*; [334]*ualēs*, *rēgīna*; [335]*Elissae*; [338]*nē finge*) and (towards) the end ([357]*utrumque caput*; [360]*dēsine*, *tuīs*, *tē*), while being absent from the C sections and almost absent from the D sections. But Aeneas brings her back into play at the patriotic centre of the speech (D^1), using Dido's patriotism towards Carthage ([347]*sī tē*...) to justify his ('impossible!', John Henderson objects) patriotism towards Italy; and he swears an oath that he has experienced a divine epiphany on both of their lives ([357]*testor utrumque caput*; D^2), situating her within the forcefield of *pietās*. His self-positioning is equally deft. He assumes a prominent presence in the opening *captātiō beneuolentiae* ([333]*ego*; [334]*negābō*; [335]*mē*; [336]*memor ipse meī*, *hōs*) and the brief rejoinder ([337]*loquar*, *ego*; [338]*spērāuī*, [339]*praetendī*, *uēnī*), but then fades into the background in sections C^1, D^1 and C^2, where he refers to himself in oblique cases ([340]*mē*; [341]*sponte meā*; [351]*mē*; [354]*mē*), or the implied subject of a past counterfactual

condition ([344]*posuissem*) or relative clause ([355]*fraudō*), in a deliberate downplaying of his agency. This agency returns to the fore in D^2 where he bears witness to divine events only known to him ([357]*testor utrumque caput*; [358]*ipse ... uīdī*; [359]*hausī*) but recedes again in E ([360]*mē*; [361]*nōn sponte sequor*), in line with his effort to give the impression that he is (primarily) acting in response to factors and forces outside his control.

While he counters the two main charges at the outset, he obliquely engages with various other aspects of Dido's outburst throughout the rest of the speech (see line commentary for details).

333[b]–336: 'ego tē, quae plūrima fandō | [334]**ēnumerāre ualēs, numquam, rēgīna, negābō** | [335]**prōmeritam** [esse] **nec mē meminisse pigēbit Elissae,** | [336]**dum memor** [sum] **ipse meī, dum spīritus hōs regit artūs**: Aeneas literally says: 'I will never deny (*negābō*, governing an indirect statement), Queen, that you (*tē*: subject acc.) have deserved (*prōmeritam*: inf. of indirect statement) a great number of the things (*plūrima*: acc. obj. of *prōmeritam esse* and antecedent of *quae*, though placed within the relative clause) that you have the power (*ualēs*) to enumerate in speech (*fandō*), nor will it displease (*pigēbit*) me (*mē*) to recall Elissa (*meminisse*, construed with gen. object), while I have memory of myself, while breath governs these limbs.' While *prōmeritam* responds to Dido's outburst at [317]*sī bene quid dē tē meruī...*, Aeneas does *not* say '... you have deserved of me ['of me' is not in the Latin] the utmost you can set forth in speech...' (Goold) or 'all (those) many things which you can list in words, I shall never deny that you-have-done-as-kindnesses' (Maclennan) or 'That I owe you, my ruler, All you could list in your speech I would never deny' (Ahl). These are all things he *might* have said. But if he had, he would have conceded that he is deeply in Dido's debt. Aeneas makes no such concession. What he says boils down to: 'You have deserved whatever you may wish for', which is a general expression of goodwill that, crucially, does not implicate himself in any violation of the principle of reciprocity, before he goes on to assure Dido that he will always hold her in fond memory as long as he lives (which, he implies, is as much as she has any right to insist on in return for the services rendered). The stilted rhetoric and contorted syntax help to generate the impression that he is saying something along the lines of what Goold, Maclennan, Ahl, and others read into the Latin, without his doing any such thing: he proves himself all too effective an orator!

Other touches in Aeneas' opening add to the 'rhetoric of affection without conceding obligation': (a) the intimate opening *ego tē* ('English cannot bring out the force of this juxtaposition; the two persons concerned face each other syntactically, as it were, and the importance for both of what is being said receives clear emphasis': Austin: 106); (b) the superlative *plūrima* (of *plūs*), which feeds into a variant of the 'limit-of-language' topos with *fandō* | *ēnumerāre ualēs*; (c) the extreme adverb *numquam*, picked up in the two *dum*-clauses (theme and variation); (d) the use of the composite *prō-meritam*; (e) his sequence of self-references (following up on *ego*) reinforced by onomatopoeia (*prō-me-ritam*, *mē*, *me-minisse*, *me-mor*, *meī*); (f) his use of *figūra etymologica* (*meminisse*, *memor*) with changing genitive obj. (Dido and himself), which re-articulates the '*ego tē*' opening and suggests that Dido, in memory, has become a part of himself; and (g) his invocation of human mortality within a wider, vague metaphysics (*spīritus* has a proto-philosophical ring: it can refer to the Stoic divinity that permeates and governs the universe as well as its instantiation as a human soul; cf. 6.722–25).

And yet, his expression of gratitude and goodwill here is decidedly less gushing than in Book 1. In response to Dido's warm welcome, Aeneas calls upon the gods to reward Dido for her services (1.603–5) and then assures her in flowery speech that she will not be forgotten wherever he might end up: [607–9]*in freta dum fluuiī current*, *dum montibus umbrae* | *lūstrābunt*, *conuexa polus dum sīdera pāscet*, | *semper honōs nōmenque tuum laudēsque manēbunt*, | *quae mē cumque uocant terrae* 'While rivers run to ocean, while on the mountains shadows move over slopes, while heaven feeds the stars, ever shall your honour, your name, and your praises abide, whatever be the lands that summon me!' The cosmic background continues to resonate, but the proto-Roman markers of distinction (*honōs*, *nōmen*, *laudēs*) are gone, replaced by a fond personal memory. Cicero, thanking the senate for his recall from exile, shows what a proper expression of gratitude for services rendered sounds like (*Red. Sen.* 1):

> *quae tanta enim potest exsistere ūbertās ingenī, quae tanta dīcendī cōpia, quod tam dīuīnum atque incrēdibile genus ōrātiōnis, quō quisquam possit uestra <u>in nōs</u> ūniuersa prōmerita nōn dīcam complectī ōrandō, sed percēnsēre numerandō?*
>
> [For where shall we find such fecundity of mind, where such exuberance of language, where an eloquence of so miraculous an inspiration, as to be able, I will not say fully to express all the benefits you have conferred <u>upon us</u>, but even to enumerate them in a cursory review?]

[333b]*fandō*: an instrumental abl. of the gerund: 'by speaking'. Aeneas here speaks of Dido speaking, but (by curious coincidence?) the only voice in the *Aeneid* who uses this construction with *fārī* is his own (at 2.6, 2.81 ventriloquizing Sinon, 2.361 *quis clādem illīus noctis, quis fūnera fandō | explicet aut possit lacrimīs aequāre labōrēs?* 'Who could unfold in speech that night's havoc? Who its carnage? Who could match our toils with tears?', 3.481 ventriloquizing Helenus).

[335]*Elissae*: an alternative name for Dido. Virgil uses *Dīdō* thirty-four times, exclusively in the (identical) nominative and vocative. *Elissa* he uses thrice, each time in the genitive (335, 611 and 5.3–4). Cf. McDermott (1943).

[336]*dum memor ipse meī, dum spīritus hōs regit artūs*: theme and variation. In other instances of *memor* in the *Aeneid*, someone is mindful of something/someone else, Aeneas is 'mindful of himself', which is a chichi way of saying 'as long as I live'. He instantly follows up with an even more pretentious gloss, invoking soul/body dualism. Put on the spot, Aeneas opts to be portentously emphatic about an irrelevancy: verbal squirming at its best/worst.

337[a]: prō rē pauca loquar: *rēs* (here in the sense of 'matter at issue', in a dispute, esp. in a court of law: *OLD* 11) stands for the two main charges: that he is (a) trying to abscond in secret; and (b) breaking his wedding vow. As far as he is concerned, neither charge is true, and in 337–39 he simply denies them before offering a broader rationale for his sudden departure (which, he claims, is entirely within his rights). *prō* = 'with reference to, in relation to' (*OLD* 18).

337[b]–339: nequ(e) eg(o) hanc abscondere fūrtō | spērāuī (nē finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam | praetendī taedās aut haec in foedera uēnī: Aeneas devotes 1.5 lines to Dido's two main charges: secret flight and broken marriage bond. They are coordinated by *neque ... nec ...* His rejection of the first charge comes with the forceful, parenthetical *nē finge* (*nē* + imperative—rather than *nōlī* + inf. or *nē* + perf. subjunctive is a poetic usage: A–G 450a). The second charge receives consideration from two different angles (coordinated by *aut*): the wedding (*taedās*: torches were key paraphernalia of the ritual (Hersch: 2010) but are far less fraught a term than Dido's [316]*per cōnūbia nostra, per inceptōs*

hymenaeōs); and its political implications (*foedera*: 'alliance', sg. for pl.; cf. Gladhill 2016). As Austin (108) observes, the sense of *praetendere* here is both literal ('to hold out': *OLD* 1) and metaphorical ('to put forward as a pretext/allege in excuse': *OLD* 4), referring to the ritual holding of the marriage torch (though using a non-technical term) and pretending that such a ritual has taken place. It implicitly answers [172]*praetexit*: unlike Dido, Aeneas (or so he claims) never considered their liaison a marriage. By contrast, he accepts her label of his departure as a 'flight' (*fugam*, much delayed, following use of the term by the narrator at 281, where it is perhaps focalized via Aeneas), though objects to her charge (unwarranted, in light of 291–94) that he hoped to do so in secret (*neque … abscondere fūrtō | spērāuī* directly responds to Dido's question at 305–6 *dissimulāre … spērāstī … tantum | posse nefās, tacitusque meā dēcēdere terrā?*). There are further concessions built into the grammar: the genitive *coniugis* (responding to [324]*hoc sōlum nōmen quoniam dē coniuge rēstat*) could imply that he has held out other torches, just as the demonstrative *haec* modifying *foedera* could imply that he has entered some kind of *foedera* (just not marriage). (John Henderson suspects that we are supposed to smell a rat here, protesting *too much detail*: the more Aeneas goes on denying, the more mealy his mouth gets? Quoting chapter and verse just means playing deaf and deadened!)

[339]*taedae*: torches are a central paraphernalia of weddings (and funerals), both events of transition. Night-time weddings would explain the practice (Hersch 2010: 138; cf. 165 on marriage and death as 'the bookends of an adult's married life').

340–344: mē sī fāta meīs paterentur dūcere uītam | [341]auspiciīs et sponte meā compōnere cūrās, | [342]urbem Trōiānam prīmum dulcīsque meōrum | [343]rēliquiās colerem, Priamī tēct(a) alta manērent, | [344]et recidīua manū posuissem Pergama uictīs: for the most part, the sentence consists of a regular present counterfactual condition, with the verbs in the protasis (*paterentur*) and apodosis (*colerem*, *manērent* in asyndeton, responding to [308–9]*sī … Trōia antīqua manēret*) in imperfect subjunctive, but with a past counterfactual coda (*posuissem*: pluperf. subjunctive). Aeneas does not wish away the destruction of Troy but longs to rebuild it. A prose rearrangement of the word order in the protasis—*sī fāta mē dūcere uītam auspiciīs meīs et compōnere cūrās sponte meā paterentur*—brings out

the emphases in Virgil's verse: (a) the proleptic *mē*, (b) the hyperbaton *meīs ... auspiciīs* (reinforced by enjambment), and (c) the chiastic *meīs ... auspiciīs* : *sponte meā* all foreground the fact that he, too, is prevented from realizing his deepest desires on account of the *fāta*. O'Hara (58) suggests that [344]*et* has causal force: '...and (almost = "for") I should (before now) with my hand have raised a restored citadel for the vanquished.' *manū* (= 'by my own physical efforts', 'by direct/personal action': *OLD* 21b) puts volition (*sponte meā*) into practice. This last part of the apodosis spells out what Aeneas means by [341]*cūrās compōnere*, namely [344]*Pergama recidīua uictīs pōnere* (here in the sense of 'to build, construct, found': *OLD* 3). The concluding *uictīs* (dat. of advantage: 'for the conquered') is fraught with pathos and a brutal reminder that the Phoenix has yet to rise from the ashes: the *Aeneid* plots the transformation of Aeneas from *uictus* in Book 1 to *uictor* in Book 12.

[340]*meīs ... auspiciīs*: *auspicium* is a technical term of Rome's civic religion. It refers to the right to consult the will of the gods by taking auspices and then making executive decisions, hence the secondary meanings 'leadership' or 'being in command'. In presupposing an open future shaped by humans in consultation with the divine, the practice of taking auspices belongs to a religious system that clashes with the idea of *fāta*, which posits the future as (essentially) fixed in advance. *auspicium* here stands for individual autonomy and freedom of choice, *fāta* for external factors that restrict human agency. From a Roman point of view, Aeneas was *aliēnī iūris* until Anchises died (and the *patria potestās* transferred to him), but he is still far from his own man: the *fāta* exercise *imperium* and he feels forced to lead his life in obeisance to their orders. Rupturing *fātum* is possible, as we shall see, but it requires an unusual degree of wilful resistance, which only one character in the poem is able to muster: Dido. (By projecting proto-Roman terminology into the legendary past, Virgil also provides an implicit aetiology for the political culture of contemporary Rome.)

[341]*sponte meā*: *spōns*, which is used only in the abl. and (rarely) gen. sg., is a synonym of *uoluntās*. Unlike *auspicium*, which designates a socially sanctioned form of executive power tied to specific roles, it refers to (internal) will or volition. Aeneas presents his agency as severely compromised in more ways than one.

342–43*dulcīs... meōrum | rēliquiās* in implicit answer to 317–18*fuit aut tibi quicquam | dulce meum* (where *dulce* = affording enjoyment: *OLD* 5). The sense here is 'held in affection, cherished, dear' (*OLD* 6).

344*recidīua ... Pergama*: the basic sense of *recidīuus* is 'falling back' (of seeds into the soil) leading to renewed growth. Aeneas has not yet fully bought into the idea of *trānslātiō imperiī*, of Troy as a 'seed corn' for Rome in *Italy*. He still hankers after the (site of the) city he was forced to leave, even though the entire point of the *Aeneid* is to relocate Troy by way of identifying the (static) city with its (mobile) people and their culture. In the *Aeneid*, 'Troy' is temporarily on the move (in the form of *Trōiāna gēns*, *Trōiānus sanguis*, *Trōiāna iuuentūs*, *Trōiānum agmen*, *Trōiānae mātrēs*, *Trōiānus dux*...) before settling down, intermingling with the locals, and regrowing as 'Rome'. Other key lines that operate with the notion of (*recidīua*) *Pergama* include 1.206 (Jupiter speaking) *illīc fās rēgna resurgere Trōiae* 'there [= in Latium] it is divinely ordained that Troy's realm shall rise again'; 7.321–22, where Juno calls Aeneas 'a second Paris' (*Paris alter*) and a 'funeral torch for reborn Troy' (*fūnestae ... recidīua in Pergama taedae*); 8.36–37 (Tiber speaking to Aeneas) '*Ō sate gente deum, Trōiānam ex hostibus urbem | quī reuehis nobīs aeternaque Pergama seruās*...' 'Seed of a race divine, you who from enemy's hands bring back to us our Trojan city, and preserve her towers for ever'; and 10.58, where Venus remonstrates about the trials and tribulations of Aeneas 'while his Teucrians seek Latium and a new-born Troy' (*dum Latium Teucrī recidīuaque Pergama quaerunt*). The sequence comes to an ambiguous end in Juno's final words in the poem, which she uses to declare Troy dead and buried and begs Jupiter to keep it that way (12.828*occidit, occideritque sinās cum nōmine Trōia*). Did she get her wish?

345–346: sed nunc Ītaliam magnam Grȳnēus Apollō [sc. iussit capessere]**, | Ītaliam Lyciae iussēre capessere sortēs**: *sed nunc* introduces a determined pivot from Troy to Italy, reinforced by the frontal placement of *Ītaliam magnam* and *Ītaliam*, the acc. objects of *capessere* (*capio* + *-esso*, here in the sense 'to make for, to go towards/to': *OLD* 5). (The first is 1 of 3 out of 39 instances of *Ītalia* in the poem with an attribute: Aeneas' tune has changed since 3.552–53*humilem ... uidēmus | Ītaliam*; and he does not have Jupiter's insight: 229–30*bellō ... frementem | Ītaliam*). He appeals to two sources of oracular knowledge: Apollo, who had a temple in Gryneum,

a city in the Aeolis region on the Ionian Coast (see Pausanias 1.21.7 for a description; cf. *Eclogue* 6.72–73: Apollo's favourite spot); and the 'Lycian lots', a reference to the oracle of Apollo in Lycia, a region in Southwest Anatolia (cf. 143 with Fig. 85). The oracles there were written on tablets, which rattle in tune with the rhotic sibilation in *iussēre capessere sortēs*. These consultations are not mentioned anywhere in the *Aeneid* (though Aeneas receives Apollo's wisdom via Helenus in Buthrotum: 3.369–462). Dido has of course no means of fact-checking (she flat-out refuses to believe Mercury's epiphany, see below 377–80). For speculations on why these two places are mentioned, see O'Hara (1993b) and Fletcher (2014: 153–54).

347[a]: hic amor, haec patria (**e**)**st:** 'this is my love [an aggressive reply to [307]*nec tē noster amor...?*], this is my country'. For the attraction of the demonstratives ('Deictic; decisive; devastating to the lovesick queen': Fratantuono–Smith: 534) to the gender of their predicate noun, see A–G 296a. Aeneas implicitly dismisses Dido's characterization of his destination as [311–12]*arua aliēna domōsque ignōtās*. Cf. (the starkly paradoxical) [1.380]*Ītaliam quaerō*—which is therefore precisely *not* (yet) his *patria*. Aeneas here shifts his affective loyalties from Dido to his future country, a non-negotiable move facilitated by the fact that *amoR* is a reverse anagram of *Roma* (O'Hara 1996: 156).

347[b]–350[a]: sī tē Karthāginis arcēs, | Phoenīssam, Libycaequ(**e**) **aspectus dētinet urbis, | quae tand**(**em**) **Ausoniā Teucrōs cōnsīdere terrā | inuidia** (**e**)**st?:** *Phoenīssam* ('Lady from Phoenicia') stands in apposition to *tē* as part of a rhetorical question that involves a geographical analogy: 'if the towers of *Carthage* and sight of the *Libyan* city have a hold on *you*, a *Phoenician* [= an arrival from the Eastern Mediterranean], what justifiable grudge (*inuidia*), I ask you (*tandem*, here expressing a sense of protest: *OLD* 1b), is there against us *Trojans* [= a people from the Eastern Mediterranean] settling in *Ausonian* [= Western] land?' Virgil's verse design interweaves Dido (*tē ... Phoenīssam*) and her new home (*Karthāginis arcēs*, *Libycae ... urbis*) as foils for the analogy, brought out via juxtaposition of *Ausoniā* (... *terrā*) and *Teucrōs*. This is the only moment in the speech where Aeneas argues with Dido (as opposed to explaining himself or giving her orders: [338]*nē finge*; [360]*dēsine*), suggesting that she is applying double standards to their respective migration trajectories and settler regimes.

350[b]: et nōs fās [est] **extera quaerere rēgna:** Aeneas here responds to (and categorically rejects) Dido's charge that his departure from Carthage constitutes an unspeakable outrage against divine law (305–6*tantum nefās*). *fās* means 'that what is permissible or ordained by divine law' (in contrast to *iūs* 'civil law'). Both permission and ordainment are in play here: in keeping with the thrust of the rhetorical question, Aeneas asserts that under the rules of divinely sanctioned fair play, 'we too (*et*) have the right to seek a realm abroad'; but he also knows (and emphasizes throughout the speech) that their search is not just permitted but divinely ordained, playing on the etymological connection between *fās* and *fātum* (via *fārī* 'to speak'). Cf. 1.206 (Jupiter speaking) *illīc fās rēgna resurgere Trōiae* 'there [= in Latium] it is divinely ordained that Troy's realm shall rise again'. (In the meantime, *extera* gives the lie to any distancing of Carthage from Italy: either both are home from home or neither can *become* anyone's *patria*...)

351–353: mē patris Anchīsae, quotiēns ūmentibus umbrīs | nox operit terrās, quotiēns astr(a) ignea surgunt, | admonet in somnīs et turbida terret imāgō: Aeneas claims that he has been having nightly paternal dream-apparitions. Three intricately crafted verses convey the insistent horror of the experience: he places himself (*mē*: acc. obj.) and his dad (*patris Anchīsae*: gen. dependent on *imago*: the hyperbaton is huge) in oblique cases up front, then builds up tension via two *quotiēns*-clauses in asyndeton (the gemination enacts the meaning of *quotiēns*: this—so Aeneas claims—happens each and every night, in perpetual repetition), before completing the main clause with the verbs *admonet ... et ... terret*, the adverbial qualification *in somnīs* ('in a dream') that links back to the *quotiēns*-clauses, and, finally, the subject: *turbida ... imāgō*. While it refers to Anchises' ghostly shape *in tōtō*, *imāgō* is also a technical term for the wax-masks of deceased former magistrates (a key element of Rome's memorial culture: Flower 1996) made from busts and put on display in the *ātria* of noble houses—that is, it refers specifically to the face. Aeneas gives an evocative description of nightfall, with alliterative paronomasia and 'quantitative closing' (4 > 2 syllables) in *ūmentibus umbrīs* (instrumental abl. in antithesis to *astra ignea* in sound and sense; *umbra* is one of Virgil's favourite words, referring both to shadows and shades of the dead, and it is the last word of the poem: see further Quartarone 2013) before the sudden appearance of the personified

Night (*nox*) in enjambment with concluding inversion of verb and acc. obj. (*operit terrās*): he truly is a poet.

Taken literally, Aeneas here confesses to the haunting presence of his dad, who died in Sicily just before the narrative portion of the *Aeneid* starts (cf. 3.708–11), whenever he reposed in (postcoital) slumber, which generates an unholy threesome that some scholars try to explain (away) by turning the alleged paternal visitations into a nightmarish allegory of his guilty conscience (Fratantuono–Smith 539). Anchises *will* 'ghost' his son at 5.722–40 but is not on record for having done so before (though Aeneas, when visiting his father down under, mentions several appearances: [6.695b–96]*... tua mē, genitor, tua trīstis imāgō | saepius occurrēns haec līmina tendere adēgit* 'Your shade, father, your sad shade, meeting me repeatedly, drove me to seek these portals').

So argument hasn't cut it, one may observe along with John Henderson, and the bounder turns to special pleading: it's none of my doing, only following orders... And anyway there's not just me and thee to reckon with (and it's not just me coming up with all this, not my idea, above my pay grade, honest)...

354–355: mē puer Ascanius capitisqu(e) iniūria cārī, | quem rēgn(ō) Hesperiae fraud(ō) et fātālibus aruīs: while Aeneas continues fronting himself (*mē*), he now follows up straightaway with the bipartite subject linked by the *-que* after *capitis*: *puer Ascanius* and *iniūria*. The verbs carry over from the previous sentence: *admonet* and/or *terret*. The alliterative phrase *capitis ... cārī* (objective gen.) reiterates *puer Ascanius* metonymically with an emotive touch, and also recalls *imāgō* from the previous sentence. Aeneas uses proto-Roman ideas to underscore his commitment to family solidarity (the prime sphere for the practice of *pietās*). He generates a powerful image of agnatic lineage across three generations before accusing himself of falling woefully short, indeed betraying *pietās*, the virtue he more than anyone is supposed to embody, if he were to stay in Carthage. It would mean defrauding his son (and family) in what also amounts to a religious crime: in the *Aeneid*, defying fate (cf. *fātālibus*) is an act of impiety. *fraudō* ('to defraud someone of sth') is construed with acc. of the victim (*quem*) and abl. of separation of the thing(s): *regnō ... et ... aruīs*, modified in chiastic variation by the genitive *Hesperiae* and the attribute *fātālibus*. The phrase amounts to a hendiadys: 'the divinely ordained realm of Hesperia'. The lines represent Aeneas'

interpretation of the concluding part of Mercury's speech ([274–76]*Ascanium surgentem et spēs hērēdis Iūlī | respice, cui rēgnum Ītaliae Rōmānaque tellūs | dēbētur'*), with *fraudō* acknowledging that he owes (*dēbētur*) the empire in Italy to his son.

356–358[a]: nunc eti(am) interpres dīuum Ioue missus ab ipsō | (testor utrumque caput) celerīs mandāta per aurās | dētulit: after an appeal to family (values), Aeneas returns to the divine sphere, with *etiam* signalling that he is about to play his strongest card: the divine messenger Mercury (*interpres dīuum*; *dīuum* is gen. pl.), sent by Jupiter himself (*Ioue ... ab ipsō*: abl. of agency with *missus*), has conveyed instructions (*dētulit*: the same verb used of *Fāma* informing Dido at 299) from on high with the requisite speed (*celerīs ... per aurās*). Aeneas here ventriloquizes Mercury ([270]*ipse haec ferre iubet celerīs mandāta per aurās*) and ultimately Jupiter himself ([226]*celerīs dēfer mea dicta per aurās*). The parenthetical attestation *testor utrumque caput* ('I solemnly invoke both (of our?) heads/ lives') has given rise to lively debate: whom does he have in mind? Himself and Dido? Anchises and Ascanius? Jupiter and Mercury? Himself and Mercury? Himself and Ascanius? If the first, this is so far the only moment in the speech where Aeneas configures Dido and himself as an item, while also putting her life on the line, anticipating the end ([702]*suprā caput adstitit*, of Iris about to cut Dido's lock consigning her to death). Henderson: 'He's about to cap all by denouncing her for blighting the both of them, "thee and me" (360). It's all her fault, even manufacturing this dispute, nothing left but to cut and run. How very dare she presume to tell him what he wants *and doesn't want* to do (361).'

358[b]–359: ipse deum manifēst(ō) in lūmine uīdī | intrantem mūrōs uōcemqu(e) hīs auribus hausī: to endow the divine encounter with credibility, Aeneas appeals to his personal (*ipse*) sensations, both visual (*deum ... uīdī ... intrantem mūrōs*: for the vivid use of acc. + participle, rather than acc. + inf., after verbs of perception, see A–G 497d) and aural (*uōcem ... hausī*; the verbs are linked by *-que* after *uōcem*; the basic sense of *haurīre* is 'to imbibe': the synaesthesia expresses the volume and materiality of Mercury's voice). Each type of sensory input receives pleonastic amplification: *manifēstō in lūmine* (both 'in broad daylight' and 'in revelatory illumination'), *hīs* (deictically self-referential) *auribus*. Divine epiphanies (offering an enhanced form of experience: see more,

hear more, feel more) are the ancient equivalent of a 3-D Cinema equipped with immersive surround sound technology. (Mercury turned the volume up so high that Aeneas is still deaf at 440: see below.)

360: dēsine mēque tuīs incendere tēque querēlīs: Aeneas closes on a cease-and-desist order: Dido should stop inflaming both him and her (*mēque ... tēque... = et mē et tē*, the acc. obj. of *incendere*) with her grievances. He is unaware of how ominous his use of fire imagery is: Dido is already ablaze internally with all-consuming love quickly turning into torrid wrath and by the end of the book will burn literally. His repressive enjoinder to dial down the heat cannot help but stoke the flames. Henderson: 'Right now he admits he's been reacting to her, swapping retorts for moans, not coolly telling it like it is, as he's been faking. This still applies to his final wriggle out of responsibility: get this straight, parting hurts me too (you've made everything worse, we're one big meltdown, the pair of us)...'

361[a]: Ītaliam nōn sponte sequor.': 'to Italy I go, if not by personal choice' (*nōn sponte* does *not* necessarily mean 'against his will'; cf. Mackie (1988: 88): 'Aeneas' free will to choose his own course is fundamental both to his piety and his impiety; were he to choose Carthage he would be *impius*, but in choosing Italy he is *pius*. ... Thus at 361 Aeneas attempts to convey the fact that he pursues a greater purpose – ... "it's not my idea that I make for Italy".' Aeneas breaks off mid-verse, a rupture so effective that some scholars find it difficult to imagine that Virgil would have completed the line even in the final revision. Cf. Page 1894: 371: 'Nothing at any rate could improve these four words thus left rugged and abrupt.' Henderson: 'Four words, and she's spoken out of the picture. Did-0 already doesn't figure: What ancient queen achieved nothing? (4 letters).'

362–392: You Brute, I am through

As with Aeneas (331–33[a]), Virgil gives us a snapshot of Dido's mental state and mien (with a focus on the eyes) before her reply (362–64). After the speech, she faints: Aeneas is left speechless with much to say as Dido's servants bring her to her inner chamber (388–92). Her speech itself (365–87) falls into four sections:

365–370: **1 (Emotional) reaction to Aeneas' speech**
- 365–367: **1.1** Personal insults
- 368–370: **1.2** Outraged rhetorical questions
- = 6 lines

371–375: **2 Dido's theodicy, Part I**
- (= the absence of positive returns for kindnesses performed)
- = 5 lines

376–381: **3 Proto-Epicurean challenge to the divine forces behind Aeneas' mandate**
- 376a: Parenthetical aside (*heu furiīs incēnsa feror!*) = centre of speech
- 376b–381: Dismissal of interactive divinities
- = 6 lines

382–387: **4 Dido's theodicy, Part II**
- (= Hope/desire for negative reciprocities for injustices suffered)
- = 6 lines

Dido opens with three lines of abuse that target Aeneas' nature and nurture (1.1): she challenges the parentage of Venus and Anchises and posits parthenogenesis by the Caucasus with tigresses as wet-nurses. The subsequent string of rhetorical questions (1.2) first concedes that she has started to burn bridges before giving reasons for doing so. Aeneas seems utterly unmoved by her pleas to reconsider: the lack of outward emoting makes her assume the worst. In the three sections that

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follow, she places her situation in a wider, supernatural context, from three distinct theological perspectives. In Section 2, she questions the fairness and justice of Jupiter and Juno who have witnessed her efforts on behalf of Aeneas and his crew and yet tolerate her mistreatment. Section 3 opens with the brief parenthetical aside *heu furiīs incēnsa feror!*: it occurs at the very centre of her reply and structurally corresponds to the equally programmatic centre of Aeneas' speech ([347]*hic amor, haec patria est*). Dido then adopts a proto-Epicurean position in dismissing Aeneas' insistence that he is following divine instructions. In the final Section 4, she verbalizes the negative counterpart to the (unrealized) expectation she verbalized in 2, namely that the supreme couple of Mt. Olympus reward the good (in this case, her). Since this is not happening, she hopes that those divinities who *are* righteous will at least punish the evil (in this case, Aeneas): this is the wild justice of retribution. Rather than positive reciprocity that rewards kind services, it operates according to the negative reciprocity that inflicts punitive damage for injustices suffered (—> ***TD*** 'Religion').

The main Greek models for her speech are the Medeas of Euripides (*Mēdēa* 465–519) and Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 4.355–90), her primary Latin model the Ariadne of Catullus 64 (132–201):

(a) Euripides: 465–74: some choice insults, starting with 'vilest of knaves' ([465]ὦ παγκάκιστε) and including charges of unmanly conduct ([466]ἀνανδρίαν) and shamelessness ([472]ἀναίδει᾽). 475–91: a list of the benefactions that put Jason in her debt, including saving his life several times, yoking the fire-breathing bulls, sowing the field of death, killing the dragon guarding the golden fleece, abandoning her family and following Jason to Greece, killing Jason's enemy uncle Pelias and destroying his house, marriage and children (Medea says she would understand the betrayal and re-marriage if theirs had been childless). 492–98: religious assessment of Jason's conduct: 'Respect for your oaths is gone, and I cannot tell whether you think that the gods of old no longer rule or that new ordinances have now been set up for mortals, since you are surely aware that you have not kept your oath to me. O right hand of mine, which you often grasped together with my knees, how profitless was the suppliant grasp upon me of a knave, and how I have been cheated of my hopes!'. 499–519: her own options—and how Jason has made the future impossible (cf. esp. 506–8: 'to my own kin I

have become an enemy, and by my services to you I have made foes of those I ought not to have harmed': Dido covered some of this ground in her first speech).

(b) Apollonius Rhodius: when Medea learns that some kings would act as judges on whether she could stay with Jason or would be returned to her father, she takes Jason aside to give him a piece of her mind: 'Jason, what is this pact that you all have devised concerning me? Have your successes driven you to complete forgetfulness? Do you care nothing about all you said when you were constrained by need? Where have your oaths to Zeus, Protector of Suppliants, gone? Where your honey-sweet promises? It was because of these that, contrary to decency and with shameless resolve, I abandoned my country, the glory of my home, and my very parents, the things which were dearest to me, and am borne far away, all alone on the sea with the mournful kingfishers, all because of your troubles, so that through me you could safely complete the contests with the oxen and earthborn men. And then finally, once that became known, it was by my folly that you also got the fleece, while I brought terrible disgrace upon womankind. Therefore, I declare that it is as your daughter, wife, and sister that I am following you to the land of Hellas. Be willing, then, to protect me in every way. Do not leave me all alone and far from you when you go off to the kings, but defend me no matter what. Hold fast to justice (δίκη) and that moral right (θέμις) to which we both consented. Otherwise, go on and at once run your sword straight through my throat, so that I may receive a fitting reward for my acts of lust. You heartless thing (σχέτλιε)! For if that king to whom the two of you entrust this cruel agreement judges that I belong to my brother, how can I go face my father? A very fine reputation I shall have! What punishment or grievous torment shall I not endure in agony for the terrible things I have done, while you would win your longed-for homecoming? May Zeus' wife, the all-ruling queen in whom you glory, never accomplish that! May you remember me some day when you are wracked by troubles, and may the fleece vanish like a dream into the lower darkness all for naught, and may my Furies immediately drive you from your homeland (ἐκ δέ σε πάτρης | αὐτίκ᾽ ἐμαί σ᾽ ἐλάσειαν Ἐρινύες), given how I myself have suffered by your heartlessness. Moral right (θέμις) will not permit these curses to fall to the ground unfulfilled, for you have forsworn a great oath, pitiless one. But I can assure you that

not for long hereafter will you all sit at ease and mock me—for all your agreements.'

(c) Catullus: Ariadne's long, single speech near the centre of Poem 64 (lines 132–201 of 408), which is of crucial importance to Virgil's Dido episode more generally, falls into three main parts:

1. 132–63: recriminations for past misdemeanours directed at Theseus. Like Dido, Ariadne accuses her former lover of perjury and cruelty: 'Thus then, having borne me afar from my father's home, thus you have left me, faithless, faithless Theseus ([132–33]*perfide … | perfide … Thēseu*), on the lonely shore? thus departing, unmindful of the will of the gods, forgetful, ah! do you carry to your home the curse of perjury ([135]*dēuōta domum periūria portās*)? could nothing bend the purpose of your cruel mind ([136]*crūdēlis … mentis*)? was no mercy present in your soul, to bid your ruthless heart incline to pity for me? Not such were the promises you once gave me with winning voice, not this did you bid me hope, ah me! no, but a joyful wedlock, but a desired espousal ([141]*sed cōnūbia laeta, sed optātōs hymenaeōs*); all which the winds of Heaven now blow abroad in vain.' And like Dido she questions his parentage: 'What lioness bore you under a desert rock? what sea conceived you and vomited you forth from its foaming waves? what Syrtis, what ravening Scylla, what waste Charybdis bore you… ([154–56]*quaenam tē genuit sōlā sub rūpe leaena, | quod mare conceptum spūmantibus exspuit undīs, | quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapāx, quae uāsta Charybdis*).'
2. 164–87: anguish over her present situation on the island of Dia, including counterfactual regrets over the arrival of Theseus on Crete, when Ariadne puts on the mantle of Medea in reworking the opening lines of Euripides' tragedy (and Ennius' Latin adaptation): 'Almighty Jupiter, I would the Attic ships had never touched Cnosian shores ([171–72]*Iuppiter omnipotēns, utinam nē tempore prīmō | Cnōsia Cēcropiae tetigissent lītora puppēs*) … nor that this evil man, hiding cruel designs under a fair outside, had reposed in our dwellings as a guest ([176]*hospes*)…' (Dido will follow suit at 657–58). She considers death certain (not knowing that the divine saviour Dionysus is on his way) and decides to invoke the forces of retributive justice before dying:

3. 188–201: concluding invocation of the Furies to animate her curse:

nōn tamen ante mihī languēscent lūmina morte,
nec prius ā fessō sēcēdent corpore sēnsūs,
quam iūstam ā dīuīs expōscam prōdita multam
caelestumque fidem postrēmā comprecer hōrā.
quārē facta uirum multantēs uindice poenā
Eumenidēs, quibus anguīnō redimīta capillō
frōns exspīrantēs praeportat pectoris īrās,
hūc hūc aduentāte, meās audīte querēlās,
quās ego uae misera extrēmīs prōferre medullīs
cōgor inops, āmēns, ārdentī caeca furōre.
quae quoniam uērae nāscuntur pectore ab īmō,
uōs nōlīte patī nostrum uānēscere lūctum,
sed quālī sōlam Thēseus mē mente relīquit,
tālī mente, deae, fūnestet sēque suōsque.

[Yet my eyes shall not grow faint in death, nor shall the sense fail from my wearied body, before I demand from the gods just vengeance for my betrayal, and call upon the faith of the heavenly ones in my last hour. Therefore, O you that visit the deeds of men with vengeful pains, Eumenides, whose foreheads bound with snaky hair announce the wrath which breathes from your breast, hither, hither haste, hear my complaints which I (ah, unhappy!) bring forth from my inmost heart perforce, helpless, insane, blinded with burning frenzy. For since my woes come truthfully from the depths of my heart, suffer not my grief to come to nothing: even as Theseus had the heart to leave me desolate, with such a heart, goddesses, may he bring ruin upon himself and his own!]

Part I of Dido's theodicy resonates with both Medea and Ariadne. But the comparison with her predecessors also underscores how weak Dido's claims on Aeneas are. Both Medea and Ariadne went far beyond intimate hospitality: they also aided their heroes in their deeds (retrieval of the Golden Fleece, killing of the Minotaur) and ended up murdering (half-)siblings in their limerence. They also left their family and their country before being abandoned in foreign parts by their former lovers

(and, in Medea's case, spouse after a consensual marriage with children). What Aeneas does, however contemptible, falls significantly short of the degree of cold-hearted treachery shown by Jason and Theseus. The main model for Part II of Dido's theodicy, the pursuit of retribution by means of divine agents of justice, is Catullus' Ariadne. Unlike Ariadne and Dido, Medea takes vengeance into her own hands (something Dido will desire to emulate at 600–6 but be unable to engineer). Here, she merely expresses a vague hope that sympathetic forces are at work in the universe. But at 607–29, after realizing she cannot become Medea or Procne, she channels her inner Ariadne (down to close lexical reminiscences) in uttering a curse that eclipses her predecessor's in the intensity of its wrath and its world-historical consequences.

362–364: tālia dīcentem iamdūd(um) āuersa tuētur | [363]**hūc illūc uoluēns oculōs tōtumque pererrat** | [364]**lūminibus tacitīs et sīc accēnsa profātur:** two verbs of speaking, of Aeneas and Dido respectively (*tālia dīcentem – sīc accēnsa profātur*), frame three 'shots' of Dido's eye-action during Aeneas' speech: *tuētur*, *uoluēns*, and *pererrat* express contemporary action with Aeneas speaking. The tableau of historical presents generates a picture of great vividness. *iamdūdum*: presumably since the start of Aeneas' discourse—already infuriated but also realistically fatalistic, she never expects a positive outcome. *āuersa*: modifying Dido—she has turned herself away, looking at him askance. The absolute construction of *āuersa* (*tuētur* takes an implied *eum* agreeing with *dīcentem* as acc. obj.) frees up her eyes: *oculōs* is the acc. obj. of *uoluēns*. Dido moves them hither and thither (*hūc illūc*). (When she meets Aeneas in the Underworld, the construction is different: [6.469]*dīua solō fīxōs oculōs āuersa tenēbat* with *oculōs* as acc. obj. of *āuersa*; cf. 1.482.) Dido runs her eyes all over and up and down (*pererrat*) 'the whole man' (*tōtum*), a startling use of the adj. as noun: instead of a noun in enjambment modifying *tōtum*, we get another reference to silently roving eyes (*lūminibus tacitīs*).

[363]*pererrat*: the composite verb conveys obsessive, repetitive intensity (this is not a quick once-over but fierce, prolonged gazing from head to toe) and evokes the meaning of Dido's name, 'the wanderer'. *errāre* is her thing, and she once saw herself in Aeneas: [1.755]*errōrēs ... tuōs*, [1.756]*omnibus errantem terrīs*. The image has an erotic charge, recalling the opening of the book where she swoons at the thought of Aeneas' physique,

and captures the lethal paradox of attraction and revulsion typical of relationships in erotic thrillers: think Glenn Close as psychotic ex-lover in *Fatal Attraction*. Far from pacifying Dido, Aeneas' discourse has made her (even more) incandescent (*accēnsa*).

[364]*profātur*: Virgil uses the composite *profor*, *profārī* 'to speak out' only here and at [1.561–62]*Tum breuiter Dīdō uultum dēmissa profātur* | '*soluite corde metum, Teucrī, sēclūdite cūrās. ...*' 'Then Dido, lowering her eyes, briefly speaks: "Free your hearts of fear, Teucrians; put away your cares..."'. The two instances stake out the tragic trajectory of Aeneas' sojourn in Carthage: from gracious host whose heart wells over with sympathy and kindness, Dido has since morphed into a *femme fatale* with basic instincts taking over.

365–367: 'nec tibi dīua parēns [est]**, generis nec Dardanus auctor** [est]**,** | [366]**perfide, sed dūrīs genuit tē cautibus horrēns** | [367]**Caucasus Hyrcānaequ**(**e**) **admōrunt ūbera tigrēs:** Dido dismisses Aeneas' lineage: neither is Venus (= *dīua parēns*) his mother (*tibi* = dat. of possession with implied *est*) nor (with postpositive *nec*) is Dardanus (a son of Jupiter and the Pleiad Electra, who in Virgil first dwelled in Italy before moving to Asia Minor to set up Troy) the founder (*auctor*) of his lineage (*generis*). The interjection of the vocative [366]*perfide* occurs at the beginning of her speech as in 305: Dido signals that her views have not shifted one bit; for her, Aeneas was and remains a treacherous bastard, whatever he may have said in his defence. The insult serves as effective pivot from denial to abuse, as Dido brings into play far-fetched ideas about Aeneas' 'true' parentage (the mountain-range of the Caucasus; *dūrīs ... cautibus* is either abl. of place with *genuit* or is governed by *horrēns* 'bristling with hard rocks') and his 'actual' wet-nurses (Hyrcanean tigresses; *admōrunt* = *admōuērunt*, with *ūbera* as acc. obj.). The Caucasus (Καύκασος) is a mountain-range between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea and overlaps in part with Hyrcania (Ὑρκανία, borrowed from Old Persian *Verkâna*, meaning 'wolf-land'), a region in the Southeastern part of the Caspian Sea (Fig. 42). Among precedents of the topos of figurative parentage, three stand out as particularly resonant: *Iliad* 16.33–35 (Patroclus to Achilles, i.e. the Homeric equivalent of Aeneas), Catullus 64.154–57 (Ariadne about Theseus, i.e. the Catullan equivalent of Aeneas), and Virgil, *Eclogue* 8.43–5 (an unhappy lover about Amor, i.e. the half-brother of Aeneas).

Extra information

By the time of Augustus, Rome had become the imperial centre of a far-flung network of travel and trade, with expanding geographical horizons ensuring a virtually inexhaustible reservoir of novel experiences, brought from the peripheries to Rome by means of a 'cargo culture' (Loar et al. 2018). Dido taps into several associated 'discourses of knowledge' to monster Aeneas:

(a) *Mythography*: the notion that 'nurture determines character' will have resonated with Roman readers in keeping with the legend that Romulus and Remus were suckled by a she-wolf, imbibing wolfish DNA and, by osmosis, passing it on to the entire Roman people. Wolves, of course, are more sociable animals than tigers. (Cf. the sceptical voice of Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 8.61 *quae dē īnfantibus ferārum lacte nūtrītīs cum essent expositī prōduntur, sīcut dē conditōribus nostrīs ā lupā, magnitūdinī fātōrum accepta referrī aequius quam ferārum nātūrae arbitror*: 'as to the reports about infants when they had been exposed being fed by the milk of wild animals, as well as those about our founders being nursed by a she-wolf, I deem it more reasonable for them to be credited to the grandeur of their destinies than to the nature of the wild animals.')

(b) *Geography*: Dido displaces the interconnected Mediterranean with far-flung places at the Eastern edges of the known world that resonate in a barbaric key: Jupiter nailed Prometheus to the Caucasus in punitive torture, and the entire region borders on Parthia—after the disastrous battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE, a primary foreign policy obsession of Rome and key theme of Augustan propaganda. The region lies just beyond the reach of Roman imperial ambition, as Catullus 11.1–12 illustrates:

> Fūrī et Aurēlī comitēs Catullī
> sīue in extrēmōs penetrābit Indōs
> lītus ut longē resonante Eōā
> tunditur undā
> sīue in Hyrcanōs Arabāsue mollēs
> seu Sāgās sagittiferōsue Parthōs
> sīue quae septemgeminus colōrat
> aequora Nīlus

sīue trāns altās gradiētur Alpēs
Caesaris uīsēns monimenta magnī
Gallicum Rhēnum horribilēsque ulti-
mōsque Britannōs ...

[Furius and Aurelius, who will be Catullus's fellow-travellers, whether he makes his way even to distant India, where the shore is beaten by the far-resounding eastern wave, or to Hyrcania and soft Arabia, or to the Sacae and archer Parthians, or those plains which sevenfold Nile dyes with his flood, or whether he will tramp across the high Alps, to visit the memorials of great Caesar, the Gaulish Rhine, the formidable Britons, remotest of men]

In the cosmic perspective assumed by Cicero in the Dream of Scipio, *Dē Rēpūblicā* 6.26 [Powell], the locale has a similar function of conveying a sense of the limits of Roman might: *ex hīs ipsīs cultīs nōtīsque terrīs num aut tuum aut cuiusquam nostrum nōmen uel Caucasum hunc quem cernis trānscendere potuit uel illum Gangen trānatāre?* 'From these very lands that are cultivated and known, could your renown or that of any of us ever manage to climb across this Caucasus which you see here or swim across the Ganges there?'

The region figures with specific reference to the legionary standards, which were lost at Carrhae and retrieved by Augustus in 20 BCE in a diplomatic victory immortalized on his Prima Porta statue, at 7.601–6:

Mōs erat Hesperiō in Latiō, quem prōtinus urbēs
Albānae coluēre sacrum, nunc maxima rērum
Rōma colit, cum prīma mouent in proelia Mārtem,
sīue Getīs īnferre manū lacrimābile bellum
Hyrcānīsue Arabīsue parant seu tendere ad Indōs
Aurōramque sequī Parthōsque reposcere signa.

[A custom there was in Hesperian Latium, which thenceforth the Alban cities held holy, as now does Rome, mistress of the world, when they first rouse the war god to battle, be it Getae or Arabs or Hyrcanians against whom their hands prepare to carry tearful war, or to march on India's sons and pursue the Dawn, and reclaim their standards from the Parthians...]

(c) *Ethnography*: these distant regions at the periphery of the known world gave rise to ethnographic curiosity about the constitution of the lands and the customs of their people. Cicero shares a representative titbit of such lore when he writes about the alleged burial practices in Hyrcania at *Tusculan Disputations* 1.108 *magōrum mōs est nōn humāre corpora suōrum, nisi ā ferīs sint ante laniāta; in Hyrcāniā plēbs pūblicōs alit canēs, optimātēs domesticōs: nōbile autem genus canum illud scīmus esse, sed prō suā quisque facultāte parat ā quibus laniētur, eamque optimam illī esse cēnsent sepultūram* 'it is the custom of the Magi not to bury the bodies of their dead unless they have been first mangled by wild beasts; in Hyrcania the populace support dogs for the benefit of the community, while the nobles keep them for family use: it is as we know a famous breed of dogs, but in spite of the cost, each householder procures animals in proportion to his means, to mangle him, and that they consider the best mode of burial.'

(d) *Zoology*: knowledge of animals not native to Italy, together with their foreign names, easily circulates by way of cross-cultural contact. The tiger and other beasts of prey are a prime example, not least because of their literary and metaphorical potential. (Cultures cultivate 'bestiaries', i.e. ways of thinking with and about animal species, real and imagined, to explore what it means to be human within a wider world.) M. Terentius Varro notes at *Dē Linguā Latīnā* 5.100 *ferārum uocābula item partim peregrīna, ut panthēra, leō: utraque Graeca, ā quō etiam et rēte quoddam panther et leaena et muliercula Panthēris et Leaena. tigris quī est ut leō uarius, quī ūuus capī adhūc nōn potuit, uocābulum ē linguā Armeniā: nam ībī et sagitta et quod uehementissimum flūmen dīcitur Tigris*: 'The names of wild beasts are likewise some of them foreign, such as *panthēra* "panther", *leō* "lion": both Greek, whence also certain nets called panther and lioness, and there are courtesans named Pantheris and Leaena. The *tigris* "tiger", which is as it were a striped lion, which as yet they have not been able to take alive, has its name from the Armenian language, for in Armenia both an arrow and a very swift river are named Tigris.' Varro died in 27 BCE. For 20 BCE, Dio Cassius records an embassy to Augustus from the Indians, who presented him with (live) tigers—the first time the animals were seen in Rome: 'the people of India, who had already made overtures, now made a treaty of friendship, sending among other gifts tigers, which were then for the first time seen by the Romans,

as also, I think, by the Greeks.' (οἱ Ἰνδοὶ προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε ἐσπείσαντο, δῶρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις, πρῶτον τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὀφθείσας). (Cassius Dio is likely wrong about the Greeks: the tiger in poetry is a Hellenistic phenomenon, perhaps inspired by the specimen that King Seleucus sent to Athens: Alexis, *The Pan of Coals*, fr. 207 Kassel-Austin (= Athenaeus 8.590b) ὁ Σελεύκου τίγρις; Virgil's Orpheus charms tigers at *Georgics* 4.510 *mulcentem tigrīs*).

368: nam quid dissimul(ō) aut quae m(ē) ad maiōra reseruō?: *nam* here occurs 'before an interrogative pronoun ... in lively or impatient questions' (*OLD* 7): 'For why hide my feelings?' 'The indicative *dissimulō* is like a deliberative subjunctive but is more vivid': O'Hara (61). Since Dido has charged Aeneas with dissimulation at 305, the verb also highlights the perceived difference between her honesty and his treachery. In the second half of the verse, she takes stock of the fact that her insults in the previous lines imply recognition that it is all over: 'Or for what greater wrongs [with *maiōra* a noun such as *mala* or *maleficia* is implied] do I hold myself back?' Their relationship has hit rock bottom: she can express herself without fear of doing further damage.

369–370: num flēt(ū) ingemuit nostrō? num lūmina flexit? | num lacrimās uictus dedit aut miserātus amant(em) est?: at this point, Dido opts out of interactive discourse: until 380, she will refer to Aeneas only in the third person. She begins her soliloquy with a rehearsal of their encounter. The triple anaphora of the interrogative particle *num* (which here demands a negative answer: *OLD* 3) patterns an asyndetic tricolon of rhetorical questions, with the final colon designed as a bipartite climax, that suggests incredulous shock at Aeneas' total lack of outward emoting. While she was shedding lover's tears (*flētū ... nostrō*: either dat. with *ingemuit* 'groaned at my weeping' (*-ū* for *-uī* is a common alternative for 4th declension nouns) or abl. of cause 'because of my weeping'; and it *should* indeed have been 'our' tears), he remained entirely unmoved: no groans (*num ... ingemuit*), no downcast eyes (*num lūmina flexit*), no tears (*num lacrimās ... dedit*), no expressions of pity (*miserātus ... est*). *uictus* = perf. pass. part. modifying the implied subject Aeneas: 'overcome (by sympathy)'.

371[a]: quae quibus anteferam?: at a loss, Dido asks 'what next?' Two interrogatives governed by *anteferam* (present deliberative subjunctive or future indicative) 'what (*quae*: n. acc.) should/shall I place above what (*quibus*: n. dat.)?' generate an 'expression of absolute despair' (Pease: 320).

371[b]–372: iam iam nec maxima Iūnō | nec Sāturnius haec oculīs pater aspicit aequīs: *iam* (doubled) here means 'at this stage/point in time' (*OLD* 7) and sets up Dido's double indictment of both Juno (the epithet *maxima* highlights her power and exacerbates her apparent tolerance of injustice) and Jupiter (= *Sāturnius ... pater*): neither of the two looks upon 'this' (*haec* in the acc. n. pl. refers to 'this entire sh*tty situation') with fair (or sympathetic) eyes (*oculīs ... aequīs*): the supreme divinities see the abuse she suffers (how can they not?) but do nothing about it. The phrasing is studiously ambiguous in implicating those who do the viewing in the unfairness that is in view: *nec … oculīs … aequīs* can mean either that the eyes themselves (and their owners) are unfair or that they do not look upon what they see favourably but somehow tolerate it. (There is an ironic echo of Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter [206–8]*Iuppiter omnipotēns ... aspicis haec?*, who raises the issue of theodicy *because of* Dido.) Dido here presupposes potentially interactive divinities who are ethically deficient. She will reject the idea at 379–80 to throw doubt on Aeneas' claim to have received divine instructions. But at 382 she returns to the possibility (correct, as far as Virgil's literary universe is concerned) that she inhabits an interactive cosmos, even though the terms are opaque and complex. Her ambiguous phrasing here and its application to both Jupiter and Juno enable her to summon Juno at 608 alongside other divinities in support of her quest for retribution, while omitting Jupiter: she correctly surmises that he is not on her side.

[371b]*maxima Iūnō*: the epithet *maxima* 'most mighty', apart from recalling Dido's (and Carthage's) supposedly 'special relationship' with Juno, also recalls Medea's adverse reference to the goddess (the patron deity of Jason) at Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.382–83 μὴ τό γε παμβασίλεια Διὸς τελέσειεν ἄκοιτις | ᾗ ἔπι κυδιάεις 'May Zeus' wife, the all-ruling queen in whom you glory, never accomplish that!' In Roman religion it is Jupiter who is *optimus* and *maximus*, but the goddess has a way of asserting herself in Virgil's (or her? Cf. Farrell 2021) epic. The

seer Helenus advises Aeneas to pray to the power of 'great Juno' above all (3.438*Iūnōnis māgnae prīmum prece nūmen adōrā*). The narrator upgrades the positive to the superlative in a rare apostrophe at 8.84–85*quam pius Aenēās tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iūnō, | mactat sacra ferēns et cum grege sistit ad āram* 'good Aeneas offers her [= the sow] in sacrifice to you, indeed to you, most mighty Juno, and sets her with her young before your altar', cf. 10.685–86, where *maxima Iūnō* rescues Turnus. But her agency too has limits, and we never see her properly reciprocating Dido's rhetorical embrace of her powers: the queen is one of Juno's pawns in her game of world-historical chess against Venus and her husband.

373[a]: nusquam tūta fidēs: Dido epitomizes her view of the world in a pithy *sententia*. *fidēs* is one of the most distinctive Roman values, embodying the principle of reliable (quasi-contractual) reciprocity (hence the basic meanings of 'trust' and 'loyalty') as a prerequisite for synergetic (if not necessarily symmetrical) interactions, human and divine, whether socio-political (including economic) or religious. Personified *Fidēs* had a temple in Rome (Clark 2007: 283). Dido placed trust (*fidēs*) in Aeneas' claim to divine lineage on account of his magnificent physique and heroic character (12*crēdō equidem, nec uāna fidēs, genus esse deōrum*), and was quite right to do so. Her appeal to Jupiter and Juno here to protect *fidēs* has a decidedly Roman ring to it. The XII Tables, for instance, Rome's oldest written law-code, stipulate that a patron who violates *fidēs* with respect to a client must be 'outlawed'—that is, handed over to the gods for punishment: *sacer estō*. Dido's radical diagnosis that *fidēs* has no purchase in her world (in a mindset reminiscent of the metrically similar tag 298*omnia tūta timēns*) derives from (a) the assumption that her interactions with Aeneas so far have resulted in quasi-contractual obligations on his part to stay; and (b) the expectation that the gods ought to honour *fidēs* (but currently fail to do so) by being benevolent towards those who maintain it and punishing those who breach it.

But does Aeneas violate *fidēs*? Dido's charge occurs between renewed appeal to their affective affinity and erotic past (368–69) and other services rendered, i.e. the extension of help and hospitality and the offer of a political alliance (373–75). Yet she tellingly does not reiterate her earlier claim that the cave encounter constitutes a marriage contract, a main theme of her first speech (316*per cōnūbia nostra, per inceptōs hymenaeōs*), a view Aeneas dismissed out of hand at 348–49; it is also not

shared by the narrator (172) though perhaps by Juno, who engineered it. We also hear nothing of a properly formalized political alliance between Trojans and Carthaginians, even though Dido offered one to Ilioneus (1.573–74) and Juno articulates a similar vision ([112]*miscērīue probet populōs aut foedera iungī*). And to be the beneficiary of hospitality does of course not oblige the guest to stay forever: obligations of reciprocity (protected by *fidēs*) kick in when the relationship of host and guest is inverted at some future point in time. In fact, until his decision to leave, Aeneas seems to have been a model guest at Carthage, to the point of showering Dido with gifts (their traffic in material goods is decidedly reciprocal; contrast Odysseus and the Phaeacians, where the guest, totally skint, is the sole beneficiary). Aeneas arguably leaves with (Roman) *fidēs* intact, even though his departure shatters Dido's basic trust (*fidēs*) in human relationships and cosmic equity. Virgil here stages the same clash between transactional Roman values (*amīcitia*, *fidēs*) and their semantically transformed reapplication to erotic relationships that is a hallmark of Catullus' poetry, especially his love for Lesbia. Subconsciously, the statement carries a self-referential charge, which Dido will articulate in [552]*nōn seruāta fidēs cinerī prōmissa Sychaeō!* She has broken her (contractual) vow of chastity to her former husband.

Her words echo powerfully at the beginning of Book 11, when Aeneas, gazing upon Pallas' corpse, addresses the absent Evander (53–55) in a self-incrimination for his breach of *fidēs* (= not returning Pallas alive to his father): 'Unhappy man, you will see the bitter funeral of your son! Is this our return, our awaited triumph? Is this my sure pledge?' (*īnfēlīx, nātī fūnus crūdēle uidēbis! | hī nostrī reditūs, exspectātīque triumphī? | haec mea magna fidēs?*). Cf. Gildenhard and Henderson (2018: 238–39).

373[b]–374: ēiectum lītor(e), egentem | excēp(ī) et rēgnī dēmēns in parte locāuī: *excēpī* and *locāuī* (linked by *et*) take an implied *eum* (or *istum* or indeed *tē*: Maclennan: 128) as acc. obj. which agrees with the participles *ēiectum* ('cast up' with the abl. of place *līttore* 'on the shore') and *egentem*, in asyndetic sequence. (Dido's outrage has little time for connectives; it expresses itself in extensive *e*-alliteration.) *dēmēns* modifies the subject (Dido): 'in my madness'. *rēgnī ... in parte locāuī* means literally 'I put him in part of my realm', in the sense of 'I have given him a share (*OLD pars* 8b) in my throne'. Dido unwittingly ventriloquizes elements of Aeneas' own earlier remonstration with

Venus in disguise: [1.384–85]*ipse ignōtus, egēns, Libyae dēserta peragrō, | Eurōpā atque Asiā pulsus* 'myself unknown and destitute, I wander over the Libyan wastes, driven from Europe and from Asia'.

375: āmissam classem, sociōs ā morte redūxī: after recalling her benefactions to Aeneas, Dido focuses on his men: after *excēpī* and *locāuī*, *redūxī* is the third item, added asyndetically, of a tricolon, with the first two verbs governing one acc. obj. (Aeneas) and the last one two (*classem* and *sociōs* = virtual synonyms, asyndetically listed, reinforced by the assonance and thematic equivalence of *āmissam* and *ā morte*).

376[a]: (heu furiīs incēnsa feror!): The thought of her exceeding generosity and the contrast between Aeneas' destitution and lack of gratitude trigger a fit of rage. *furiīs* is best taken *apo koinou* with both *incēnsa* ('kindled by...') and *feror* ('I am borne along by...'). The outburst occurs at the very centre of her speech and thus forms the equivalent to Aeneas' [347]*hic amor, haec patria est*: the two phrases capture the diametrically opposed directions the ill-fated lovers will go from here, one towards a bright and promising destiny, the other to infuriated death (the wording anticipates her state of mind at her suicide [697]*subitō ... accēnsa furōre*). But a similar abrogation of (rational) agency occurs at the very end of the poem: Aeneas stabs Turnus [12.946]*furiīs accēnsus*. The lexical reminiscence of *furiīs incēnsa* at the poem's close indicates that Aeneas' will never manage to leave Dido truly behind. Her upcoming pronouncement [376]*omnibus umbra locīs aderō* comes true: she will haunt him and his people down the narrative (and the centuries), making *her* fate a share of his as well: while she cannot graft Troy onto Carthage, she will graft Carthage and her curse onto Rome.

376[b]–378: nunc augur Apollō, | nunc Lyciae sortēs, nunc et Ioue missus ab ipsō | interpres dīuum fert horrida iussa per aurās: Dido dismissively sums up and conflates the two sections of Aeneas' speech dedicated to the divine instructions he received on his travels ([345–46]Grynean Apollo and the Lycian oracle) and at Carthage ([356–59]epiphany of Mercury as *interpres dīuum*, carrying mandates of Jupiter). Syntax reinforces rhetoric: she construes all three sources of divine injunctions with the single verb [378]*fert* (*per aurās*), which fits properly only with the last. Dido also mockingly mimics his discourse in the triple anaphora of

nunc (cf. [345]*sed nunc*, [356]*nunc etiam*), further enhanced by the addition of a sarcastically doubtful 'even' (*et*, carrying a very different rhetorical charge than its equivalent *etiam* in Aeneas' speech) before the last item, a verbatim citation of [356]*Ioue missus ab ipsō*. The mockery extends to the swap of simple *fert* in present tense (indicating timeless action, without point or purpose) for the target-oriented composite [358]*dētulit*, an effect enhanced by the omission of an attribute for *aurās* (cf. [357]*celerīs ... per aurās*). [378]*horrida* adds a personal touch: it might refer specifically to 'these dread commands' to leave Carthage, but in keeping with the mocking tone is perhaps better understood in the sense of '... carries dreadful orders (whatever they are—and as if!)', sending up the degree of awe that Aeneas packed into his account of Mercury's epiphany. The phrase *augur Apollō* is otherwise only attested before (or alongside) Virgil in Horace, *Ode* 1.2.32, and is from the point of view of Rome's civic religion a misleading attribute of the god: 'The designation is poetic (cf. ... *TLL* II 244.75–82 and 1367.27–30), and suggests the function of a Greek *mantis* ['seer'], which Roman *augures* did not perform (cf. *CS* 61)': Mayer (2012: 69).

379–380[a]: scīlicet is superīs labor est, ea cūra quiētōs | sollicitat: 'Doubtless, this is work for gods (*superīs*), that care vexes them in their peaceful existence (*quiētōs*).' *scīlicet* probably derives from *scīre* + *licet* 'one may be sure/it is evident that...' and can be used ironically (as here) to suggest 'something palpably impossible or absurd' (*OLD* 4): 'To be sure/doubtless'. Dido here presupposes proto-Epicurean divinities who were thought to lead quiet lives blissfully unconcerned with human affairs; she brings out her scorn at the idea that they behave as Aeneas claims with a sarcastic *s*-accumulation. At *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 6.73, Lucretius describes such gods as *placidā cum pāce quiētōs*: 'quiet in their placid peace'. Far from experiencing troublesome cares (*labor*, *cūra*) for insignificant humans, they enjoy perfect mental tranquillity in their heavenly abodes.

The technical Epicurean term for their untroubled state of mind is *ataraxia*/ἀταραξία. *tarassō*/ταράσσω 'to disturb, trouble', the verb behind the stem of the noun after the alpha privativum is the equivalent of Latin *sollicitō*; Dido uses a proto-philosophical idiom. Her sister Anna adopted a similar attitude of religious doubt at [34]*id cinerem aut Mānīs crēdis cūrāre sepultōs?*

380[b]: neque tē teneō neque dicta refellō: 'Neither do I hold *you* (the *tē* in arsis she spits) nor do I refute what you said', perhaps with specific reference to Aeneas' charge of [350]*inuidia*. Her reflective soliloquy over, Dido gets suddenly and forcefully back in Aeneas' face, with a reflex of his one moment of argument ([347–48]*sī tē Karthāginis arcēs, | Phoenīssam, Libycaeque aspectus dētinet* ...).

381: ī, sequer(e) Ītaliam uentīs, pete rēgna per undās: Dido starts with two scornful imperatives (*ī*, from *eō*, *īre* and *sequere* from the deponent *sequor*, *sequī*) that jeer at Aeneas' closing statement ([361]*Ītaliam nōn sponte sequor*), with *pete* completing the asyndetic and ascending tricolon. *rēgna* alludes to Aeneas' claim that he cannot defraud his son of the realm of Hesperia ([355]*rēgnō Hesperiae*) but also recalls Dido's regret that she gave him a share in her kingdom ([374]*rēgnī dēmēns in parte locāuī*), whereas *uentīs* and *pete ... per undās* obliquely and economically revisit her earlier concern about sailing out of season, with a shift in tone from worried to taunting: [310]*mediīs properās Aquilōnibus īre* > *uentīs*; [313]*Trōia per undōsum peterētur ... aequor* > *pete ... per undās*: she is now positively looking forward to Aeneas suffering a shipwreck, as the next sentence makes clear.

382–384[a]: spēr(ō) equidem mediīs, sī quid pia nūmina possunt, | supplici(a) hausūrum scopulīs et nōmine Dīdō | saepe uocātūrum: Dido's thoughts turn towards the future. *spērō* (for the emotion, see Caston and Kaster 2016, Kazantzidis and Spatharas 2018) governs a bipartite indirect statement with implied subject acc. (*tē*) and two future infinitives *hausūrum* (*esse*) and *uocātūrum* (*esse*), linked by *et*. *equidem* 'I for my part' emphasizes the implied *ego*. Dido imagines Aeneas shipwrecked *mediīs ... scopulīs* 'in the middle of a reef' (the massive hyperbaton ensures placement of both words in the middle of their respective lines; the image is reminiscent of what Athena did to the Lesser Ajax as recalled by Juno at 1.44–45 *illum exspīrantem trānsfīxō pectore flammās | turbine corripuit scopulōque īnfīxit acūtō* 'but him, as with pierced breast he breathed forth flame, she caught in a whirlwind and impaled on a spiky crag', which is significantly more violent).

sī quid [= aliquid] *pia nūmina possunt*: 'if righteous divine powers can (do) anything': Dido omits the inf., and her use of the attribute *pia* is doubly pointed: it transfers Aeneas' epithet to the gods; and it implicitly differentiates between *nūmina* that are *pia* and those that are not (and

Dido seems to count Juno and Jupiter among the latter). For her, the (Olympian) gods are not a reliable source of justice (whether positive or punitive), and in what follows she will take matters into her own hands, with the help of chthonic divinities, to the point of turning herself into a vengeful fiend. Her wish here recalls Aeneas' well-wishes (in hindsight, insufferably ironic) at [1.603–5]*dī tibi, sī qua piōs respectant nūmina, sī quid | usquam iūstitia est et mēns sibi cōnscia rēctī, | praemia digna ferant*... 'May the gods, if any divine powers have regard for the good, if there is any justice anywhere—may the gods and the consciousness of right bring you worthy rewards!...' Cf. https://classics.osu.edu/Undergraduate-Studies/Latin-Program/Catiline/ii4-6/ii4-6-notes: 'There are three main types of indefinite pronoun in Latin: *quis*, *quid*, which doubts the very existence of the person or thing (hence, it is often found after *si*, *nisi*, *num*, and *ne*); *aliquis*, *aliquid*, which assumes the existence of the person or thing but is uncertain about the particular characteristics; and *quidam*, *quaedam*, *quodam*, which assumes both the existence and the particular characteristics, but refuses to identify precisely.'

[383]*supplicia hausūrum*: (I hope that you) 'will experience punishment to the full' (*OLD haurīre* 6b; the metaphor of 'imbibing' is particularly apposite ahead of a sea voyage). This also riffs on [361]*uōcem ... hīs auribus hausī*: if Aeneas claims to have had his fill of a divine voice, Dido is hoping for a fill of divine punishment.

[383–84]*et nōmine Dīdō | saepe uocātūrum*: 'and often call "Dido" (best taken as vocative rather than Greek acc.) by name (abl. of respect)', a vivid variant of *nōmen* + appositional genitive.

384[b]–386[a]: sequar ātrīs ignibus absēns | et, cum frīgida mors animā sēdūxerit artūs, | omnibus umbra locīs aderō: in tension with her parting shot in [381]*ī, sequere Ītaliam*, Dido now conjures an image of her in (initially) hot pursuit from afar and (after death) a chilling, ubiquitous presence everywhere Aeneas might go. As we move from unsuccessful chasing in life (first part of main clause) to death, defined as the severance of body and soul in the temporal *cum*-clause (*sēdūxerit* is fut. perf.) to a post-mortem reunion or at least co-presence of Aeneas and Dido's '*umbra*' in the second part of the main clause, paradoxes and contrasts pile up: *sequar* clashes with *absēns*, *absēns* with *omnibus ... locīs aderō*; *ātrīs* clashes with *ignibus*, *ignibus* (esp. if read as anticipation of the fire and black smoke billowing from her burning pyre) with

frīgida mors, absence in life with presence in death. The 'model of the self' Dido presupposes in these (and the following) lines is complex. She imagines human life as a union of body and soul that is undone by death, deemed to withdraw the limbs from the soul (*animā* is abl. of separation; the severance of Dido's soul and body will conclude Book 4). Afterwards a ghostly version of the living person (retaining memory and identity) continues to exist in the Underworld; this is the Dido Aeneas meets in Book 6.440–76 (where he will follow her as she goes to join Sychaeus: [475–76]*nec minus Aenēās, cāsū percussus inīquō, | prōsequitur lacrimīs longē et miserātur euntem* 'Yet none the less, stricken by her unjust doom, Aeneas attends her with tears afar and pities her as she goes'). But Dido also imagines a 'phantom self' different and divorced from her netherworld self to continue haunting the sphere of the living: 'I shall be present everywhere *as shade/shadow* (*umbra*: in predicate position to the implied subject).' This *umbra* (and her agency) amount to an avenging fury or are an instantiation of her curse and operate independently (if efficaciously) from Dido 'the person', living or dead. Her vengeful spirit, she predicts, will stalk Aeneas wherever he goes like an infernal fiend, making history (also) herstory, scripting tragedy into his triumph (with her triumph being his tragedy). (John Henderson invites us to hear the curdling voice of Stevie Nicks in the lyrics of *Silver Springs*' curse climax: 'He'll never get away, never get away, from the sound of the woman that loved him' (1976).) See further Hardie (1993: 40–48, 'Furies and Re-embodiment: The Living Dead'; esp. 40–41).

[384]*ātrīs ignibus*: another moment in the gradual transformation of the figurative fires of erotic passion that Dido experiences at the outset of Book 4 into the real flames of the funeral pyre that constitute Aeneas' last glimpse of Carthage at the beginning of Book 5, which will in turn fuel the figurative fires of the torch-bearing furies, agents of retribution. *āter*, arguably Virgil's favourite colour term (and the first one he uses: 1.60), denotes a deep dark red verging on black and has 'hellish' connotations. Cf. [7.456–57]*ātrō | lūmine fūmantīs fīxit sub pectore taedās* 'she [the Fury Allecto] fixed the torches smoking with lurid light under his [= Turnus'] chest'. The image of torch-bearing furies has its origins in tragedy (with some precedents in Homer), with a significant follow-up career (via imitation of tragic imagery) in Greek and Roman oratory, not least Cicero (Gildenhard 2011: 104–13). The classic study of (tragic)

'darkness visible' in Virgil is Johnson (1976). The dark fires hit home not least in Book 10 with the death of Pallas (cf. 11.27–28*Pallas, quem nōn uirtūtis egentem | abstulit ātra diēs et fūnere mersit acerbō* 'Pallas be sent, whom, though he did not lack courage, the black day swept away and plunged in bitter death').

384*absēns*: another instance of the paradox of 'absent presence' (cf. above 267–68) that haunts the book. The adj. modifies the implied subj. in predicative position and with adversative force: 'even though absent, I shall...'

385*frīgida mors*: Virgil uses the adjective twice with reference to dying Camilla (11.818, 828) and 'fire' and 'ice' imagery frame *Aeneid* 12, 'The Tragedy of Turnus' (12.1–3*Turnus ... ultrō implācābilis ārdet* 'Turnus is instantly and implacably on fire'; 12.951*illī soluuntur frīgore membra* 'his limbs grew slack and chill').

386*omnibus umbra locīs aderō*: interlaced word order, with *omnibus* 'in prominent position to emphasize the universality of her threat' and *umbra* 'nestled eerily amid all the places she will haunt': Fratantuono–Smith (578).

386b: dabis, improbe, poenās: Dido follows up the idea of outsourcing punishment to the gods with turning herself into an agent of retribution. Conditional clauses are by the way: taking justice into her own hands *post mortem*, she is dead sure that Aeneas will be punished. *improbe* = 'heartless brute' (Austin: 120). The meaning of the adjective ranges from 'morally unsound' to 'disloyal' to 'ruthlessly selfish' to 'shameless', and covers personal and political comportment (Cicero is fond of dividing the body politic into *probī* and *improbī*).

387: audi(am) et haec Mānīs ueniet mihi fāma sub īmōs.': as noted, Dido imagines a split self after death. Her *umbra* remains efficacious in the sphere of the living haunting Aeneas and exacting vengeance. Her 'real' self dwells among the shades below (*Mānīs ... sub īmōs*) and cannot wait to receive the news of Aeneas' destruction (*haec ... fāma*, referring to an account of his punishment). The split explains the (eager) *husteron proteron*, with her hearing of the news (*audiam*, sc. *eam* = *hanc fāmam*)

preceding their arrival (*haec ... ueniet mihi fāma*). Both verbs are in the future tense. News reaches hell via souls that have died later, but *Fāma* is of course also a chthonic divinity (above 331–32).

388–391[a]: hīs medium dictīs sermōn(em) abrumpit et aurās | [389]**aegra fugit sēqu(e) ex oculīs āuertit et aufert,** | [390]**linquēns multa metū cūnctant(em) et multa parantem** | [391]**dīcere:** Virgil stages the break-up via a poly-syndetic sequence of main verbs connected via *a(u)*-alliteration: ***a**brumpit et* (***aurā**s **a**egr**a***) *fugit ... -que ...* ***āu**ertit et **au**fert*. The sequence of actions described is (again) out of order, reflecting Dido's emotional turmoil and (perhaps) hesitation: she first turns aside (*sē ... āuertit*) and then withdraws from sight (*sē ... ex oculīs ... aufert*) by fleeing indoors (*aurās ... fugit*). What follows is a plateau of present participles that convey a sense of unfinished action: Dido leaves (*linquēns*) Aeneas in limbo, unsure of what to do—a state of uncertainty reflected in the shifting syntax of the repeated *multa*: the first is adverbial acc. with the participle *cūnctantem* ('hesitating much'), the second the acc. obj. of *dīcere* (effectively placed in enjambment: 'wait! I have more to – say!') which is governed by the participle *parantem*. (It could only have been more (un) rehearsed *rhetoric*...) Word order (the interlacing of *hīs medium dictīs sermōnem*) and verse design ('the elision in *sermonem abrumpit* is a metrical picture of her action': Austin: 120) formally dramatize the moment Dido ceases to speak and the subsequent 'contrast open air / indoors ... suggests the tragic stage and the exits of doomed heroines': Maclennan (130). *aegra*, agreeing with the implied subject Dido ('sickened'), continues the language of pathology, which is so prominent in Book 4, whereas *metū* (abl. of cause) restores the state the Trojans were in upon arrival: [1.463]*solue <u>metūs</u>* (Aeneas to Achates); [1.513–14]*simul percussus Achātēs* | *laetitiāque <u>metū</u>que*; [1.562]*soluite corde <u>metum</u>, Teucrī* ... (Dido speaking). The *metus hostīlis* is coming back. John Henderson adds: 'Aeneas was done with the half line [361″]*...Ītaliam nōn sponte sequor*", with no more to say on the subject. Dido here winds him up again one last time, but then makes sure he can't tip more buckets of fuel on the fire by quitting – leaving him to fume some more (390). *She* makes sure his last word stays his last word. (You can't argue with a black-out: 391–2.) So she will again in the afterlife when she blanks and plugs him out, so he loses the competition to have the last word – differently (6.450–71).'

391[b]–392: suscipiunt famulae conlāpsaque membra | marmoreō referunt thalamō strātīsque repōnunt: once inside (and out of sight), Dido suddenly faints into the arms of her servants (*famulae*). The ellipsis of the acc. obj. (*eam*) with *suscipiunt* and her clinically objectifying designation with the '*partēs-prō-tōtā*' phrase *conlāpsa ... membra*, the acc. obj. of *referunt* and *repōnunt*, capture her disappearance and (mental) disintegration. *marmoreō ... thalamō*: in the dat. with a verb of motion, an alternative to *ad*/*in* + acc.: Dido is brought to her inner chamber, first mentioned in 133. It will become a key centre of action from now on (cf. 495, 550). *strātīs* (abl. of place) refers to her bed (cf. [82–83]*strātīs ... relictīs | incubat*). [389]*aufert* and [392]*referunt* recur at Pallas' death. Cf. [10.505–6]*at sociī multō gemitū lacrimīsque | impositum scūtō referunt Pallanta frequentēs* 'But with many moans and tears his friends throng round Pallas and bear him back lying on his shield' and [10.508]*haec tē prīma diēs bellō dedit, haec eadem aufert* 'this day first gave you to war, this also takes you from it'.

* * *

In Aeneas' instructions to his men at 288–94, saying good-bye to Dido was the final obstacle before setting sail. While the meeting did not exactly unfold as planned, it has now happened. And yet, it takes another 180+ lines before the Trojans are truly off: Aeneas finally cuts the cords only at 579–80. In between, we get a last-ditch effort by Dido to reach out to Aeneas via her sister Anna (393–449), her turn to witchcraft (450–521), and a detailed account of what happened during the night of the departure (522–83).

393–449: The Last Ditch

While Aeneas and his crew are getting everything ready for departure, Dido decides to reach out one last time: she tries to persuade Aeneas to delay his departure, using her sister Anna as an intermediary:

393–407: Aeneas and his crew are getting the ships ready; ant simile.
408–415: Dido spots the preparations and is unable to let go.
416–436: Dido addresses Anna, asking her to beg Aeneas for a moment of respite.
437–449: Anna's (futile) efforts to sway Aeneas; oak-tree simile.

393–396: at pius Aenēās, quamquam lēnīre dolentem | [394]**sōlandō cupit et dictīs āuertere cūrās,** | [395]**multa gemēns magnōqu(e) animum labefactus amōre,** | [396]**iussa tamen dīu(um) exsequitur classemque reuīsit:** the pivoting particle *at* and subject (+ attribute) of the main clause, *pius Aenēās*, starts off the sentence. What follows is a syntactically differentiated perspective on the hero:

(a) an adversative subordinate clause ([393–94]*quamquam ... cūrās*) specifies the thoughts and feelings Aeneas is *not* going to act on;

(b) two transitional participles give outward, if inconsequential expression to his inner life ([395]*gemēns* and *labefactus* in *husteron proteron*, linked by the *-que* after *magnō*). *labefactus* has a causal sense: he groans because he experiences a mental meltdown);

(c) the rest of the main clause ([396]*iussa tamen ... reuīsit*), continuing *at pius Aenēās*, details his actions.

[393]*at pius Aenēās*: one of five instances of this opening (also 1.305, 6.9, 6.232, 12.311; overall, Virgil uses the epithet *pius* for Aeneas twenty times), all articulating a key contrast and/or turning point. The last occurrence of the epithet *pius* was at [1.378]*sum pius Aenēās*, where Aeneas identifies himself to his mother not in smugness but desperation. During his love affair with Dido, his *pietās* (*ergā deōs*, *ergā patriam*, *ergā patrem filiumque*)

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had temporarily been switched off as a motivational factor: Aeneas lost part of his self to Dido, and his love and desire for her (as the *quamquam*-clause shows) remains very much part of him, even though it conflicts with his obligations towards gods, (new) country, and kin, which here come back to the fore (—> ***TD*** 'Transvaluing *Pietās*').

[395]*magnōque animum labefactus amōre*: literally 'having collapsed (*labefactus*, cf. [391]*conlāpsa* with reference to Dido's limbs) with respect to his mind (*animum*, an acc. of respect) because of his great love (*magnō ... amōre*; abl. of cause; the hyperbaton stresses the degree of Aeneas' devotion)'.

397–400: tum uērō Teucr(ī) incumbunt et lītore celsās | [398]dēdūcunt tōtō nāuēs (natat ūncta carīna) | [399]frondentīsque ferunt rēmōs et rōbora siluīs | [400]īnfabricāta fugae studiō: *tum uērō* is another strong marker of energy and action (cf. 450 and 571): the appearance of Aeneas causes his men to redouble their efforts to get the fleet ready to sail. The sentence takes the form of an ascending tricolon: [397]*incumbunt et ...* [398]*dēdūcunt ...* [399]*-que ferunt*, with [397]*Teucrī* as subject throughout. The first verb is intransitive; the second takes one acc. obj. ([397–98]*celsās | ... nāuēs*); the third two ([399–400]*frondentīs ... rēmōs et rōbora siluīs īnfabricāta*), though the *et* here is explanatory: '(future) oars still sporting leaves, i.e. oak-wood hewn in/from the woods not yet worked into shape'. At 288–91, Aeneas instructed his men to get everything ready for a speedy departure, and his men have not been idle: they got the vessels sea-ready by rendering them waterproof (*ūncta* 'having been tarred': perf. pass. part. of *unguō*, *unguere*) and can pull them off the shore instantly. What they have not yet seen to is fitting them out with new oars, which suffered major damage in the storm (cf. 1.552, Ilioneus asking Dido for permission to refit the fleet: *siluīs aptāre trabēs et stringere rēmōs* 'to fashion planks in the forests and trim oars').

[397–98]*lītore celsās | dēdūcunt tōtō nāuēs*: the interlaced word order with grammatical chiasmus (noun – adj. – adj. – noun) arranged around the centred verb and across the verse boundary is expressive of the move of the ships from land to sea (*lītore ... tōtō* = abl. of separation).

[398]*natat ūncta carīna*: the pregnant parenthesis adds to the excitement, as does the final tag [400]*fugae studiō* 'in their eagerness to escape'.

401: migrantīs cernās tōtāqu(e) ex urbe ruentīs: 'You could see them moving away rushing forth from the entire city.' *cernās* is present subjunctive (potential) in a direct address to the reader, a device of immediacy and vividness. The present participles that frame the line (and are linked by the *-que* after *tōtā*) add to the effect: they agree with an implied *eōs* and generate a vivid tableau that the narrator asks *you* to visualize, anticipating Dido's view of and response to the scene (to come forcefully into focus at 408–15). To help us picture the sight, Virgil launches into an illustrative simile featuring an army of ants. It has a complement in the bee simile at 1.430–36, which illustrates the Carthaginians building their city, with Aeneas and Anchises as text-internal spectators (cited above 128–29). The inversion is pointed: Aeneas watches bee-like Carthaginians busy building their community and city; Dido watches proto-Romans acting like army ants, carrying off plunder.

402–403: ac uelut ingentem formīcae farris aceruum | cum populant hiemis memorēs tēctōque repōnunt: *ac uelut* is a standard introductory tag for a simile, but here a corresponding *sīc* is missing and it remains unclear how exactly the simile is embedded in the narrative. To keep the train of thought, one could link the opening of the simile to the previous line: '[You could see...], even as (402*ac uelut*) when (403*cum*, in postpositive position)...'. The subject of the bipartite *cum*-clause is 402*formīcae* 'ants'. Its two verbs 403*populant* and 403*repōnunt* are linked by *-que* after *tēctō*. They share the acc. obj. 402*ingentem ... aceruum* which the gen. *farris* depends on (= 'a huge heap of corn', made even larger by the hyperbaton and the straining sequence of seven spondees across feet 2–5a: *ingentem formīcae farr-*): 'the ants "despoil" like a conquering army; do the Trojans?' (O'Hara: 65). 403*memorēs* agrees with *formīcae* and governs the gen. *hiemis* ('mindful of winter').

Ants have an ambiguous status in the ancient imaginary. As social animals, they invite comparison with humans, but unlike bees they are also considered pests. In philosophical discourse, the former aspect registers, in agricultural discourse the latter. Cicero pairs ants with bees at *Lūcullus* 120 and *Dē Fīnibus* 3.63. Ants feature as pests in Cato the Elder, *Dē Agricultūrā* 91, 129; Varro, *Rēs Rūstica* 1.151.1; and Virgil, *Georgics* 1.185–86 ... *populatque ingentem farris aceruum | curculiō atque inopī metuēns formīca senectae* 'or the weevil ravages a huge heap of grain, or the ant, fearful of a destitute old age.' (In *Georgics* 1.379–80, ant-behaviour

functions as a sign of upcoming rain: *saepius et tēctīs penetrālibus extulit ōua | angustum formīca terēns iter* 'often, too, the ant, wearing her narrow path, brings out her eggs from her inmost cells'.)

404–405[a]: it nigrum campīs agmen praedamque per herbās | conuectant call(e) angustō: apart from the quasi-obligatory dactyl in the fifth foot (*-que per*), these 1.5 lines scan entirely spondaic, as a black(-armoured: *nigrum*) column (*agmen*) of ants marches on the field and carries loot on a narrow track through the grass. The two verbs *it* and *conuectant* front their respective verses like military orders. They are linked by *-que* after *praedam* and shift from collective singular to individualizing plural: the ants march together as a unit, with each insect burdened by plunder but in shared effort (cf. the composite *con-uectant* 'they carry *together*'). The bees from the simile in Book 1 only adopt a military formation when their livelihood is under threat ([1.434]*agmine factō*); the ants are exclusively an army. While both bees and ants work together as a corporate unit, the Carthaginian bees are all about building a home in spring and sunshine, with defensive military action, whereas the Trojan ants store up for winter with aggressive plunder.

Servius notes that Virgil here 'cites' Ennius (via Accius): '*it nigrum campīs agmen*': *hēmistichium Enniī dē elephantīs dictum, quō ante Accius ūsus est dē Indīs*. '"the black column moves in the field": a half-line of Ennius said about elephants, which Accius previously used about Indians.' We do not know in what context Ennius (or Accius) employed these words, but most likely Ennius referred to Carthaginian elephants operating in the army of Hannibal during the Second Punic War. We thus remain in the animal kingdom, but with a significant and humorous downsizing of the fauna and in line with the entomological theme of Book 1, but also in anticipation of the series of wars between Rome and Carthage, which, in Virgil's aetiology, are at least partly caused by Aeneas' stopover in Carthage. Specifically, the eleph/ants bring to mind the invasion of Italy by Hannibal, the avenger whom Dido curses into being at 625–29. On allegorical wildlife in Virgil (from arthropods to mammals), see further Giusti (2014).

405[b]–407[a]: pars grandia trūdunt | obnīxae frūment(a) umerīs, pars agmina cōgunt | castīgantque morās: our crawling critters are well drilled, with disciplined bipartite partition of their formation (*pars – pars*) across

a tricolon of actions (*trūdunt*, *cōgunt* | *castīgantque*). One part strenuously (*obnīxae*, in emphatic enjambment, and scanning as three slogging longs, agrees with the implied subject *formīcae*) pushes the hyperbatically oversized pieces of grain (*grandia ... frūmenta*), which are in direct contact with their shoulders (as dramatized by the elision *frūmenta‿umerīs*). The other part polices the milit*ant* marching formation and rounds up and rebukes those who have fallen out of line and over the verse break. The enjambed, *c*-alliterated, and onomatopoetically criss-crossing chiasmus of acc. objects and verbs *agmina cōgunt* | *castīgantque morās* (the vowels of *agmina* match those of *castīgant*) illustrates how tight a ship the serge/ants run, though the straggling position of *morās* recognizes that even among ants some of the rank will always break the file.

407[b]: oper(e) omnis sēmita feruet: in variation of the bee simile where the work seethes ([1.436]*feruet opus*), here the entire path (*omnis sēmita*) seethes 'with work' (*opere*).

408–411: quis tibi tum, Dīdō, cernentī tālia sēnsus, | [409]**quōsue dabās gemitūs, cum līтora feruere lātē** | [410]**prōspicerēs arc(e) ex summā, tōtumque uidērēs** | [411]**miscēr(ī) ant(e) oculōs tantīs clāmōribus aequor!:** after addressing the reader ([401]*cernās*), Virgil turns to Dido, who has recovered her senses since 392 and is watching the unfolding scene from the top of her citadel. The extended apostrophe begins with a bipartite rhetorical question, introduced by the interrogative adjectives *quis* (agreeing with *sēnsus*) and *quōs* (agreeing with *gemitūs*). They are linked by *-ue* after *quōs*. In the first question, the verb (*erat*) needs to be supplied; *tibi* is dat. of possession, agreeing with the present part. *cernentī*, which takes *tālia* (acc. n. pl.) as acc. object: 'what feeling then, Dido, was yours when watching such doings or (*ue*) what groans (*quōs* ... *gemitūs*) did you keep uttering (*dabās*: imperfect indicating continuous or repetitive action in the past)…' What Dido sees is detailed in the bipartite *cum*-clause. Both of its verbs (*prōspicerēs ... -que uidērēs*) govern an indirect statement: [409]*līтora feruere lātē*: '...that the beach seethes far and wide'; [410–11]*tōtum ... miscērī ... tantīs clāmōribus aequor*: '...that the WHOLE sea (the hyperbaton *tōtum ... aequor* is all-encompassing) is churning with lusty (*tantīs*, alliterative with *tōtum*, really rubbing it in) cries'. The tautological [411]*ante oculōs* 'right there before your eyes' brings out the insult that the Trojans add to Dido's injury: unconcerned with

sparing her feelings, they no longer proceed quietly and by stealth but with roaring enthusiasm.

409*feruere*: from 3rd conjugation *feruō*, *feruĕre* rather than 4th conjugation *ferueō*, *feruēre* used in 407: the verbs have the same meaning but scan differently.

412: improb(e) Amor, quid nōn mortālia pectora cōgis!: Virgil continues his apostrophic agitation with an address to the god Amor (*improbe Amor* is vocative). *cōgis* governs a double acc.: '(to) what (*quid*) do you not compel human hearts (*mortālia pectora*)?' The (forward-looking) line serves as pivot between lines 408–11, which pose questions about Dido's emotional response to seeing the Trojans' preparation for departure, and 413–15, which give a surprising insight into her state of mind: despite wishing Aeneas to hell and storming off at the end of her second speech, she still has not given up all hope of swaying him to stay at least a little while. The reason is Love, who is here configured in generic terms as a divine power able to drive humans to do anything. The attribute *improbus* that the narrator uses with reference to Amor is the same that Dido hurled at Aeneas at the end of her speech (386), suggesting that all along she has been blaming the wrong person: Aeneas rather than his half-brother Amor, or else they're both ... as bad as each other.

One of Virgil's models here is Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.445–47, just before Medea decides to murder her brother Apsyrtus in aid of Jason:

> Cruel Love, great affliction, great abomination for humans; from you come deadly quarrels and groans and laments [or, reading πόνοι, toils], and countless other pains besides these are stirred up.

> σχέτλι᾽ Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν,
> ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναί τ᾽ ἔριδες στοναχαί τε γόοι τε,
> ἄλγεά τ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασιν.

But he is also recycling 3.56–57*quid nōn mortālia pectora cōgis | aurī sacra famēs* 'To what crime do you not drive the hearts of men, accursed hunger for gold?', adding to his store of anthropological reflection. In his world,

Love and Greed are comparable destructive forces for the way they impassion humans.

413–415: īr(e) iter(um) in lacrimās, iterum temptāre precandō |[414] **cōgitur et supplex animōs submitter(e) amōrī,** | [415] **nē quid inexpertum frustrā moritūra relinquat:** the main verb *cōgitur*, responding to [412]*cōgis* (Amor forces; Dido is being forced), governs three infinitives: *īre ... in lacrimās* ('to burst into tears'), *temptāre precandō* ('to work on him [the acc. obj. *eum* = *Aenēān* is implied] through abject begging'), and *animōs submittere amōrī* ('to subject her proud spirits to L/love'). The first two follow each other in asyndeton but are coordinated by the anaphora of *iterum*, in compulsive repetition: she is forced to humiliate herself over and again. The third, which offers a meta-comment, is linked up by *et*. In terms of temporal sequence, though, the action of the third comes first: Dido's submission to love informs her renewed emotional incontinence and attempts at persuasion. The ambiguous syntax of *supplex* reinforces the scenario overall: taken as noun, it goes with the first two infinitives ('as suppliant'); taken as adj. in lieu of an adv., it goes with the third ('humbled/humbly' she yields to love). The synonymity of *supplex* and *temptāre precandō* strengthens the former take, its antithetical juxtaposition with *animōs* and the alliterative thematic link with *submittere* the latter. The concluding negative purpose clause specifies the reason for her obsession: 'lest she leaves (*relinquat*: pres. subjunctive) anything (*quid* = *aliquid*) untried (*inexpertum*) and (therefore) die in vain (*frustrā*)'. *moritūra* is fut. act. part. in agreement with the subject (Dido). The train of thought, focalized through Dido, seems to be: 'if there is a means by which I could get Aeneas to stay and I fail to explore it, I would die in vain—for I *will* die if he leaves.' Readers differ on how to construe the centrally placed *frustrā*, whether with *inexpertum* or with *moritūra*; it is hence best taken with both in an ironic *apo koinou*: focalized through the poet and taken with *inexpertum*, it signals that anything Dido might try will be in vain; focalized through Dido and taken with *moritūra*, it expresses her (vain) hope that she might be able to avoid death. The ambiguity is telling. In Dido's case, the stark alternative of either (successful) Love or (inevitable) Death collapses both in *a-mŏ̆rī* and the vicious circle of ***mor**itūr**a***: *mor-itūr-**a**>**mor***.

416–436: Dido's speech to Anna falls into two roughly equal halves:

416–424: Pleading with Anna to play the role of go-between.
425–436: Dialogue with herself about what to ask of Aeneas and why.

416–424 feature an intense engagement with her sister Anna. A cluster of vocatives and imperatives dominates this section: [416]*Anna*; [420]*soror*; [421]*exsequere*, *Anna*; [424]*ī*, *soror*, ... *adfāre*. Dido places considerable emphasis on highlighting the close relationship between Anna and Aeneas, which makes her uniquely qualified for the task of go-between ([421–22]*sōlam* ... | *tē*; [423]*sōla* ... *nōrās*). She only vaguely hints at the content of the supplication in [420–21]*miserae hoc tamen ūnum* | *exsequere*, *Anna*, *mihī*. (What 'this one thing' is does not become clear until 430.) After identifying the agent and ordering the mission ('*you* have to accost Aeneas as suppliant!'), direct engagement with her sister disappears until the parenthetical [435]*miserēre sorōris*, the only address in the second half. In 425–36, Dido specifies what she is after: a brief delay of the departure. She develops her thought in an argument with the absent Aeneas via a dialogue with herself that all but excludes Anna: [425–27]*nōn ego ... iūrāuī ... mīsī ... reuellī*; [428]*cūr ... negat ...?*; [429]*quō ruit? ... det*; [430]*exspectet*; [431]*nōn ... ōrō*; [432]*... ut ... careat ... -que relinquat*; [435]*ōrō*; [436]*... dederit ... remittam*.

416: 'Anna, uidēs tōtō properārī lītore circum: 'Anna, you see that haste is being made on (and around: *circum*; adv. rather than preposition) the entire shore (*tōtō ... līttore*)'; or, with the impersonal infinitive *properārī* understood as a noun substitute, 'Anna, you see *the bustle* on (and around) the shore' (Austin: 127–28; the construction stresses the action rather than the agent). Dido's sister is back, without introduction: she had disappeared from the narrative after their joint sacrificial efforts at 54–60. Now we learn that she never ceased in her role as matchmaker, go-between, and confidant of both Dido and Aeneas (421–23). Her track record as royal advisor and outspoken facilitator of the tragic liaison endow her sudden re-entry with ominous foreboding.

417–418: undique conuēnēre; uocat iam carbasus aurās, | puppibus et laetī naut(ae) imposuēre corōnās: the (delayed) *et* links (present) *uocat* and (perfect) *imposuēre*, which takes *corōnās* as direct and *puppibus* (dat.) as indirect object. Dido eerily reiterates and re-uses wording of Aeneas:

- 2.799–800 (right before their departure from Troy) *undique*

conuēnēre, *animīs opibusque parātī*, | *in quāscumque uelim pelagō dēdūcere terrās* 'From all sides they have come, with heart and fortune ready for me to lead them over the sea to whatever lands I will'

- 3.356–57 (when he was getting impatient at Buthrotum) ... *aurae* | *uēla uocant tumidōque īnflātur carbasus austrō* 'And now day after day has passed; the breezes call to the sails, and the canvas fills with the swelling South'.

Tellingly, she inverts the subject-object relation of winds and sails: with Aeneas, the former call the latter (*aurae* | *uēla uocant* = conditions are good); with Dido, perversely, the latter call the former (*uocat* ... *carbasus aurās* = conditions are bad). The intratextual *déjà-vus* add to Dido's sense of desperation: she has heard it all before, and what she sees is a familiar scene—Aeneas, once more, cannot wait to get on the road yet again.

Beyond Dido's ken, Virgil adds allusive enrichment of these lines via self-citation. Verse 418 is identical to *Georgics* 1.304, though again with a telling (and perverse) inversion. In the *Georgics*, the line is part of a comparison designed to illustrate the generic merriment of idle farmers in winter (the same time of year!) whose mood resembles that of cheerful sailors who, upon reaching port, crown the poops of their ships with garlands (a religious gesture in honour of the ships' protective deities). The joy at arrival *there* becomes joy at the prospect of departure *here*. Contrary to her eager presence at Aeneas' account of his adventures over Books 2–3, Dido could of course not have listened to a performance of the *Georgics*: this intertextuality is between Virgil and his readers, perhaps to highlight Aeneas' strong (perverse?) sense of duty. His men, at any rate, have been looking forward to this moment since [294–95]*ōcius omnēs* | *imperiō laetī pārent ac iussa facessunt*.

419–420[a]: hunc ego sī potuī tantum spērāre dolōrem, | **et perferre, soror, poterō:** it is not easy to establish what conditional sequence(s) Dido opts for here, esp. since indicative forms of *possum* can be used in place of subjunctive equivalents. Literally, she says (and is understood by Anna to be saying): 'Since I was able to foresee this (*hunc*) enormous (*tantum*) sorrow (*dolōrem*), I shall also (*et*) be able to endure [sc. it]' — and, she goes on to suggest to her sister, this will be the case as long as Aeneas accedes to an insignificant delay in his departure to be negotiated

by Anna. But she might be mixing a counterfactual protasis (*potuī* = *potuissem*), with an ideal apodosis (*poterō* = *possim*): 'If I had been able to foresee this in the past [but I did not], I would also be able to bear it in the present and future [but I am not]' (see further Casali 1999: 108–9, with reference to Aeneas' speech to his men [291–92]... *quandō optima Dīdō | nesciat et tantōs rumpī nōn spēret amōrēs*, which continues to resonate in Dido's speech to Anna: see below 423).

420[b]–421[a]: miser(ae) hoc tamen ūnum | exsequer(e), Anna, mihī: despite (cf. *tamen*) putting up a brave face, she asks Anna to do 'this one thing' (*hoc ... ūnum*) for her, wretched as she is (*miserae* agrees with *mihī*: the hyperbaton places heavy emphasis on the concluding *mihī*, reinforced by the caesura; the placement also ensures the intimate juxtaposition of the two sisters (*Anna*, *mihī*). Dido's choice of verb generates an (unwitting) parallel with [396]*iussa ... dīuum exsequitur*: Virgil turns Dido into a counterforce to the (male) Olympian divinities who have issued orders to Aeneas.

421[b]–422: sōlam nam perfidus ille | tē coler(e), arcānōs etiam tibi crēdere sēnsūs: the verbs *colere* and *crēdere* (in asyndeton, but loosely coordinated by (postponed) *nam* and *etiam*) are in 'the infinitive of repeated or characteristic action' also called the 'historic infinitive', a label Austin (129) finds 'is too narrow and is often misleading'. The subject of both verbs is *perfidus ille* 'that treacherous bastard'; the third iteration of the by now hackneyed insult (cf. 305, 366) has a tired and resigned ring to it, though it is thematically appropriate here: 'untrustworthy' Aeneas has somehow entrusted his deepest, most intimate thoughts (*arcānōs ... sēnsūs*) to Anna. (Elsewhere, Virgil uses the attribute *arcānus* only with reference to fate, which is notoriously inscrutable ([6.72]*arcāna ... fāta*; cf. (as noun) *fātōrum arcāna*: 1.262, 7.123). But there is also a sense that Aeneas *is* Dido's destiny.) The text of the *Aeneid* is silent on what Dido has in mind when she says that Aeneas has been caring for (*colere*) 'you ALONE' (*sōlam* agrees with *tē* and is emphatically—and perhaps bitterly—fronted) and has turned Anna into his confidant of choice. In the intertextual multiverse, an alternative storyline is attested in which Aeneas fell in love with *Anna* during his stopover in Carthage, who thereupon committed suicide: see Introduction 8–9.

423: sōla uirī mollīs aditūs et tempora nōrās: another fronted *sōla* agreeing with the subject implied in *nōrās* (= *nōuerās*: syncopated pluperf. ind. of *nōscere* with perf. sense) 'you alone have known' or if one reads *nōris* (= *nōueris*: syncopated perf. subjunctive with present-potential sense) 'you alone would know', arguably the preferable reading. The two acc. objects *mollīs aditūs* and *tempora* form a hendiadys: 'the right moment for a softly suasive approach'. It is the kind of approach Aeneas had hoped to take with Dido at [293–94]... *temptātūrum aditūs, et quae mollissima fandī | tempora*.

424: ī, soror, atqu(e) hostem supplex adfāre superbum: *ī, soror* echoes [381]*ī, sequere*. The second imperative, the composite *ad-fāre*, signifies powerful speech. The rhythm of the verse matches the actions of the imperatives: it opens with a quick dactylic foot and, following the break after *soror*, slows to weightily pleading spondees till the fifth foot, an effect enhanced by the clash of ictus and word accent in the centrally placed *hostem supplex*. Dido gives Anna the tough challenge of addressing and overcoming an 'arrogant foe' (*hostem ... superbum*; the downgrading of Aeneas—from *coniūnx* 'husband' (324) back to *hospes* 'guest' (10, 323) on to *hostis* 'enemy'—continues apace) with a plea-bargain, approaching him as suppliant (*supplex*) or 'humbly' (cf. on 455 for the ambiguity: Dido is turning Anna into her *altera ego*). The juxtaposition of *hostem* and *supplex* indicates that she is waving the flag of surrender, but the assertive *adfāre* suggests that she tries her best to make this surrender not entirely unconditional. (The idiom of defeat combined with the hope of extracting a final concession from the victor also registers heavily towards the end of her speech: [434]*mē uictam*, [435]*extrēmam hanc ōrō ueniam*.)

425–427: nōn ego cum Danaīs Trōiān(am) exscindere gentem | Aulide iūrāuī classemu(e) ad Pergama mīsī, | nec patris Anchīsae cinerēs mānīsue reuellī: the lines bridge Dido's identification of Aeneas as a *hostis* in the previous line and the rhetorical question in 428. To make the point that he behaves like an enemy without cause, Dido specifies two hostile events that did happen without her participation (*nōn ... iūrāuī ... -ue ... mīsī*): the oath taken by the Greeks at Aulis (the sea-town on Euboea that served as launch-point for the Greek expeditionary force) to destroy the Trojans and their expedition to Troy. She then adds a

further crime she did not commit (*nec ... reuellī*) but perhaps feels she stands (unfairly) accused of: the desecration of Anchises' grave in Sicily. The idea that, after violation of his ashes (*cinerēs*: poetic pl.), Anchises' spirit (*mānēs* are 'spirits of the dead'; the word occurs only in the pl. but here refers to the shade of one particular person: *OLD* 1c) has been disturbed most likely responds to Aeneas' claim at 351–53 that he receives nightly visitations from a paternal ghost (the formulation *patris Anchīsae* suggests repetition of Aeneas' discourse: [351]*mē patris Anchīsae*. See Raymond 1952).

Extra information

In his note at 5.81, Servius documents a tradition in which Diomedes, after settling in Italy, desecrates the grave of Anchises. But nothing in the text cues this variant, apart from the fact that the timeline is nearly impossible: Anchises' funeral in Sicily is the last event before the sea storm that washes up Aeneas' fleet in Africa.

428: cūr mea dicta negat dūrās dēmitter(e) in aurīs?: given that whatever bad has happened or is happening to Aeneas has nothing to do with her ([425]*nōn ego* is emphatic: 'I am not to blame for...'), she asks in exasperation: 'why should he so obstinately refuse to listen to what I have to say?' The anastrophe *dūrās ... in aurīs* results in the effective juxtaposition of *negat* and *dūrās* and an enhanced *d*-alliteration (*di-*, ..., *dū-*, *dē-*). (We could gently point out to her that *she* fainted on Aeneas...)

429: quō ruit? extrēm(um) hoc miserae det mūnus amantī: *quō* can indicate direction ('whither') or purpose ('why'). *ruō* picks up on [401]*ruentīs*, but the verb makes many dramatic appearances in the *Aeneid*, in descriptions of meteorological phenomena (both ordinary and catastrophic), collapsing cities, violent movement (not least in combat), and irrational frenzy. Dido's question of 'whither/why does he hasten' thus also conjures a sense of exasperation: 'why does he rush to his doom?' (Cf. Servius' gloss: '*properat sine respectū salūtis*'.) *mūnus* here has at the surface level the wider sense of 'kindness, service, favour' (*OLD* 6), but especially with *extrēmum* it also conjures (funerary) duties or offerings owed to the dead (*OLD* 1d, 3). 'Let him grant (*det* is jussive subjunctive) this final kindness to me (*mihi* is implied), wretched

(*miserae*) in love (*amantī*) that I am.' The line recalls [307–8]*nec tē noster amor, nec tē data dextera quondam, | nec moritūra tenet crūdēlī fūnere Dīdō?*, but is the first time Dido describes herself self-referentially as being in love without reciprocation: contrast [307]*noster amor*); her condition will not change: 479, 521; cf. [532]*saeuit amor*).

430: exspectet facilemque fugam uentōsque ferentīs: the jussive subjunctive *exspectet* ('let him await...') governs two acc. objects, moving from the generic to the specific, coordinated by the two *-que* ('both... and...', though the first requires no translation), in chiastic inversion of attributes (***f**acilem*, ***f**erentīs*) and nouns (***f**ugam*, *uentōs*), and with (derisive?) *f*-alliteration. It brings Dido into direct conflict with Jupiter's point of view and instructions to Mercury: the king of the gods noted with disapproval that Aeneas waits around Carthage ([224–25]*... Tyriā Karthāgine quī nunc | exspectat*) and issued the injunction: 'let him set sail' ([237]*nāuiget!*). Her contemptuously accurate label for Aeneas' action (*fuga*) has remained unchanged since 314, but she is now resigned that he will flee. What remains open for negotiation (she hopes) are the time and (hence also) the terms. She is at his mercy for the time; he is at her mercy for the terms.

431–432: nōn iam coniugi(um) antīquum, quod prōdidit, ōrō, | nec pulchr(ō) ut Latiō careat rēgnumque relinquat: *nōn ... ōrō* governs two different constructions coordinated by *nec*: an acc. obj. (*coniugium antīquum*) and a complementary final clause introduced by *ut*, the postposition of which gives *pulchrō*—Dido's attribute for *Latiō*—sneering emphasis. (Of the thirty-one instances of *Latium* in the *Aeneid*, only three others come with a descriptor: [7.38]*antīquum*, [7.54]*magnum*, [7.601]*Hesperium*; it is not a geographical term Aeneas uses in his travel narratives or his speeches to Dido, but Ilioneus does when addressing the queen: [1.554]*... ut Ītaliam laetī Latiumque petāmus*; it is also identified as the Trojans' final destination in the proem: [1.6]*īnferretque deōs Latiō*, giving Dido's choice of terminology a meta-literary touch.) She clarifies her (massive) concessions: she still clings to the belief that they had a genuine marriage, which he betrayed, but she has given up on restoring it: it is ancient (cf. *antīquum*) history. She accepts his wish to go to Italy (and now gives the region he is heading for a proper name, if with the derisive attribute *pulchrum*) and to set up his own kingdom, belatedly

conceding Aeneas' point at 347–50. She is willing to grant all that—in return for an insignificant delay in the departure.

433–434: tempus ināne petō, requiem spatiumque furōrī, | dum mea mē uictam doceat fortūna dolēre: *requiem spatiumque furōrī* stands in apposition to *tempus ināne*, the acc. obj. of *petō*: 'Empty time I seek, an interval of reprieve (taking *requiem spatiumque* as hendiadys) for my frenzy, until (*dum* here + subjunctive, used "when suspense and design are involved": G-L 572) my fortune (*mea ... fortūna*) teaches me, vanquished that I am (*uictam*), to grieve.' *doceat* governs *mē* as acc. obj. and the inf. *dolēre* as a second acc. (G-L 423.6). For *spatium* = 'interval', 'time available for a purpose', see *OLD* 9, 10. Why would an insignificant delay have made such a difference? As elsewhere, Virgil has his character speak with evasive ambiguity (to Anna, to us, to herself): does she truly hope that a minor concession on Aeneas' part will enable her to cope more constructively with her grief and dial down her *furor*? Or is the requested time meant to afford her (avenging) *furor* the opportunity to come fully into its own? (*furor* as strong, destructive passion is not necessarily at variance with strategic intelligence, and Dido's self-diagnosis is remarkably upfront.)

In an 'innocent' reading, Dido is marked throughout as a figure of fortune (and *Fortūna*, as goddess of happenstance, covers both good fortune and misfortune). Here, the quasi-personification, the pronominal adjective *mea* (in emphatic hyperbaton and strategic juxtaposition with *mē uictam*), and the alliterative link with *furōrī* suggest a pronounced self-reflexive element. Dido seeks time to come to terms with herself and her circumstances. A brief respite, she suggests, will enable her to reduce *furor* to *dolor*. The small concession might have proved to her that Aeneas means it when he says that he cares for her, thus proving that he does not 'flee (because of) *her*': she has resigned herself to the notion that he has to go (and will kill herself at that point) but, if granted a brief respite, perhaps he will do so after she has retracted her curse. In this reading, Aeneas made a fatal mistake by not yielding an inch: instead of cancelling the curse, Dido proceeds to amplify its potency exponentially.

But in a 'suspicious' reading, Dido wishes for Aeneas to stick around to exact gruesome retribution. The intertextual multiverse offers disquieting support for such a take: in Euripides' *Mēdēa*, one day of leave before departure into exile was all Dido's *altera ego* Medea asked for,

received, and needed to slaughter her children and Jason's new bride Creusa in revenge for being abandoned (Eur. *Med*. 340, 355; Schiesaro 2008: 66–71 = ***TD*** 183–89).

We can't ever know what precisely was on her mind: unlike Creon (the king of Corinth in Euripides), Aeneas makes no concession. As a result, Dido's *furor* doubles. It therefore also remains imponderable whether Aeneas, by refusing to budge, shot himself in the foot or dodged a bullet. But, as John Henderson points out, what we do know, as story readers, is that the whole Carthage episode adds up to a block on progress in one big loop between 1.34–35 and 5.777–78, stalling the *Aeneid* till half-time in the process. That's in terms of getting somewhere, as programmed in the epic's first sentence: in the meantime, this hold-up is how we get to learn so much about what it means, what it takes, to get to ?Rome.

435–436: extrēm(am) hanc ōrō ueniam (miserēre sorōris), | quam mihi cum dederit, cumulātam morte remittam.': Dido now specifies what she asks for (*ōrō* in antithesis to [431]*nōn ... ōrō*), with many an onomatopoetically sobbing *m*. She reiterates her plea [429]*extrēmum hoc miserae det mūnus*, though changes the label: there is some overlap in the semantics of *mūnus* and *uenia* ('kindness', 'favour'), but the latter can also have the sense of 'relief', 'respite' (*OLD* 5) and thus continues the theme of [433]*tempus ināne petō*, *requiem spatiumque*. At the same time, Dido downgrades the terms of reciprocity: *mūnus* implies a sense of obligation between benefactor and beneficiary, whereas *uenia* applies in radically unequal relationships of power (cf. [1.519]*ōrantēs ueniam*, of Aeneas' shipwrecked men approaching Dido). *ueniam* is the antecedent of *quam*, which is the acc. obj. of *remittam* in the relative clause and identical to the understood acc. obj. of *dederit* in the *cum*-clause (*eam*). The double duty underscores the reciprocity Dido is fishing for: '... which, when he will have granted (*dederit* = fut. perf.) it to me (*mihi*, fronted for effect, belongs in the *cum*-clause), I shall repay "augmented" (*cumulātam*, agreeing with *quam*, is a financial metaphor: "with interest": *OLD* 5) at/by my death (*morte*).' It remains unclear what her part of the proposed bargain would have amounted to: Dido still seems intent on committing suicide upon Aeneas' departure (without sharing this thought explicitly) but holds out the promise of giving *something* in return (perhaps the retraction of her curse: Casali 1999a) should

he agree to a momentary delay. Conversely, if the plan is to re-enact Medea, the 'interest' she has in mind consists in the escalation of cruelty inflicted, with the death referred to not her own: 'She imagines that if she is given a temporal respite, there will be time in which to kill Aeneas and his son; she will literally pay back the favor by a "death heaped up," that is, by the same sort of slaughter that Medea envisaged inflicting on her perceived enemies' (Fratantuono–Smith: 635). The parenthetical *miserēre* (pres. imperative of the deponent; the obj. is in the gen.: *sorōris*), thematically cued by *ueniam*, re-establishes interactivity with her sister just before the conclusion of Dido's speech.

Extra information

It is tempting to read 4.416–49 intertextually with Lucretius, *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 2.216–62—an exposition of Epicurus' atomistic physics which explain and justify 'the swerve', the unpredictable departure from monotonous, patterned movement of atoms through space that is necessary for generating worlds and also introduces free will. On the lexical level, the links are admittedly slight, but perhaps not entirely insignificant: the *tempus inane* that Dido asks for echoes *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 2.235–37, where Lucretius argues that empty void (*ināne ... uacuum*) can at no time (*ūllō | tempore*) offer resistance to the falling atoms:

> at contrā nūllī dē nūllā parte neque ūllō
> tempore ināne potest uacuum subsistere reī,
> quīn, sua quod nātūra petit, concēdere pergat...
>
> [but contrariwise empty void (*ināne ... uacuum*) cannot offer any support to anything anywhere or at any time (*ūllō | tempore*), but it must give way continually, as its nature demands...]

The juxtaposition *ūllō | **tempore ināne** ... uacuum* invites Virgil's misprision *tempus inane*. The second echo concerns Aeneas' determination not 'to swerve' for even an insignificant instant, a *tempus ināne*, to remain absolutely fixed in his resolve to leave straightaway. What stands in the way? Fate: [440]*fāta obstant*. And fate is precisely what the swerve breaks in Lucretius: it is a certain beginning that breaks the decrees of fate ([2.254]*prīncipium quoddam quod fātī foedera rumpat*), introduces free will wrested from fate ([2.257]*fātīs āuolsa uoluntās*) and enables us to follow

pleasure (2.258*per quam prōgredimur quō dūcit quemque uoluptās*), just as we swerve our motions not at fixed times and not at fixed places (259*dēclīnāmus item mōtūs nec tempore certō | nec regiōne locī certā*) but where our mind has taken us (260*ubi ipsa tulit mēns*). Contrast the mindset of Aeneas: 449*mēns immōta manet*. He is dead certain about the time of departure (now) and the region he needs to reach (Italy), abandoning pleasure in the pursuit of profit. Virgil arguably uses the intertextual shades of Epicurean physics, in particular the phenomenon of the swerve, to highlight the thematic issues his narrative here negotiates: free will, conflicting forces, external impositions. And since a little swerve might have avoided a world-historical disaster, he raises profound questions about unconditional commitment to a *pietās*-inspired sense of duty. The gods make sure that their *fāta* remain on track—but (if this can make sense) 'unaware' of the fact that in doing so a counter-fate is taking shape (in the form of the doubled-down curse of Dido).

437–449: Despite Anna's best efforts, Aeneas remains firm in his resolve. And he seems to have moved on emotionally. If Virgil affords as an insight into his conflicted psychology right after his confrontation with Dido (393–96), he now puts divine ear mufflers on his hero and reinforces his commitment to his mission by means of a simile that compares him to a cosmic oak tree able to withstand any storm. Still, the possibility remains that he, too, is moved to tears by Dido's and Anna's efforts (cf. 449).

437–438a: tālibus ōrābat, tālīsque miserrima flētūs | fertque refertque soror: as Dido keeps pleading (the imperfect *ōrābat* is iterative) with such words (*tālibus* agrees with an implied *dictīs*; cf. 219–20*tālibus ōrantem dictīs*..., of Iarbas), her sister conveys each utterance to Aeneas, together with the tearful soundtrack (*tālīs ... flētūs*). The formulation *fertque refertque*, with pleonastic second *-que* and climactic staggering of simple and composite verb (the first five letters of which form a palindrome that enacts its meaning on top: 'Backward! Forward!'), well expresses the repetitive nature of her efforts as go-between. No wonder she is most wretched: the superlative *miserrima* not only brings out her identity as Dido's *altera ego* (cf. 117*miserrima Dīdō* (Juno's point of view); 420–1*miserae ... mihi*; 429*miserae ... amantī*) but also the sense of futility of her mission impossible: she finds herself between a (deaf) rock and a (weeping) hard place.

438[b]–439: sed nūllīs ille mouētur | flētibus aut uōcēs ūllās tractābilis audit: neither the soundtrack nor (*aut* here = *neque*) the content of the message makes an impact on Aeneas. *nūllīs ... flētibus* and *uōcēs ūllās*, forming a chiasmus in themselves, pick up *tālibus* (sc. *dictīs*) and *tālīs ... flētūs* in inverse order: the criss-crossing is expressive of Anna's shuttling. The switch from passive *mouētur* with respect to the emotional dimension of the pleas to active *audit* with respect to the pleas themselves recognizes the composite nature of such speech acts, which operate on both emotive and cognitive registers. Both *mouētur* (anticipating [449]*mens immōta*) and *tractābilis* (*tractō* + *-bilis*; 'tangible' hence 'tractable', 'amenable') underscore the quasi-physical quality of Dido's verbal assault. While her weeping voices buffet Aeneas like the storm in the upcoming simile, he does not hear any of the utterances as 'someone who can be touched (and hence moved)', which is the literal sense of *tractābilis* here, a gloss of sorts on *mouētur*. The following line explains why that is the case: Aeneas' superhuman 'untouchability' is due to divine protection.

440: fāt(a) obstant placidāsque uirī deus obstruit aurīs: *deus* does not seem to refer to a specific divinity but 'some god', though some visualizations bring Mercury into play. Here *deus* is almost a synonym of *fāta*, in theme and variation, underscored by the alliterative verbs *obstant* and *obstruit*, linked by *-que* after *placidās*, which agrees with *aurīs* (acc. pl. of *auris* = ear). *uirī* is a pregnant alternative for *eius* (a form Virgil does not use: Butterfield 2008), recalling the opening [1.1]*arma uirumque canō* and adding a touch of masculinity to the ears. The sense of the attribute is suitably ambiguous: *placidus* can mean both 'disposed to gratify, kindly, indulgent' (*OLD* 1; our passage is listed here) and 'free from stress, quiet, peaceful' (*OLD* 4): Aeneas would be kindly disposed if not for the supernatural earplugs, which try to ensure that he remains at peace (without quite succeeding, as the subsequent simile shows).

441–443[a]: ac uelut annōsō ualidam cum rōbore quercum | [442]Alpīnī Boreae nunc hinc nunc flātibus illinc | [443]ēruer(e) inter sē certant: *ac uelut ... cum* ('just as when...': *cum* is NOT the prep. + abl.) introduces the simile and correlates with [447]*haud secus* 'even so...', which signals a return to the narrative. The verb of the *cum*-clause is [443]*certant*, which

governs the infinitive *ēruere*: Northern gales (*Boreae* is m. pl. of Boreas, in Greek declension) of Alpine origin (*Alpīnī* agreeing with *Boreae*) vie with each other to uproot an oak tree ([441]*quercum*), 'strong (*ualidam*, in predicative position) with the strength of age (*annōsō ... rōbore*: abl. of respect dependent on *ualidam*)'. *annōsus* deftly captures the high number of 'year-rings' that have thickened and strengthened the oak over time. Oakwood is particularly hard, and the primary meaning of *rōbur* is 'oak tree', from which the secondary senses of 'strength, vigour, robustness' derive. The interlacing of adj.[1] adj.[2] – noun[1] noun[2] *annōsō ualidam ... rōbore quercum* in a botanical *figūra etymologica* is expressive of the toughness of the oak's trunk.

443[b]–444: it strīdor, et altae | cōnsternunt terram concussō stīpite frondēs: *it strīdor* = 'there comes a roar' (Goold). *altae* agrees with *frondēs* (the subject of *cōnsternunt*) in a lōng hyperbaton that anticipates the description of the oak's height in the following verses. *concussō stīpite*: abl. abs. in thematic alliteration with *strīdor* and *cōnsternunt*.

445–446: ips(a) haeret scopulīs et quantum uertic(e) ad aurās | aetheriās, tantum rādīc(e) in Tartara tendit: *ipsa*, referring back to *quercus*, specifically the trunk: 'the tree itself (as opposed to the leaves) clings on to the rocks'. What follows explains why: the *et* is epexegetic (*OLD* 11). The correlative *quantum-*, *tantum*-clauses appropriately share the implied subject (the *quercus*) and verb (*tendit*). The equivalent ablatives of means *uertice* and *rādīce* (both with a suitable elision expressive of contact) and the equally equivalent acc. phrases indicating direction *ad aurās aetheriās* and *in Tartara* (both enhanced by sound-play: *a*-alliteration and homoioteleuton; *t*-alliteration with *tantum* and *tendit* and thematic assonance with *rādīce*) complete the mirror imaging: the oak is a cosmic tree that connects heaven and hell via crown and roots. See Hardie (1986: 280–81), who draws out the parallels to the mountain Atlas in the 'theological space' of *Aeneid* 4.

Extra information

Virgil here reworks a passage from the *Georgics* on the vine-supporting trees (2.288–97):

Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastīgia quaerās.
ausim uel tenuī uītem committere sulcō.
altior ac penitus terrae dēfīgitur arbōs,
aesculus in prīmīs, quae **quantum uertice ad aurās aetheriās**, **tantum rādīce in Tartara tendit**.
ergō nōn hiemēs illam, nōn flābra neque imbrēs
conuellunt; immōta manet, multōsque nepōtēs,
multa uirum uoluēns dūrandō saecula uincit.
tum fortīs lātē rāmōs et bracchia tendēns
hūc illūc, media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.

[Perchance you ask also what should be the trenches' depth. I should venture to entrust a vine even to a shallow furrow, but deeper and far within the earth is sunk the supporting tree, above all the great oak, which strikes its roots down towards the nether pit as far as it lifts its top to the airs of heaven. Hence no winter storms, no blasts or rains, uproot it; unmoved it abides, and many generations, many ages of men it outlives, letting them roll by while it endures. Stout limbs, too, and arms it stretches far, this side and that, itself in the centre upholding a mass of shade.]

In the *Aeneid*, Virgil's cosmic tree turns into an allegory of Roman geopolitics.

447–448: haud secus adsiduīs hinc atqu(e) hinc uōcibus hērōs | tunditur et magnō persentit pectore cūrās: the design of 447 enacts the symmetrical pull in two opposite directions the verse depicts, with the adverbial phrase *hinc atque hinc* ('from this side and from that') at dead centre, flanked by *adsiduīs ... uōcibus* (those of Anna, who engulfs Aeneas in an unceasing whirlwind of pleas) and bracketed by the alliterative *haud secus* and *hērōs* (the first time in the poem Aeneas is labelled thus: his heroics are yet to come). The image of balanced stability disintegrates the moment the verb *tunditur* arrives in enjambment. The intensifying composite *per-sentīre*, here in thematic alliteration with *pectore*, is rare in classical Latin: apart from Lucretius *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 4.25, the only other instances occur in *Aeneid* 4. The use here mirrors [90–91]*quam simul ac tālī <u>persēnsit</u> peste tenērī | cāra Iouis coniunx*... Aeneas is sufficiently buff physically and emotionally

(cf. *magnō ... pectore*) to acutely (*per-*) feel both his own mental agonies (*cūrās*) and those of Dido without falling over.

449: mēns immōta manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inānēs: *mēns immōta manet* corresponds to [445]*ipsa haeret scopulīs* in the oak simile, the 'empty tears' to the falling leaves ([444]*frondēs*). The attribute *immōta* recalls Aeneas' fixed eyes at 331–32, whereas *inānēs* recalls Dido's requested [433]*tempus ināne*. Who is crying themselves a river here? Aeneas? Anna? Dido? All three? Any two? What a debate among scholars! Let's have all three partake in the sob fest, with Aeneas experiencing an inversion of his usual display of outward strength and inner turmoil (starting with [1.208–9]*tālia uōce refert, cūrīsque ingentibus aeger | spem uultū simulat, premit altum corde dolōrem* 'Such words he spoke, while sick with deep distress he feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stifles his anguish', then also 4.393–96). The generic formulation echoes and erodes his comment at [1.462]*sunt lacrimae rērum, et mentem mortālia tangunt* 'here, too, are tears for misfortune and human sorrows pierce the heart' (an expression of confidence in the power of interpersonal and cross-cultural sympathy in response to the tableaux of Trojan suffering on the temple of Juno).

450–521: Dido's Witch Project

The failure of Dido's last-ditch attempt to extract any concessions from Aeneas sets the stage for her transformation from the most impotent to the most powerful human character in the poem. The transformation happens in three stages:

> 450–473**:** Finding certainty about her chosen path of (self-)destruction in interaction with a sympathetic universe.
> 474–503: Enlistment of unwitting Anna in her grand scheme of vengeful death.
> 504–521: Awakening of her inner witch in the pursuit of retributive justice.

450–451: tum uēr(ō) īnfēlīx fātīs exterrita Dīdō | mort(em) ōrat; taedet caelī conuexa tuērī: two lines of spondees (with the standard fifth-foot exception) mark a watershed in Dido's thinking: ever since she received news of Aeneas' impending departure, death has been on her mind; now, she actively prays for it. Importantly, as 696 makes clear, it is precisely *not* her destiny to die soon. *fātīs exterrita* does not refer to her own predetermined suicide but her realization that she cannot reshape reality to make it liveable. She now turns Aeneas' unyielding determination to follow his *fāta* into the determining factor of her own self-fashioned future. A child of fortune till the bitter end ([653]*uīxī et, quem dederat cursum fortūna, perēgī*; for the verb *peragere*, cf. 452), she now uses his destiny as basis to decide her destiny and, in so doing, turns into a fateful force herself. Here she begins to actively shape this process by getting in touch with divine powers (*ōrat*) in aid of her aim. That it wearies her (*taedet*, with the acc. of the person = *eam* elided) to behold (*tuērī*, in thematic alliteration with *taedet*) the arch of heaven (*caelī conuexa*, also in thematic alliteration, generating a formal tension between *t-* and *c-* collocations reinforced by assonance of *tae-*, *cae-* and rhyme *-lī*, *-rī*) signals where

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she will find the sought supernatural support: not above, but below. Thus begins a murky dynamic: Dido's wish to die and the divine signs that respond to her desire (as ever, not fully conclusive) strengthen her resolve to kill herself: in a sympathetic universe, human will interacts with divine feedback to generate agency and a drastic course of action, which, remarkably, will turn out to run counter to *fātum*.

452–455: quō magis inceptum peragat lūcemque relinquat, | [453]uīdit, tūricremīs cum dōn(a) impōneret ārīs, | [454](horrendum dictū) laticēs nigrēscere sacrōs | [455]fūsaqu(e) in obscēnum sē uertere uīna cruōrem: *quō* (= *ut eō*) introduces a relative clause of purpose (hence the subjunctive, present rather than imperfect for vividness) with comparative adv. (*magis*; cf. *quōminus*). The implied subject is Dido: 'by which the more/so that thereby she follow through (*per-*: to the bitter end) the undertaking more determinedly and (*-que* is explanatory) leave the light of day, she saw that...' The main verb [453]*uīdit* governs a bipartite indirect statement linked by *-que* after [455]*fūsa*: the water used for ritual mixing with the wine (*laticēs ... sacrōs*) darkened (*nigrēscere*) and the wine (*uīna*), when poured (*fūsa*), changed (*sē uertere*) into ill-omened blood (*in obscēnum ... cruōrem*: the basic sense of *obscēnus* is 'boding ill, unpropitious' *OLD* 1, then also 'exciting disgust by its unwholesomeness, filthy, polluted, loathsome' *OLD* 2 and, with reference to sexual organs, 'indecent, obscene, lewd' *OLD* 3/4). Alternatively, the liquid *is* the wine poured and *-que* is again explanatory. This happened whenever (iterative [453]*cum* in the sense of *quotiēns* 'as often as' here with subjunctive, indicating prospective action from the point of view of the agent: G-L 567 n.) she placed gifts on the altars burning with incense (*tūricremīs ... ārīs*: the hyperbaton and fronting of the attribute suggest that Dido heaped on the incense, which might be the gifts referred to).

The vagueness in the depiction (what precisely are the *dōna*, what the *laticēs sacrōs*?) and the choice diction (the composite adjective *tūricremus* = TVS + CREMO + VS is previously attested only at Lucretius, *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 2.353; *nigrēscere* not at all, though reused at 11.824: Camilla's death) help to generate an atmosphere of infernal awe captured and reinforced by the parenthetical meta-comment *horrendum dictū* 'horrible to relate' (adj. + abl. supine). The causalities remain somewhat opaque: what are the divine forces behind the abnormal signs and why do they jump into

action now? Arguably, they respond to her prayers in 451, honouring her request for divinely assisted suicide. The offering of gifts and the pouring of a libation are ways of engaging in ritual communication with the divine sphere and thus continue the discursive efforts signalled by *ōrat* or might even happen simultaneously. Dido solicits help for an unnatural disturbance in the order of things; unnatural disturbances in the order of things shepherd her on the way. Supernatural forces here for once deliver what has been requested of them.

The ritual actions and supernatural signs present in the passage constitute a deliberate blurring of domestic and public religion. Romans would burn incense and pour wine to the 'household gods' (*Larēs*) at altars located in the house or neighbourhood (Orr 1978, Flower 2017, Simon and Sarian 2004, Simon 2004); but the adjective [455]*obscēnum* evokes the *ōmina obscēna* of Rome's civic religion, referring to occurrences that were considered abnormal and signifying a divine warning of impending disaster; they were recorded again and again in the annalistic tradition. See e.g. Livy 31.12.6–7: *iam animālium obscēnī fētūs plūribus locīs nūntiābantur*: *... Frusinōne agnus cum suillō capite, Sinuessae porcus cum capite hūmānō nātus, in Lūcānīs in agrō pūblicō eculeus cum quīnque pedibus*. 'In several places there were also reports of ill-omened births of animals. ... At Frusino a lamb was born with the head of a pig, at Sinuessa a pig with a human head, and in Lucania, on public land, a foal with five feet.' Of course, with a head of state like Dido, the personal/domestic and the civic/public coincide: whatever she does affects her city as well.

[453]*tūricremīs ... ārīs*: incense is a fragrant resin extracted from the *Boswellia* genus of trees and in early imperial Rome was an expensive luxury object imported from Southern Arabia. It was used in religious rituals to communicate with the gods who were thought to delight in its aroma. Cicero, *in Verrem* 2.5.146 brings out the connotations of perceived Eastern opulence: *illī ad dēprecandum perīculum prōferēbant aliī purpuram Tyriam, tūs aliī atque odōrēs uestemque linteam, gemmās aliī et margarītās, uīna nonnūllī Graeca uēnālīsque Āsiāticōs, ut intellegerētur ex mercibus quibus ex locīs nāuigārent* 'They sought to escape his anger by exhibiting their wares—Tyrian purple, incense and perfumes and linen fabrics, jewels and pearls, Greek wines, Asiatic slaves—so as to prove by the nature of their cargoes from which part of the world they had come.'

456: hoc uīsum nūllī, nōn ips(ī) effāta sorōrī: *hoc uīsum* is the acc. obj. of *effāta* [*est*]: Dido announces this manifestation to no-one (*nūllī*), not even her own sister (*nōn ipsī ... sorōrī*): the indirect objects in the dat. are climactically listed in asyndeton, with *nūllī* echoing via alliteration (*nōn*) and rhyme (*-sī*, *-rī*), throughout.

457–459: praetereā fuit in tēctīs dē marmore templum | coniugis antīquī, mīrō quod honōre colēbat, | uelleribus niueīs et fēstā fronde reuīnctum: the transitional adv. *praetereā* sets up a further instance of ominous prefiguration but requires an ekphrastic preliminary, to establish the setting: in Dido's palace (*in tēctīs*; we continue with the theme of 'home alone'), there was (*fuit*: main verb; the perfect tense may hint at neglect: Fratantuono–Smith 663) a shrine made of marble (*dē marmore templum*: *dē* here indicates the material from which the shrine is made: *OLD* 8) of her husband of old, Sychaeus. *templum* is the antecedent of *quod* and agrees with *reuīnctum*: it is garlanded with snow-white woollen fillets (*uelleribus niueīs*) and festive bough (*fēstā fronde*: sg. for pl.). The instrumental abl. phrases form a noun-adj. chiasmus, with each featuring its own soundscape (*uel-*, *-ue-* : *f-*, *f-*). The imperfect *colēbat* could express continuous action in the past, though the sense of 'used to worship' (i.e. until recently) is also possible. *mīrō ... honōre* refers proleptically to the colourful ornaments of the shrine but also anticipates the wondrously numinous quality of her relationship with her deceased husband that comes out in the following lines.

460–461: hinc exaudīrī uōcēs et uerba uocantis | uīsa uirī, nox cum terrās obscūra tenēret: the main verb is *uīsa* [*sunt*], with *uōcēs et uerba* as subjects (*uīsa* = nom. n. pl. in agreement with *uerba*) and *exaudīrī* as supplementary (passive) infinitive. The gen. *uocantĭs ... uirī* 'of her husband calling' depends on *uōcēs et uerba*: '*Voces* are indistinct "noises", *uerba* distinguishable sounds' (Austin: 137). The spooky *u*-alliteration wafts Dido straight to her death. *nox ... obscūra*: Virgil uses the atmospheric pleonasm also at 2.420.

462–463: sōlaque culminibus fērālī carmine būbō | saepe quer(ī) et longās in flētum dūcere uōcēs: 'and alone (*sōla* isolated up front agrees with *būbō*) on the rooftops (*culminibus*; also one of *Fāma*'s preferred perching spots: [186]*summī culmine tēctī*) with a song presaging death

an eagle-owl repeatedly issues plaintive hoots (*querī*, "to complain", here used intransitively, "with reference to the natural sound made by birds, etc.": *OLD* 4) and draws out its lingering sounds (*longās ... uōcēs*) into a wail (*in flētum*).' *querī* and *dūcere* are either main verbs (historic infinitives) or infinitives governed by an understood *uīsa* (*est*; with the part. in the nom. f. sg. to agree with the new subject *būbō*).

For the eagle-owl and its prophetic qualities, see Pliny, *Natural History* 10.34–35 *būbō fūnēbris et maxime abōminātus pūblicīs praecipue auspiciīs dēserta incolit nec tantum dēsōlāta sed dīra etiam et inaccessa, noctis mōnstrum, nec cantū aliquō uōcālis sed gemitū. itaque in urbibus aut omnīnō in lūce uīsus dīrum ostentum est; prīuātōrum domibus īnsidentem plūrium sciō nōn fuisse fērālem*. 'The eagle-owl is a funereal bird, and is regarded as a supremely bad omen, especially at public auspices; it inhabits deserts and places that are not merely unfrequented but terrifying and inaccessible; a weird creature of the night, its cry is not a musical note but a scream. Consequently when seen in cities or by daylight in any circumstances it is a direful portent; but I know several cases of its having perched on the houses of private persons without fatal consequences.' On Dido and the owl, see further Gowers (2016, esp. 109) for the fowl's unique gender: 'His owl is feminine (this we know from the adjective *sola* 'lonely' at the start of the line). In fact, ... this is the only time *bubo* is feminine in the whole of Latin poetry. ... A line that starts with *sola* and follows it with rooftops and a mournful song might lead us to expect another ending: *Dido*. She, too, is a singer of magical chants (510 – 11; cf. 487 *carminibus*), which bring on her own death; she, too, is lonely (cf. 467 *sola*); she, too, appears high up on the battlements (410 *arce e summa*), to watch Aeneas' preparations for departure. The owl may be feminine ... because she is some kind of mystic familiar of the queen herself.'

464–465[a]: multaque praetereā uātum praedicta priōrum | terribilī monit(ū) horrificant: the second verse-initial *-que* (after 462) and second *praetereā* (after 457) in short order generate the impression of an avalanche of prodigies: one on top of another. The subject is *multa ... praedicta*, the verb *horrificant*, with an effective elision of the acc. obj. (*eam*). Their attribute identifies the poet-prophets in question as belonging to an earlier generation, though *priōrum* might also be a transferred epithet with *praedicta*. In either case, their utterances have been around and available; but it is only now that their contents start

to terrify Dido 'with fearful boding': the present *horrificant* is inchoative and in implicit tension with *priōrum*. (Some manuscripts read *piōrum*, perhaps inspired by [6.662]*piī uātēs* —> ***TD*** 'Transvaluating *Pietās*'.)

465[b]–468: agit ipse furentem | [466]in somnīs ferus Aenēās, semperque relinquī | [467]sōla sibī, semper long(am) incomitāta uidētur | [468]īre ui(am) et Tyriōs dēsertā quaerere terrā: we are told the contents of Dido's dreams/nightmares, revolving around what Aeneas drives her to do. The two main verbs are [465b]*agit* and [467]*uidētur* (linked by *-que* after *semper*), with a switch in subject from Aeneas to Dido. The (elided) acc. obj. of *agit* is *eam*, which agrees with *furentem* 'in her frenzy' (i.e. NOT proleptically 'driving her to madness': Dido has been *furēns* at least since 65). Aeneas' attribute [466]*ferus*, in thematic alliteration with *furentem*, is usually a quality of wild beasts and subtly dehumanizes the hero: he has become a nightmarish fiend, in pursuit of a maddened Dido, in a paradoxical inversion of pursuer and pursued. Both characters suffer a loss of their human self.

By contrast, 466[b]–68 foregrounds Dido's (social) isolation caused by her obsessive fixation on Aeneas. [467]*uidētur* governs a tricolon of infinitives, the first two coordinated by the anaphora of *semper*: [466]*relinquī*, [468]*īre*, and [468]*quaerere*. All three cola emphasize that Dido is all alone, stuck forever in a hell-loop: [467]*sōla sibī*, [467]*incomitāta*, [468]*dēsertā* (*terrā*: abl. of place). [466]*relinquī* suggests continuing self-identification via her spatial position vis-à-vis Aeneas. [467–68]*longam ... uiam*: cognate acc. with the usually intransitive *īre*, in effective hyperbaton: the road she travels is never-ending. [468]*Tyriōs ... quaerere*: she seeks her people, the Tyrians, whom she abandoned for Aeneas and who now seem to have abandoned her.

469–473: Eumenidum uelutī dēmēns uidet agmina Pentheus | [470]et sōlem gemin(um) et duplicīs s(ē) ostendere Thēbās, | [471]aut Agamemnonius scaenīs agitātus Orestēs | [472]armātam facibus mātr(em) et serpentibus ātrīs | [473]cum fugit ultrīcēsque sedent in līmine Dīrae: the simile compares Dido to two characters from the tragic stage suffering from fiendish pursuit and/or hallucinations, with [471]*aut* as pivot: first, Pentheus sees (a) a troop (*agmina*) of Furies (*Eumenidum*; or Bacchants, according to the conjecture *Euiadum* for *Eumenidum*), (b) a twin sun, and (c) 'that

Thebes shows itself as double'. There is a switch in construction from acc. objects to indirect statement despite the coordinating *et*, with *Thēbās* as subj. acc. and *ostendere* as infinitive. *duplicīs* (acc. f. pl. agreeing with *Thēbās*) is predicative complement to *sē*. After [471]*aut*, the syntax remains ambiguous for a long time: one might initially be tempted to supply *uidet* also with [471]*Orestēs* and take [472]*mātrem* (= Clytemnestra, whom Orestes killed to avenge her murder of his father Agamemnon) as new acc. obj., but [473]*cum fugit* clarifies that Orestes and his mother are the first subject and object of the (bipartite) *cum*-clause (in the indicative) and we have moved from seeing to fleeing. As a result of the postposition of *cum* both Orestes, in proleptic flight, and his mother, in hot pursuit, occupy one verse each, courtesy of various amplifications: the patronymic attribute [471]*Agamemnonius* and the participle [471]*scaenīs agitātus* 'hunted on/over the stage' (which identifies him explicitly as a character from the world of tragic drama) in the case of Orestes and the participle [472]*armātam*, which governs the instrumental ablatives *facibus ... et serpentibus ātrīs*—traditional attributes of the Furies—in the case of Clytemnestra. The simile concludes with the curious detail that avenging Fury-like figures ([473]*ultrīcēs ... Dīrae*) are sitting on some threshold (*in līmine*). The simile thus begins with the Furies (*Eumenidum ... agmina*, even though they are not a standard feature of the Pentheus myth), features a character who resembles a Fury (Clytemnestra), and ends with a Latin equivalent of the Furies (*Dīrae*). Their prominence points up the double function of the simile: *prīmā faciē* it compares Dido to the male figures Pentheus and Orestes; but it also anticipates what Dido will become: an *ultrīx Dīra* herself.

[470]*Thēbās*: acc. pl.; the name of Thebes in Greek (= Θῆβαι) is pl. and the Latin loanword is as well.

[471]*aut*: we are old hands at perming the inter-related classic repertoire and its intra-generic game of shuffling the personnel around mutating versions. When Virgil writes 'or', he actually invites us to play plays (Henderson).

[471]*scaenīs agitātus*: in his description of the city-building in Book 1, Virgil devotes special attention to the construction of a theatre in Carthage (1.427–29):

hīc portūs aliī effodiunt; hīc alta theātrī
fundāmenta locant aliī, immānīsque columnās
rūpibus excīdunt, scaenīs decora apta futūrīs.

[Here some are digging harbours, here others lay the deep foundations of their theatre and hew out of the cliffs vast columns, fit adornments for the stage to be.]

The reference to the future shows in the theatre of Carthage ominously anticipates 'Dido: A Tragedy', the 'play' that unfolds in *Aeneid* 4.

Extra information

The *Dīrae* as Latin equivalents of the Greek Furies are a Virgilian invention and a key feature of his 'cosmic infrastructure'. He works with material from Rome's civic religion, where *dīrae* are terrifying signs sent by the gods (from *dīrus* = awful, dire, dreadful, as an attribute of things regarded as omens: *OLD*), a crucial element of Roman divinatory lore. Essentially, Virgil turns these signs into personified godlike figures and endows them with agency, so that they not only announce divine wrath but exact punishment as well (though the fact that they, for the moment, are just sitting on the threshold rather than getting in on the action indicates that they have not yet fully embraced their new role; the vignette also recalls the opening of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*). Cicero clarifies the way in which Virgil has tweaked the term, enhancing its capabilities from *dīrae* (= divine signs) to *Dīrae* (= divine operatives) at *Dē Dīuīnātiōne* 1.29:

etenim dīrae, sīcut cētera auspicia, ut ōmina, ut signa, non causās adferunt, cūr quid ēueniat, sed nūntiant ēuentūra, nisī prōuīderis

[for unfavourable auguries—and the same may be said of auspices, omens, and all other signs – are not the causes of what follows: they merely foretell what will occur unless precautions are taken]

Virgil has prepared his readers for his move in the previous books through the programmatic use of the attribute *dīrus*, which he uses more

frequently than all other republican Latin authors combined. There are already four resonant instances in the *Georgics*: 1.37, in an address to Caesar Octavianus who, surely, has no dreadful desire to rule hell after death: *nec tibi rēgnandī ueniat tam dīra cupīdō*; 1.488 *nec dīrī totiēns ārsēre comētae* 'never blazed baneful comets so often', with reference to omens that signal the collapse of civilization in Rome's civil wars; 3.469; 4.246. The programmatic first occurrence in the *Aeneid* comes at the end of Jupiter's prophecy at 1.291–96:

> aspera tum positīs mītēscunt saecula bellīs;
> cāna Fidēs et Vesta, Remō cum frātre Quirīnus
> iūra dabunt; dīrae ferrō et compāgibus artīs
> claudentur Bellī portae; Furor impius intus
> saeua sedēns super arma et centum uīnctus aēnīs
> post tergum nōdīs fremet horridus ōre cruentō.

> [...Then wars shall cease and savage ages soften; hoary Faith and Vesta, Quirinus with his brother Remus, shall give laws. The gates of war, dreadful with iron and close-fitting bars, shall be closed; within, impious Rage, sitting on savage arms, his hands fast bound behind with a hundred brazen knots, shall roar in the ghastliness of blood-stained lips.]

Virgil then uses the adjective as a characterological and dispositional attribute at 2.261, 762 *dīrus Ulixēs*, 2.519–20 (Hecuba speaking to Priam) '*quae mēns tam dīra, miserrime coniūnx, | impulit hīs cingī telīs? aut quō ruis?*' 'what dreadful thought has driven you to don these weapons? Where are you rushing to?', before reinforcing its supernatural credentials at 2.622–23 (after Venus lifted the veil to reveal divine involvement in the sack of Troy) *appārent dīrae faciēs inimīcaque Troiae | nūmina magna deum* 'Dread shapes come to view and, hating Troy, great presences divine'. The adjective is somewhat of a leitmotif in the encounter with the harpies, starting with [3.211]*dīra Celaenō*. Their voice and race are dreadful ([3.228]*uōx ... dīra*; [235]*dīrā ... cum gente*) and, after a violent encounter, the prophetess Celaeno announces dreadful hunger ([256]*dīra famēs*). The episode with the Harpies concludes with Virgil signalling his religious creativity (3.259–62):

> at sociīs subitā gelidus formīdine sanguis
> dēriguit: cecidēre animī, nec iam amplius armīs,
> sed uōtīs precibusque iubent exposcere pācem,
> sīue deae seu sint dīrae obscēnaeque uolucrēs.
>
> [But my comrades' blood chilled and froze with sudden fear; their spirit fell, and no longer with arms, but with vows and prayers they now bid me sue for peace, whether these be goddesses, or dread and ill-omened birds.]

This comes fully into its own in Book 4. After their first tentative appearance in the simile, the *Dīrae* are properly unleashed into the literary universe of the *Aeneid* at 610, when Dido invokes them as carriers and executioners of her curse.

After Book 4, both the concept and its personification continue to leave their mark on the narrative. During the Underworld journey, it becomes clear that the *Dīrae* have company. At 6.273–81, Virgil enumerates the following qualities as dwelling before the entrance, within the very jaws of Hell, two of which are associated with retributive justice: Grief (*Lūctus*), Avenging Cares (*ultrīcēs ... Cūrae*), Diseases (*Morbī*), Old Age (*Senectūs*), Fear (*Metus*), Hunger (*Famēs*), Want (*Egestās*), Death (*Lētum*), Distress (*Labōs*), Sleep (*Sopor*), guilty Joys (*mala ... Gaudia*), War (*Bellum*), the Furies (*Eumenidēs*), and Strife (*Discordia*). The avenging function of the Furies becomes apparent at 6.570–71 *continuō sontīs ultrīx accincta flagellō | Tisiphonē quatit īnsultāns* 'Straightway avenging Tisiphone, girt with the lash, leaps on the guilty to scourge them' (cf. 11.590, Diana ordering Opis to avenge the death of Camilla: *haec cape et ultrīcem pharetrā dēprōme sagittam*). But they are also available for inflicting uncalled-for violence, a point Virgil reinforces at 7.323–26 when Juno stirs up Allecto, a figure of 'pure evil' (Thome 1993), from the dwelling place of the dread goddesses (*dīrārum ab sede deārum*) in Hell. He also taps into the ability of the attribute *dīrus* to invoke a supernatural aura that inspires dread and awe to mark out the future site of Rome. The face of Cacus, the legendary resident monster dwelling on the site, is *dīra* (8.194) and the top of the mountain where his cave is located serves as nesting place for dreadful fowls (8.235*dīrārum nīdīs domus opportūna uolucrum*). The entire area pulsates with a dreadful, numinous energy 8.349–50*iam tum rēligiō pauidōs terrēbat agrestīs | dīra locī, iam tum siluam saxumque tremēbant* 'Even then the dread sanctity of the region awed the trembling rustics; even

then they shuddered at the forest and the rock'.

The personified *Dīrae* (Dido's?) take centre-stage on the shield of Vulcan when describing the civil-war between Octavian and Antony (8.700–5):

> ... saeuit mediō in certāmine Māuors
> caelātus ferrō trīstēsque ex aethere Dīrae,
> et scissā gaudēns uādit Discordia pallā,
> quam cum sanguineō sequitur Bellōna flagellō.
> Actius haec cernēns arcum intendēbat Apollō
> dēsuper ...

> [... in the middle of the fray storms Mavors, embossed in steel, with the grim Furies from on high; and in rent robe Discord strides exultant, while Bellona follows her with bloody scourge. Actian Apollo saw the sight, and from above was bending his bow ...]

As elsewhere in the poem, forces of chaos and forces of cosmos vie over supremacy in Virgil's literary world. But as the final book shows, the opposition is never as clear-cut. Two of the *Dīrae* happen to be at Jupiter's beckon: at least some of the chthonic fiends are very much part of the Olympian order. One of them he sends down to arrange the death of Turnus (12.845–52):

> dīcuntur geminae pestēs cognōmine Dīrae,
> quās et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram
> ūnō eōdemque tulit partū paribusque reuīnxit
> serpentum spīrīs uentōsāsque addidit ālās.
> hae Iouis ad solium saeuīque in līmine rēgis
> appārent acuuntque metum mortālibus aegrīs,
> sī quandō lētum horrificum morbōsque deum rēx
> mōlītur, meritās aut bellō territat urbēs.

> [Men tell of twin fiends, named the Dread Ones, whom untimely Night bore in one and the same birth with hellish Megaera, wreathing them alike with snaky coils and clothing them with wings of wind. These attend by the throne of Jove and on the threshold of that grim monarch, and whet the fears of feeble mortals, whenever heaven's king wreaks diseases and awful death, or terrifies guilty towns with war.]

Jupiter's two *Dīrae* (another striking innovation, if with some precedents in Greek literature) counterbalance the accursed *Dīrae* that rise in *Aeneid* 4 from the hate-fuelled subconscious of Dido.

474–503: Despite her altered state of consciousness, Dido retains her strategic nous and proceeds to fool her sister Anna into aiding her pursuit of vengeful death.

474–477: [474]**erg(ō) ubi concēpit furiās ēuicta dolōre** | [475]**dēcrēuitque morī, tempus sēc(um) ipsa modumque** | [476]**exigit, et maestam dictīs adgressa sorōrem** | [477]**cōnsilium uultū tegit ac spem fronte serēnat:** the brutally conclusive particle *ergō* ('the word sums up all the remorseless train of events which have led to her final decision': Austin: 140; its three other occurrences in Book 4 at 102, 503, and 700 are similarly marked) sets up a bipartite temporal clause (*ubi ... concēpit ...*| *dēcrēuitque ...*) that finishes on 'to die' (*morī*), followed by a tripartite main clause that outlines Dido's determined execution of the decision ([476]*exigit*, [477]*tegit*, [477]*serēnat*, all placed conclusively at the end of their respective clauses; the connectives are *et* and *ac*). The basic meaning of *concipere* (*con* + *capiō*) is 'to receive or draw into themselves, take in, absorb, catch' (*OLD* 1), then also 'to receive in the womb, conceive' (*OLD* 3) and 'to conceive or grasp in the mind, form an idea of, imagine, devise' (*OLD* 9). The full semantic spectrum is in play here: Dido literally receives 'the Furies' (who step out of the preceding simile into the narrative); she becomes 'infuriated', i.e. pregnant with the Furies (they are her substitute offspring, the child from Aeneas that she never had); and as a result she devises a plan informed by the Furies: *concēpit furiās* looks forward to [501–2]*nec tantōs mente furōrēs* | *concipit* (sc. Anna: what Dido now plans defies her sister's imagination). The participle [474]*ēuicta* 'utterly (*ē-*, upping the ante from [434]*uicta*) defeated' agrees with the implied subject Dido. [474]*dolōre* 'by grief' is instrumental abl. with the participle.

[475–76]*tempus sēcum ... modumque* | *exigit*: *sēcum exigere* 'to turn over in one's mind, ponder' (*OLD exigō* 10c), but with focus on a conclusive resolution (cf. *exācta uoluntās* = fixed intention). Dido is in the process of deciding the moment and the manner of her death.

[475]*sēcum ipsa*: the doubling up of reflexive pronouns ('all by herself in her secret heart': Austin: 140), effectively placed between *tempus ...*

modumque 'time and manner', underscores that this is Dido's decision and design and hers alone.

[477]*cōnsilium uultū tegit*: Dido conceals her intent so it does not register on her face. A *cōnsilium*—etymologically (the outcome of) collective decision making—arrived at by oneself is a perversion of the concept.

[477]*spem fronte serēnat*: 'lightens hope with her countenance' (= variation of the theme). We may be dealing with a deliberate inversion of acc. and abl. = *spē frontem serēnat* 'brightens her face with hope'; cf. Conte (2007: 91–92) and Maclennan (142) for enallage as a suitable trope in the context of deceit: Dido projects a cheerful appearance. See further Pobjoy (1998: 57): 'Dido, we have just been told, is like a tragic character on stage, and so it should come as no surprise to us to find that when she speaks to her sister she is wearing a mask.' In the only other instance of *serēnāre* in the *Aeneid* (1.255), Jupiter is the subject—a subtle gesture to their complementarity. The first victim of Dido's deception is Anna, her saddened sister, whom she approaches with new instructions: the participle phrase [476]*maestam dictīs adgressa sorōrem* sets up the upcoming speech (478–98). *dictīs* is antithetical to both *sēcum ipsa* and what is concealed on her mind (*cōnsilium*). She is pulling the same trick as brave-faced Aeneas when speaking to his men after the storm ([1.209]*spem uultū simulat* 'he feigns hope on his face').

478–479: 'inuēnī, germāna, uiam (grātāre sorōrī) | quae mihi reddat eum uel eō mē soluat amantem: *inuēnī* (1st pers. sg. perf. ind. act.) ... *uiam* 'I have found a way!': Dido starts her play-acting with the Latin equivalent of '*heureka!*' The vocative *germāna* and the parenthetical imperative *grātāre* (deponent, governing a dat.) enhance the sense of excitement, while the synonyms *germāna* (= Anna) and *sorōrī* (= Dido) suggest a new-found synergy and closeness between the two sisters. The following relative clause (with *uiam* as antecedent), featuring nine bubbly words in a line, is consecutive (hence the subjunctives *reddat ... uel ... soluat*): it outlines an either/or with a fitting chiasmus of 1st and 3rd pers. pronouns (*mihi* : *eum* [*uel*] *eō* : *mē*; Dido starts and ends with herself). The concluding participle *amantem* agrees with both *eum* and *mē*: she claims that her way will either return Aeneas back in love (*eum ... amantem*) to her (*mihi*) or free her, currently in love (*mē ... amantem*), from him (*eō* = abl. of separation).

480–482: Ōceanī fīnem iuxtā sōlemque cadentem | [481]**ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlās** | [482]**ax(em) umerō torquet stellīs ārdentibus aptum:** after the thrill, the lore: Dido takes her sister to the edges of the earth. The strategically placed preposition + acc. *iuxtā* 'next to' governs *Ōceanī fīnem* and *sōlem ... cadentem*: together, the earth-surrounding Ocean and the setting sun signify 'far West', a place associated with the dead and magic (as opposed to the East, which is associated with the rising sun and deities on high: Pease: 390–91). *locus est* is standard ekphrastic idiom: 'there is the most remote region of the Ethiopians (or: "there is the farthest spot (of the Earth), that of the Ethiopians"), where mighty Atlas...' Dido's account of the subdued giant picks up on his previous appearance at 246–51, esp. [247]*... caelum quī uertice fulcit*. Instead of Atlas propping up Heaven on his neck, Dido imagines him turning the axis (of Heaven) that is fitted out with gleaming stars on his shoulder (*umerō*). The design of 482, with *torquet* at centre and the alliterative *axem ... aptum* framing the verse, is expressive of circular motion. (Cf. 6.796–97, which merges the two accounts, by introducing Atlas as *caelifer* before a verbatim reiteration of 482.)

[481]*ultimus Aethiopum locus*: cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 1.22–24: 'But now Poseidon had gone among the far-off Ethiopians—the Ethiopians who dwell divided in two, the farthermost of men, some where Hyperion sets and some where he rises (ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ᾽ ἐόντας, | Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, | οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ᾽ ἀνιόντος)', and Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthīnum* 19.5–6 (cited above 237–38).

483–486: hinc mihi Massȳlae gentis mōnstrāta [est] **sacerdōs,** | [484]**Hesperidum templī custōs, epulāsque dracōnī** | [485]**quae dabat et sacrōs seruābat in arbore rāmōs,** | [486]**spargēns ūmida mella sopōriferumque papāuer:** a four-line description of a mysterious priestess of Massylian 'race' who hails 'from there' (*hinc*) and, so Dido claims, has been pointed out to her (*mihi ... mōnstrāta* [*est*]). The passive verb, which is etymologically related to *mōnstrum* in its basic meaning of 'unnatural sign/pointer from the gods', leaves the agent suitably obscure: the figure might be Dido's imaginary double after all, modelled on earlier versions of the Medea myth: see next note. Further specification is provided by

way of:

(a) The apposition [484]*Hesperidum templī custōs* 'guardian of the shrine of the Hesperides'.

(b) A bipartite relative clause with postpositive relative pronoun ([485]*quae*) and displaced connectives (= *quae et ... dabat et ... seruābat* ...; the word order, including the enjambment, hints at the advisability of keeping some distance between yourself and the food when feeding dainties to a dragon; the imperfects indicate iterative action in the past: 'she used to...', i.e. before Hercules came by and killed the beast).

(c) A participle ([486]*spargēns*), which governs two acc. objects (*mella*, *papāuer*), each with a resonant attribute (*ūmida*, *sopōriferum*).

For the narcotic powers of the 'magnificent and lovely line' 486, see Austin (144): 'it begins with a single cut-off spondaic word..., and *umida* in its turn occupies the second foot, with no run-on to the third, a most unusual effect; there is no strong caesura anywhere, only a weak pause in the third and fifth foot; the whole rhythm is dreamy and dropping, full of [*Othello*'s] "all the drowsy syrops of the world", even sleepier than 81...' Paschalis (1997: 167) explicates the connection between the scenario sketched here and Dido's own situation: 'The cluster "draconi ... soporiferum ... soluere mentes ... curas" combines Sight, Sleep, Release, and "curae" ("love-pangs"). The same components recur in 529–31, with reference to Dido's sleeplessness: the magic powers of the priestess are a mere pretext intended to deceive Anna and conceal Dido's plan to kill herself; they do not affect Dido who, after the construction of the pyre, will remain sleepless till she kills herself.'

487–490[a]: haec sē carminibus prōmittit soluere mentēs | [488]**quās uelit, ast aliīs dūrās immittere cūrās,** | [489]**sister(e) aquam fluuiīs et uertere sīdera retrō,** | [490a]**nocturnōsque mouet Mānīs:** this priestess (*haec* refers back to *sacerdōs*), so Dido continues, can do remarkable things with her incantations (*carminibus*: abl. of means or instrument, with all verbs in the sentence). The bipartite main clause (with [487]*prōmittit* and [490a]*mouet* as verbs, linked by *-que* after [490a]*nocturnōs*) provides the details. *prōmittit* ('she guarantees') governs an indirect statement with *sē* as subject acc. and four infinitives, put into two pairs juxtaposed asyndetically. The first pair is coordinated by the adversative particle *ast*, the second by the

connective *et* ([487]*soluere*, [488]*ast ... immittere*; [489]*sistere ... et uertere*). Dido's emphasis is on the first pair, to do with human psychology: the priestess claims to be able to free whichever minds she wants, but to inflict harsh cares (*dūrās ... cūrās*) on others (*aliīs* sc. *mentibus*). By contrast, working mischief in nature is a conventional capability of witches, here specifically evoked to strengthen the intertextual interface with Apollonius' Medea: it is part of her portfolio of powers as detailed at Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3.528–33: 'There is a certain girl being raised in Aeetes' palace, whom the goddess Hecate has taught to employ with exceeding skill all the drugs that the land and full-flowing waters produce. With these even the blast of unwearying fire is softened, and *she can suddenly halt the flow of roaring rivers and arrest the stars* and the paths of the sacred moon.' The reference to staying the flow of rivers and reversing the movement of the stars also sets up the second part of the main clause ([490a]*nocturnōsque mouet Mānīs*), which foregrounds necromantic powers to do with the shades of the dead (another orthodox domain of witchcraft), feeding into the Fury/curse-theme.

In meta-literary terms, the priestess who advises Dido is an avatar of Medea as prefigured in Apollonius Rhodius, which accounts for the interpretative crux raised by 486 (why put to sleep a *guardian* dragon? who does such a counterintuitive thing?). Pease (393) suggests that the answer lies in diverse elements of the Medea myth, which functions as intertextual foil for Dido's narrative: 'the parallels between this story [of the Hesperides] and that of the Golden Fleece – each with an enchantress (here the Massylian priestess, there Medea), each with a golden treasure (here the golden apples ... and there the golden fleece of a sheep), each with a dragon guardian, lulled to sleep by drugs or charms (for the Colchian one cf. Apoll. Rh. 4, 156–161 ...) and then slain – here by Hercules and there by Jason –, one of these adventures belonging to the far East and the other to the far West.' He notes that 'Apoll. Rh. 4, 1396–1449 brings the apples of the Hesperides and the dragon into the Argonautic story': the passage contains a vivid account of the Hesperides mourning for the dragon who had just been slain by Hercules, explaining the imperfects in Virgil, and why the priestess can now be imagined on the dole in Carthage. The parallel between Dido and Medea strengthens powerfully from 504 onwards, when she will herself become a [509]*sacerdōs*, merging with her intertextual double. (An

alternative reading keeps the priestess and Dido distinct.)

490[b]–491: mūgīre uidēbis | sub pedibus terr(am) et dēscendere montibus ornōs: 'you will see the earth rumble beneath your feet [= to open up to enable shades to emerge] and ash-trees come down from the mountains.' Dido promises her sister a synaesthetic spectacle, combining an earth-shattering soundtrack with the march of ash-trees down the mountainside (expressed by the descending syllables in *dēscendere* = 4, *montibus* = 3, *ornōs* = 2, with the fourth and fifth feet nimbly dactylic before the spondaic full stop in the sixth).

492–493: testor, cāra, deōs et tē, germāna, tuumque | dulce caput, magicās inuīt(am) accingier artīs: 'I invoke the gods (*deōs*) and you (*et tē*) and your sweet life (*tuumque dulce caput*) as witnesses, dear sister (*cāra ... germāna*) that I (the subject acc. of the indirect statement, *mē*, is understood) arm myself (*accingier*) with magical arts against my will (*inuītam*, agreeing with implied *mē*).' Dido's *inuītam* answers Aeneas' [361]*nōn sponte*.

[493]*accingier*: archaic variant of the pres. pass. inf. = *accingī*, here construed with the direct obj. *magicās ... artīs* like a Greek middle; the old form is both sanctioned by literary tradition and evokes the special binding power of ritually contractual speech-acts associated with law and religion.

The lines feature a significant amount of inter- and intratextual cosplay. Virgil here channels an utterance from Callimachus' poem on the Lock of Berenice (fr. 110.40, the lock talking: σήν τε κάρην ὤμοσα σόν τε βίον 'I swore by your head and your life') via Catullus' translation, 66.39–40 <u>*inuīta*</u>, *ō rēgīna, tuō dē uertice cessī,* | <u>*inuīta*</u>: *adiūrō* <u>*tēque tuumque*</u> <u>*caput*</u> 'Against my will, O queen, I was parted from your head, against my will, I swear both by you and by your head'. Catullus 66 resonates throughout the intertextual multiverse of *Aeneid* 4, nowhere more so than in the final scene when the shearing of Dido's lock by Iris enables her entry into the Underworld, where Aeneas will ventriloquize Catullus 66.39–40 in his apology (6.456–66; —> ***TD*** 'Allusion'). The irony is palpable: Berenice dedicated the lock as a thanksgiving to the gods upon the safe return of her husband from war, and the catasterized lock's discourse ends on well-wishes for happily married couples. The intertext also highlights

issues of agency: only the lock can truly claim that what occurred happened 'against her will' (*inuīta*). She was the passive object and victim of the queen and her scissors and whoever was then responsible for her catasterism. In Dido's case, *inuīta* means something akin to 'I am left no choice', 'I am forced [by Aeneas] to do something I would not normally do', invoking the apologetic paradox of 'enforced agency'. For magic in the Greco-Roman world, see Dosoo (2021), with further bibliography.

494–497[a]: tū sēcrēta pyram tēct(ō) interiōre sub aurās | [495]**ērig(e) et arma uirī, thalamō quae fīxa relīquit** | [496]**impius, exuuiāsqu(e) omnīs lectumque iugālem,** | [497a]**quō periī, super impōnās:** Dido now issues instructions to Anna, combining an imperative with a jussive subjunctive: [495]*ērige et ...* [497a]*impōnās*. She is to construct a pyre in secret (*sēcrēta*, agreeing with *tū*: adj. in lieu of adv.) in an inner court under the sky (*tēctō interiōre sub aurās*) and then place on top ([497a]*super*: adv.) the 'weapons of the man' (or, put differently, the entire bloody *Aeneid*: [495]*arma uirī* recalls the opening keynote *arma uirumque canō*), all his belongings ([496]*exuuiās ... omnīs*; *exuuiae*, from *exuō* 'to take off/strip', are 'spoils stripped from a defeated enemy': *OLD* 1a; or more generally, 'something belonging to a person, serving as a memento': *OLD* 1b) and the bridal bed ([496]*lectum ... iugālem*). Dido glosses the weapons and the bridal bed by way of relative clauses: [495–96]*thalamō quae fīxa relīquit* | *impius* (the fronting of *thalamō*, dat. with *fīxa*, and the enjambment of *impius* bring out Dido's conviction that Aeneas broke his marriage contract: 'which, *stored in the bridal chamber as a symbol of our union!*, he left behind, the contract-breaking, god-defying creep'; and [497a]*quō periī* (the abl. shades from local 'on which' to instrumental 'through which' to causal 'because of which' I perished). It is unclear what weapons the left-behind *arma* encompass: they include a sword ([507]*ēnsem ... relictum*), but it is unclear whether this is the jewel-studded sword from Dido that Aeneas wears at 261–62 or the 'Dardanian sword' of 646–47 that Dido seems to have sought from Aeneas as a gift before using it to commit suicide (see 646–47; at 579[b]–80, Aeneas has a sword on him to cut the cables).

497[b]–498: abolēre nefandī | **cūncta uirī monumenta iuuat mōnstratque sacerdōs.':** the subject to go with impersonal *iuuat* (one could supply

mē: 'it pleases me') is the monumental infinitive phase *abolēre nefandi* (adj.1) | *cūncta* (adj.2) *uirī* (noun1) *monumenta* (noun2) 'to wipe out completely every single reminder of the unspeakably abominable man'. Dido then tags on elliptically and cryptically 'and the priestess shows [sc. me how/thus]'. Her vatic appeal to an imaginary authority figure (her virtual or intertextual *altera ego*) is both vague and conclusive, giving Anna no handle for arguing back. The mysterious logic of effigy-obliteration makes sufficient sense of what she is being asked to do, even if some of the details (a pyre in the house!?) might have sounded fishy. See already *Eclogue* 8.74–75 *terque haec altāria circum* | *effigiēm ducō* 'and three times round this altar I draw your image' and 91–92 *hās ōlim exuuiās mihi perfidus ille relīquit*, | *pignora cāra suī* 'these relics that traitor once left me, dear pledges for himself'.

499: haec effāta silet, pallor simul occupat ōra: 'having spoken thus [= these things], she falls silent...'. While her speech ceases, her body continues to communicate: *simul* sound-wise picks up yet thematically countervails *silet*, while the dark vowel variations in *pallor ... occupat ōra* offer background music for Dido turning ghostly pale the instant she stops speaking. (For *pallor* as physiognomic symptom that affords inferences about (criminal) mental states, see Cicero, *Dē Inventiōne* 1.48, *Topica* 52). The only other instance of the noun in Virgil occurs at 12.221 with reference to Turnus, where it implies fear. On Vulcan's shield, Dido's historical *altera ego* Cleopatra turns pale at the prospect of her death ([8.709]... *inter caedēs pallentem morte futūrā*).

500–502: nōn tamen Anna nouīs praetexere fūnera sacrīs | [501]germānam crēdit, nec tantōs mente furōrēs | [502]concipit aut grauiōra timet quam morte Sychaeī: Dido's sudden *pallor* ought to have been a dead give-away for Anna that she is being misled (hence *tamen*: 'yet nevertheless'); but the idea that Dido is turning her into an unwitting accomplice of suicide does not cross her mind—a point underscored by the hyperbaton [500]*nōn ... Anna ...* [501]*crēdit.* The main verb governs an indirect statement with [501]*germānam* as subj. acc. and *praetexere* as inf. It is the same verb as [172]*hōc praetexit nōmine culpam*, but the obj. of concealment has changed from 'guilt' to her own death: *fūnera* (pl. for sg.) by means of/within the strange rites (*nouīs ... sacrīs*). Anna's incapability of divining what Dido has in mind is a theme instantly reiterated in variation: she is unable to

conceive in her mind (*mente ... concipit*) such madness (*tantōs ... furōrēs*), in deliberate contrast to [474]*concēpit furiās* (of Dido). She fears nothing more serious than ([502]*quam*) what transpired at the death of her husband Sychaeus. Anna, in short, suffers from a distinct lack of psychological insight and imagination, which turns her into the perfect pawn for Dido's schemes.

503: ergō iussa parat: 'hence she carries out the orders'. The half verse concludes the middle section of the book. The curtain falls, and when it goes up again the pyre is in place.

504–521: With Anna's help secured, Dido awakens her inner witch in the pursuit of retributive justice. We have reached the third and final act of the tragedy that is *Aeneid* 4, which Virgil marks lexically with the final repetition of the opening formula.

504–507[a]: at rēgīna, pyrā penetrāl(ī) in sēde sub aurās | [505]**ērect(ā) ingentī taedīs atqu(e) īlice sectā,** | [506]**intenditque locum sertīs et fronde corōnat** | [507a]**fūnereā:** *at rēgīna* is the third (and last) such section headline (after 1 and 296). A massive abl. abs. follows, as massive as the pyre it describes, with [504]*pyrā* as noun and [505]*ērectā* as participle; also belonging to the abl. abs. is [505]*ingentī*, a predicative complement agreeing with *pyrā*, which governs the ablatives *taedīs atque īlice sectā* ('huge with pine logs and hewn oak'). *taeda* is the word for pine tree or pieces thereof; the tree has resinous and hence quickly burning wood and thus also signifies 'torch'. *īlex*, *-icis*, f. is a holm-oak, providing slowly burning fuel (other words for various oak trees include *quercus*, *aesculus*, or *robur*). The pyre has been erected 'in the innermost part of her house under the sky' ([504]*penetrālī in sēde sub aurās*; cf. [494]*tēctō interiōre sub aurās*: Anna followed instructions to the letter). The *-que* following [506]*intendit* correlates with the following *et* = *et intendit ... et ... corōnat*: Dido both covers the place with garlands (*OLD intendō* 3b) and crowns it (*locum* is acc. obj. of both verbs) with funerary foliage (*fronde ... fūnereā*), arguably consisting of cypress boughs (Connors 1992). (Alternatively, *intendit* (in the primary sense of 'stretch out') *locum sertīs* is an enallage = *intendit loco sertos*.) Overall, the design is concentric: at the core is the innermost part of the house (*penetrālī in sēde*; the anastrophe further centres *in*) around which the description of the pyre is grouped (*pyrā ... ērectā*), with subject and

main verbs forming the outer bracket (504*rēgīna* ... 506*intenditque ... et ... corōnat*). But the construction is unwieldly, with further elaboration of the pyre via *ingentī* after the participle and the enjambment of 507*fūnereā* (scanning as a choriamb), which functions as a final exclamation mark.

507b–508: super exuuiās ēnsemque relictum | effigiemque torō locat, haud ignāra futūrī: Dido executes her own orders, though with variations: *super* (adv.) ... *locat* recalls 497*super* (adv.) *impōnās*, though one of the items to be placed, the *lectus iugālis*, now features as abl. of location (*torō*), on which she places the garments (*exuuiās*, as in 496; cf. 651), the sword that Aeneas left behind (*ēnsem ... relictum*; cf. 495*arma ... quae relīquit*), and—a novelty—an effigy (*effigiem*, presumably of Aeneas, made of wax). The description of the action concludes on a bucolic diaresis before the fourth foot, setting up the concluding phrase 508*haud ignāra futūrī* 'not ignorant of the future', in apposition to the implied subject (Dido). Correlating with 65*heu uātum ignārae mēntēs!*, the phrase concludes Dido's epistemological trajectory over the course of Book 4, from ignorance of the workings of history (shared with her sister) to insight into how the *Aeneid*'s cosmos works (all her own), which is essential for the powerfully efficacious agency she acquires in this final act of her tragedy.

509–511: stant ārae circ(um) et crīnēs effūsa sacerdōs | 510ter centum tonat ōre deōs, Erebumque Chaosque, | 511tergeminamqu(e) Hecatēn, tria uirginis ōra Diānae: now it gets eerie. First, there is another reference to the setting: 'round about (*circum*: adv.) stand altars': the locale, we learn, has been designed for efficacious communication with the gods—not a detail that figured in Dido's instruction to Anna. And after following instructions from a priestess (483*sacerdōs*, 498*sacerdōs*), Dido has become a 509*sacerdōs* herself. Having loosened her hair (509*crīnēs effūsa*, with the participle in the middle sense taking *crīnēs* as acc. obj.), 'because in magic there must be nothing bound or knotted' (Austin: 152), Dido 'thunderously utters/calls upon' (*OLD tonō* 3b) 300 (= an infinite number of) gods, with a voice (510*ōre*) perversely mimicking Jupiter, god of thunder, even though her addressees are all chthonic divinities. Keeping with the theme of three as a magic number, Virgil proceeds to list three of them by name (510Erebus, Chaos, 511Hecate: in apposition to *deōs*; but the triple profusion of *-que* makes it appear that they are named in addition to others), with the third a three-fold goddess, a

feature glossed in another appositional phrase ('threefold Hecate, the triple faces of virgin Diana'), ensuring a triple variation on 'three' across the sentence (*ter centum*, *tergeminam*, *tria*). Erebus, Chaos, and Hecate form a powerful 'triumvirate squared' (with Hecate/Diana/the Moon forming their own triplet) of dark divinities in stark counterpoint to Olympian light and order. Dido is seeking to unleash hell.

Hecate is a transliteration of the name of the Greek goddess Ἑκάτη, who is first mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony* 404–52 as the daughter of Perses and Asteria. She has a special affinity with Dido's intertextual *altera ego* Medea, who also highlights her association with internal-infernal spaces (Euripides, *Mēdēa* 395–98):

> By the goddess I worship most of all, my chosen helper Hecate, who dwells in the inner chamber of my house, none of them shall pain my heart and smile at it!
>
> οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν ἣν ἐγὼ σέβω
> μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ξυνεργὸν εἰλόμην,
> Ἑκάτην, μυχοῖς ναίουσαν ἑστίας ἐμῆς,
> χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοὐμὸν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ.

Attestations of Hecate's name in Latin literature are infrequent and predominantly literary. The first is the throw-away remark by Cicero at *Dē Nātūrā Deōrum* 3.46 *quō modō autem potes, sī Lātōnam deam putās, Hecatam nōn putāre, quae mātre Asteria est sorōre Lātōnae?* 'Then, if you think Latona a goddess, how can you not think that Hecate is one, who is the daughter of Latona's sister Asteria?' She also haunts some other republican texts as one of the three avatars of triple-headed Diana/Luna/Hecate (e.g. Catullus 34). Her twofold appearance in Book 4 (the second instance occurs at 609 in another prayer of Dido's) prefigures her role in Book 6, where her association with 'the chthonic supernatural' comes into its own: she has appointed the Sibyl to guard the entrance to the Underworld (6.117–18, 564), and it is to her that the Sibyl sacrifices before their descent (6.243–47):

> quattuor hīc prīmum nigrantīs terga iuuencōs
> cōnstituit frontīque inuergit uīna sacerdōs,
> et summās carpēns media inter cornua saetās
> ignibus impōnit sacrīs, lībāmina prīma,

uōce uocāns Hecatēn caelōque Erebōque potentem.

[Here first the priestess set in line four dark-backed heifers, and pours wine upon their brows; then, plucking the topmost bristles from between the horns, lays them on the sacred fire for first offering, calling aloud on Hecate, supreme both in Heaven and in Hell.]

Mentions of Hecate elsewhere in Latin poetry tend to occur in the vicinity of (Greek-inspired) witch figures: Tibullus 1.2.53–54 *sola tenēre malās Mēdēae dīcitur herbās, | sola ferōs Hecatae perdomuisse canēs* 'Only she, men say, holds the secret of Medea's deadly herbs, only she has tamed the wild hounds of Hecate'; Horace, *Satires* 1.8.33–36 ... *Hecatēn uocat altera, saeuam | altera Tisiphonēn; serpentīs atque uidēres | īnfernās errāre canīs, Lūnamque rubentem, | ne foret hīs testis, post magna latēre sepulcra* 'One witch calls on Hecate, the other on fell Tisiphone. You might see serpents and hell-hounds roaming about, and the blushing Moon, that she might not witness such deeds, hiding behind the tall tombs'. With the exception of *Fāstī* 1.141–42 *ōra uidēs Hecatēs in trēs uertentia partēs, | seruet ut in ternās compita secta uiās* 'You see Hecate's faces turned in three directions that she may guard the crossroads where they branch three several ways', Ovid associates Hecate exclusively with Medea and Circe. For Medea, see *Hērōides* 12.168 and *Metamorphōsēs* 7.174, 195 *triceps Hecatē*, 238 (following Apollonius Rhodius' account of the meeting of Medea and Jason in the temple of Hecate at *Argonautica* 3.975–1007, which served Virgil as a model for the meeting of Dido and Aeneas in Book 1: Nelis 2001: 89–90). For Circe, see *Metamorphōsēs* 14.403–5 *illa nocēns spargit uīrus sūcōsque uenēnī | et Noctem Noctisque deōs Erebōque Chaōque | conuocat et longīs Hecatēn ululātibus ōrat* 'But she sprinkled upon them her baleful drugs and poisonous juices, summoning to her aid Night and the gods of Night from Erebus and Chaos, and calling on Hecate in long-drawn, wailing cries.' See further Austin (152–53); for invocations of Erebus and Chaos on magical papyri, see Duclos (1969), Fratantuono (2020a).

512: sparserat et laticēs simulātōs fontis Auernī: 'she had also (*et*) sprinkled [the tense shifts to pluperfect] waters pretended to be from [= that served as equipollent substitute for waters of] the spring

Avernus' (*fontis Auernī* = gen. of specification: G–L 361). Avernus is the lake in Southern Italy located at the entrance to the Underworld. The line initiates a catalogue of three items coordinated by postpositive *et*. The other two are [513]*falcibus et*... and [515]*quaeritur et*...

513–514: falcibus et mess(ae) ad lūnam quaeruntur aēnīs | pūbentēs herbae nigrī cum lacte uenēnī: after the infernal water, herbs (*herbae*) are the second (of three) items coordinated by additive *et*. Virgil first specifies their manner of procurement: they are sought at moonlight (*ad lūnam quaeruntur*), having been cut (*messae* = perf. pass. part. of *metō*, *metere*) with bronze sickles (*falcibus ... aēnīs*); then he identifies their desirable qualities: 'juicy (*pūbentēs*, the pres. part. of unattested *pūbeō*, meaning "full of sap") with milk (*cum lacte*) of black venom (*nigrī ... uenēnī*).' The paradoxography of magic continues: bronze instruments and moonlight are associated with numinous powers and so are poisonous plant-based ingredients, esp. those that invert the natural order of things (the herbs ooze 'black, poisonous milk').

515–516: quaeritur et nāscentis equī dē fronte reuulsus | et mātrī praereptus amor: the subject of *quaeritur* is *amor*, here in the seemingly singular sense of ἱππομανές/*hippomanes* (*TLL* 1.1970.26–28, *rēs amāta*), which is a glutinous mucoprotein aggregate that can form in pregnant mares and grow up to fist-size; it was deemed to have magical-aphrodisiac powers, but needed to be obtained from the forehead of the new-born foal (which it was thought to be attached to) before the mother ate it off. Hence: 'further, (*et* after *quaeritur*) the *hippomanes* (= *amor*) is sought, which has been torn (*reuulsus*: perf. pass. part. of *reuellere*) from the forehead (*dē fronte*) of a foal in the process of being born (*nāscentis equī*) and has been seized ahead of the mother (*praereptus*: perf. pass. part. of *praeripere* 'to forestall another in seizing, seize first': *OLD* 1, construed with the dat. of person forestalled, here *mātrī*)'. A passage in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* illustrates why this 'essence of crazy love' makes for a perfect ingredient in Dido's magic (8.165):

> In hōc genere grauida stāns parit; praeterque ceterās fētum dīligit. et sane equīs amōris innāscitur uenēficium *hippomanes* appellātum in fronte, cāricae magnitūdine, colōre nigrō, quod statim ēditō partū dēuorat fēta

aut partum ad ūbera non admittit. sī quis praereptum habeat, olfactū in rabiem id genus agitur.

[In the equine genus the pregnant female is delivered standing up; and she loves her offspring more than all other female animals. And in fact a love-poison called horse-frenzy is found in the forehead of horses at birth, the size of a dried fig, black in colour, which a brood mare as soon as she has dropped her foal eats up, or else she refuses to suckle the foal. If anybody takes it before she gets it, and keeps it, the scent drives him into madness of the kind specified.]

517–520[a]: ipsa molā manibusque piīs altāria iuxtā, | [518]**ūn(um) exūta pedem uinclīs, in ueste recincta,** | [519]**testātur moritūra deōs et cōnscia fātī** | [520a]**sīdera:** the basic structure of subject – verb – acc. objects is: she herself ([517]*ipsa*) calls upon ([519]*testātur*) the gods ([519]*deōs*) and the stars privy to fate ([519–20a]*et cōnscia fātī* | *sīdera*). The rest of the sentence consists of further specifications of *ipsa*: (i) *molā manibusque piīs* 'with sacrificial meal (the primary meaning of *mola* is 'mill', whence *mola* (*salsa*) = "a cake of ground barley and salt used in the ritual of sacrifice": *OLD* 2) and devout hands'. (ii) *altāria iuxtā* 'beside the altars' (cf. [509]*stant ārae circum*). (iii) *ūnum exūta pedem uinclīs* 'having freed one foot from straps', i.e. having taken off the sandal on one foot; *exūta* = perf. pass. part. of *exuō* in middle sense with retained acc. obj.; *uinclīs* = *uinculīs* (from *uincio* + *-ulum*): abl. of separation. (iv) *in ueste recincta* 'untied in her garment': Dido has taken off her girdle; *recincta* = perf. pass. part. of *recingō* 'to untie'. (v) *moritūra* 'about to die': fut. act. part. of *morior*. For a moment, it might appear that *cōnscia fātī* is a sixth item, though as one reads on it becomes apparent that the *et* does NOT link *moritūra* and *cōnscia* but rather *deōs* and *sīdera* (the two acc. objects of *testātur*): *cōnscia* is NOT nom. f. sg. agreeing with *ipsa* but rather acc. n. pl. agreeing with *sīdera*. The syntax, in other words, is just as loose as Dido's untied sandal and flowing garment.

Virgil paints a composite picture with numerous incidental details that hint at the complexity of the ritual and its ultimate objective, to inscribe Dido's revenge into the cosmic plot. Following up on [508]*haud ignāra futūrī*, *cōnscia fātī*, the striking attribute of *sīdera*, is best taken as focalized through Dido (rather than narratorial description). On one level, and especially in the company of *moritūra*, *fātum* has the specific meaning of Dido's death (which she precipitates against fate: 696). More

generally, however, and more portentously, Dido here acknowledges the existence of (a degree of) preordainment in history (and not just with reference to her own trajectory, but to History with a capital H). She no longer denies its existence but tries to identify and act upon pockets of contingency within a pre-established plot.

[517]*molā*: Dido mixes items employed in 'proper' sacrifice with magic-specific ingredients, to sinister effect: 'the inclusion of elements from ritual sacrifice (the sprinkling of the *mola salsa*) already point beyond the *defixio* to the final transformation of the ceremony: Dido plans Aeneas' symbolic sacrifice' (Panoussi 2009: 51).

520[b]–521: tum, sī quod nōn aequō foeder(e) amantēs | cūrae nūmen habet iūstumque memorque, precātur: easily translated along the lines of 'then she prays to whatever power (*quod ... nūmen*; *quod* = *aliquod*), righteous and mindful, has those who love in an unequal pact as concern (*cūrae* = predicative dat. with *habet*, expressing purpose: G-L 356.)'. But the *sī*-clause reads like the opening protasis of her actual prayer, with the apodosis missing, i.e.: 'then she prays: "If any divine power has those who love in an unequal pact as concern (with the implication that only such a power is righteous), [then...]"...', leaving what she actually prays for conspicuously unstated—a blank filled at 612–29. Dido here turns Aeneas' proto-Roman idiom of [339]*neque haec in foedera uēni* against him, affirming that she has entered into a *foedus* of sorts, just not a *foedus aequum*, one fair and equal for both parties, but rather a *foedus nōn aequum/inīquum*, i.e. an unequal treaty/alliance in which one party dominates and dictates terms. Here Virgil follows in the tradition of Catullus of applying the vocabulary of Roman political culture to the sphere of love. (Good discussion by Maclennan: 148.)

Her prayer to a [521]*nūmen ... iūstumque memorque* reactivates Ilioneus' idea of just and mindful gods who keep track of human conduct ([1.541–42]*sī genus hūmānum et mortālia temnitis arma, | at spērāte deōs memorēs fandī atque nefandī* 'If you think light of human kinship and mortal arms, yet look unto gods who will remember right and wrong'). And this develops the idea that Jupiter and Juno do not necessarily belong to this category, at least from Dido's point of view (see above 438–39).

522–583: The Great Escape

Dido's initiation of dialogue with infernal forces sets the stage for Aeneas' exit. The final rupture, partly undone by the pursuant curse, happens at night:

522–528: The World at rest (including Aeneas) ...
529–553: ... except sleepless Dido.
554–570: Mercury's reappearance.
571–583: Aeneas and his fleet are off.

522–527: nox erat et placidum carpēbant fessa sopōrem | [523]**corpora per terrās, siluaequ(e) et saeua quiērant** | [524]**aequora, cum mediō uoluuntur sīdera lāpsū,** | [525]**cum tacet omnis ager, pecudēs pictaeque uolucrēs,** | [526]**quaeque lacūs lātē liquidōs, quaequ(e) aspera dūmīs** | [527]**rūra tenent, somnō positae sub nocte silentī:** the seven lines capture the world at night and in sleep. They move from narrative imperfect ([522]*erat*, *carpēbant*) and pluperfect ([523]*quiērant* = *quiēuerant*) in the main clause to generalizing presents ([524]*uoluuntur*, [525]*tacet*, [527]*tenent*) in the subsequent *cum*-clauses. The second *cum*-clause is bipartite in asyndetic continuation (a) *tacet omnis ager*; (b) *pecudēs pictaeque uolucrēs* [sc. *tacent*] ... with the participle expansion *somnō positae sub nocte silentī* after the two *quaequae*-clauses. Virgil strives for comprehensiveness and generality, starting with the abstract emphasis on *corpora*: every embodied living being, humans and animals alike. The sentence then traces its way from earth (*per terrās*, *siluae*) to (sea) water (*saeua ... aequora*) to air (*sīdera*) to earth (*ager*, *pecudēs*) to air (*uolucrēs*) to (fresh) water (*lacūs ... liquidōs*) to earth (*aspera rūra*), though the last sequence covering waterfowl and terrestrial birds subtly unites all three elements. We thus proceed from an initial sequence of cosmic dimension (*terrās*/*siluae*, *aequora*, *sīdera*) to a more finely grained focus on specific locales and animals. The following features further help to generate a tightly interrelated whole:

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- determined doubling and tripling of subjects (523–24*siluae ... et saeua ... aequora*; 525–26*ager*, *pecudēs*, *pictae ... uolucrēs*) and acc. objects (526*lacūs ... liquidōs* and 526–27*aspera ... | rūra*) with economy of verbs (in the second *cum*-clause, *tacet* agrees in number with *ager* but also goes with *pecudēs pictaeque uolucrēs*; 527*tenent* in the second *quaeque*-clause needs to be supplied in the first)
- use of enjambment (522–23*fessa ... |corpora*, 523–24*saeva ... | aequora*, 526–27*aspera ... | rūra*)
- initial polysyndeton in the main clause, followed by asyndetic anaphoric additions in the subordinate clauses (*cum...*, *cum...*; *quaequae...*, *quaeque...*)
- the chiastic bracket formed by the related phenomena of 'night' and 'sleep' (522*nox ... placidum ... sopōrem* : 527*somnō ... sub nocte silentī*, with shift in attribute from sleep to night)
- the use of 'bucolic diaeresis' in line with the 'nature' theme after the fourth foot in lines 522 (before *fessa*), 523 (before *saeua*), and 524 (before *sīdera*)
- countervailing vowel harmonies in 524*mediō uoluuntur sīdera lapsū* with both *mediō ... lapsū* and *uoluuntur sīdera* featuring all five (and *mediō* corresponding to *sīdera* in terms of anapaestic-dactylic tinkle and *uoluuntur* to *lapsū* in terms of spondaic bass)
- the liquid *l*-alliteration 526*lacūs lātē liquidōs*
- the thematic *s*-alliteration 527*somnō positae sub nocte silentī* (inviting an *apo-koinou* reading of *silentī* with both *somnō* and *nocte*)

Virgil models the overall design (scene of quasi-universal sleep at night-time as foil for a heroine restlessly awake with suicidal thoughts) on a narrative sequence involving Medea in Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.744–51:

> Then night was drawing darkness over the earth, and the sailors on the sea looked towards Helice and the stars of Orion from their ships, and by now the traveller and gatekeeper were longing for

sleep, and deep slumber was enfolding the mother whose children had died; and no longer was there barking of dogs through the city nor echoing sounds, but silence gripped the darkening night. But by no means had sweet sleep overtaken Medea...

νὺξ μὲν ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἄγεν κνέφας· οἱ δ᾽ ἐνὶ πόντῳ
ναυτίλοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ ἀστέρας Ὡρίωνος
ἔδρακον ἐκ νηῶν, ὕπνοιο δὲ καί τις ὁδίτης
ἤδη καὶ πυλαωρὸς ἐέλδετο, καί τινα παίδων
μητέρα τεθνεώτων ἀδινὸν περὶ κῶμ᾽ ἐκάλυπτεν·
οὐδὲ κυνῶν ὑλακὴ ἔτ᾽ ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οὐ θρόος ἦεν
ἠχήεις· σιγὴ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄρφνην.
ἀλλὰ μάλ᾽ οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος·

But the literary precedent comes with a striking difference in emphasis. Where Apollonius captures the universality of sleep primarily with reference to different groups of humans (sailors, travellers, gatekeepers, a grieving mother; and the dogs who have ceased barking are of course domesticated animals located in an urban environment), Virgil's poetry embraces (all of) nature while briefly effacing humanity.

528: [lēnībant cūrās et cord(a) oblīta labōrum.]: 'they were soothing their cares, and their hearts were oblivious of labours'. This line is bracketed in most editions as an interpolation based on 9.224–25 *cētera per terrās omnīs animālia somnō | laxābant cūrās et corda oblīta labōrum* (see Hardie 1994: 114–15). If it is genuine, the syntax changes: *pecudēs pictaeque uolucrēs* become the subjects of a main clause with *lēnībant* as verb, which calls for a full stop or semicolon after [525]*cum tacet omnis ager*. Keeping the line has its attractions: it would generate a perfect symmetry of 3.5 + 3.5 verses and introduce the themes of *cūra* and *cor* before their use with reference to Dido ([531]*ingeminant cūrae*, [533]*sēcum ... ita corde uolūtat*, alongside other thematic recurrences); while it would unsettle the night/sleep frame, the framing provided by [522]*placidum carpēbant ... sopōrem* ~ [528]*lēnībant cūrās* and [522–3]*fessa ... corpora* ~ [528]*corda oblīta labōrum* would be a perfectly good substitute.

529–531[a]: at nōn īnfēlīx animī Phoenīssa, nec umquam | soluitur in somnōs oculīsu(e) aut pectore noctem | accipit: after the previous six or seven verses have lulled the reader to sleep, 529 performs a sharp,

adversative pivot back to Dido. With *at nōn īnfēlīx animī Phoenīssa*, a verb must be supplied from what precedes (such as *sopōrem carpēbat*, *quiērat*, *tacet*, or—if 528 is genuine—*lēnībat cūrās*), unless one understands the phrase in the sense 'but not so broken-hearted Phoenissa' with the verb finessed and a semi-colon after *Phoenīssa* (Austin: 139). For the genitive (though perhaps originally a locative) *animī* signifying the seat of the feeling expressed by the adjective *īnfēlīx*, see G–L 374 n.7. Cf. [203]*āmēns animī*, [300]*inops animī*.

Dido never slackens into sleep (*OLD soluō* 8b; *soluitur* is middle = 'loosens herself into') nor receives night in her eyes or her heart. The two clauses form an effective *husteron proteron*, with *-ue* after *oculīs* coordinating *soluitur* and *accipit* and *aut* coordinating *oculīs* and *pectore*.

531[b]–532: ingeminant cūrae, rūrsusque resurgēns | saeuit amor magnōqu(e) īrārum fluctuat aestū. *ingeminant* is intransitive, 'her cares redouble' (*OLD* 2, of natural forces and passions, in keeping within the 'nature' theme), as is *saeuit* (linked to *ingeminant* by the *-que* after *rursus*). The adv. *rūrsus* and the present participle *re-surgēns* (intransitive, agreeing with *amor* in enjambment) reinforce each other (and the multiplying effect), also in terms of *r*-alliteration and *-su-* assonance. The subject of the third verb (*fluctuat*, linked to *saeuit* by the *-que* after *magnō*) is implied and ambiguous: it could be either *amor* or Dido, and the fact that it is impossible to be sure indicates deliberate conflation, a striking end to a sentence in which intransitive verbs help to exhibit the subjects. The lines feature negative thoughts (*cūrae*) and conflicting emotions (*amor*, *īrae*) writ large, showcasing them via metaphors drawn from math (*ingeminant*), (watery) motion (up and down: *resurgēns*; back and forth: *fluctuat*), and (boiling) heat (*aestū*). Virgil here adapts the idiom and refines the metaphorics of Catullus 64.62 *et magnīs cūrārum fluctuat undīs*, which depicts Ariadne in a comparable situation. But he substitutes Catullus' *cūrārum*, already used in the first clause, for the amplifying *īrārum*, and the straightforward *undīs* for the suggestively opaque *aestū*, and ambiguates the subject of *fluctuat*.

Extra information

'Rage' expressed via the adj. *saeuus* (cf. [523–24]*saeua ... aequora*) or (as here) the verb *saeuiō*, *saeuīre* dominates the *Aeneid* from the outset and feeds

into the polarity of order and disorder. The range of reference stretches from physical to psychological conditions, and the semantic field thus offers a ready way of illustrating the violent forces at work within both the cosmos and a person. The first character described with *saeu-* terminology is Juno (1.25–26*necdum etiam causae īrārum saeuīque dolōrēs | exciderant animō* 'not yet, too, had the cause of her wrath and her bitter sorrows faded from her mind') and the verb first occurs in the initial simile of the poem which compares the sea-storm unleashed by Juno and its calming by Neptune to a 'raging rabble' ready to yield to *furor* and perpetrate acts of violence being calmed down by a senior statesman of great *pietās* and *auctōritās* (1.147–52):

> ac uelutī magnō in populō cum saepe coorta est
> sēditiō, saeuitque animīs īgnōbile uulgus,
> iamque facēs et saxa uolant, furor arma ministrat;
> tum pietāte grauem ac meritīs sī forte uirum quem
> cōnspexēre, silent arrēctīsque auribus adstant;
> ille regit dictīs animōs et pectora mulcet.
>
> [And as, when ofttimes in a great nation tumult has risen, the base rabble rage angrily, and now brands and stones fly, madness lending arms; then, if perchance they set eyes on a man honoured for noble character and service, they are silent and stand by with attentive ears; with speech he sways their passion and soothes their breasts.]

saeuit amor here recalls 300*saeuit inops animī*, when Dido first hears rumours of Aeneas' decision to leave, again highlighting that Dido has become furiously 'impassioned' (and hence a menace). *Amor* is running riot in her mind, just as she has been running riot in her city.

533: sīc ade(ō) īnsistit, sēcumqu(e) ita corde uolūtat: a transitional line between Dido tossed about in a whirlpool of emotions and the articulation of her inner turmoil in (silent?) speech. *īnsistit* looks backward 'she persists' and forward 'sets out to speak' (*OLD* 6c), in etymological antithesis to *fluctuat*: despite being tossed about, she begins to find her footing. *adeō* is here used as an ancillary particle for emphasis (*OLD* 8), qualifying *sīc*: 'thus indeed'. *corde uolūtat* 'she revolves in her heart' continues the theme of roiling motion but with a self-reflexive

and cognitive dimension. *sēcum* 'with herself' re-emphasizes Dido's solitude: what follows is a soliloquy, and it is unclear whether it is spoken out loud.

534–552: In sharp contrast to the world at peace, Dido is wide awake in frenzied turmoil, which articulates itself in a vexed monologue as she rehearses her options (none good): marry a local suitor (534–36)? Depart with the Trojans (on her own) (537–43)? Follow the Trojans with her people (544–46)? Dido rules all of them out and is left with retributive suicide (547). She proceeds to lay part of the blame for her current predicament on her sister Anna (548–49) before a concluding remonstration that she was not afforded a life free from the phenomenon of marriage (550–52).

534[a]: 'ēn, quid agō?: the interjection *ēn* introduces a self-exhortatory remonstration (*OLD* 3b): 'alas'. *quid agō* (in the indicative rather than deliberative subjunctive: 'what am I doing?') begins a string of rhetorical questions that rehearse various courses of action, none of which is remotely appealing.

534[b]–536: rūrsusne procōs inrīsa priōrēs | [535]**experiar, Nomadumque petam cōnūbia supplex,** | [536]**quōs ego sim totiēns iam dēdignāta marītōs?:** Dido's Option A is going back to suitors previously spurned: 'Shall I in my turn (*rūrsus*: cf. *OLD* 4, in antithetical anticipation of [536]*totiēns iam*) make trial of former wooers (*procōs ... priōrēs*) as someone who has been ridiculed (*inrīsa*; Dido feels mocked and humiliated, taken for a ride and then dumped by her Trojan lover, an object of public derision) and, as suppliant, seek out marriage with [one of the] Numidians (*Nomadum ... cōnūbia*, sniffily contemptuous: marrying into the local, itinerant tribes is not a prospect that appeals to the Phoenician queen), whom I have so often up till recently (*totiēns iam*) spurned as husbands?' The two main clauses ([534b–36]*... experiar ... -que petam ...*, in deliberative subjunctive) offer theme and specification, with the subsequent concessive relative clause (hence the subjunctive [536]*sim ... dēdignāta*) indicating the role-reversal that renders this option so unappealing. Dido holds her African neighbours in contempt, despite their own extension of hospitality. She had performed a colonizing land-grab and then added insult to injury by rejecting the local suitors (using

the oath of eternal fidelity to her murdered husband Sychaeus to soften the blow), but then had thrown herself with abandon at the last Trojan hero-turned-castaway. No wonder she has been fearing their wrath, which she blames on Aeneas (320–21*tē propter Libycae gentēs Nomadumque tyrannī | ōdēre, īnfēnsī Tyriī*). It is unclear whether the nameless suitors on her mind include 'Gaetulian Iarbas', whom she invokes at 326 as an enemy who might capture her, perhaps to enforce a marriage.

537–538a: Īliacās igitur classēs atqu(e) ultima Teucrum | iussa sequar?: without giving Option A any further thought, Dido, via *igitur*, pivots straight to Option B: 'Should I therefore follow [*sequar* is again deliberative subjunctive] the Trojan fleet and the most extreme [= every last throw-away: *OLD ultimus* 9] order of the Trojans (*Teucrum* = *Teucrōrum*)?' Dido works in a subtle shift in the meaning of *sequar* from the first to the second acc. obj.: if she decided to follow the Trojan fleet herself, she will be required to follow (in the sense of 'obey') any Trojan order. The verb also aligns her own actions with those of Aeneas: (Aeneas speaking) 361*Ītaliam non sponte sequor*; (Dido speaking) 380*i, sequere Ītaliam uentīs*.

538b–539: quian(e) auxiliō iuuat ante leuātōs, | et ben(e) apud memorēs ueteris stat grātia factī?: the *-ne* after *quia* 'belongs, not to *quia*, but to a question that is not formally expressed ("shall I do this, because...")' (Austin: 161). Hence, literally: '[shall I do this] because it gratifies [them/me (it is unclear what acc. is implied with *iuuat*: *eōs* = the Trojans or *mē* = Dido)] that they (the subj. acc. *eōs* is again understood) have previously (*ante*) been relieved (*leuātōs* sc. *esse*) by [my] aid, and gratitude [for it] remains (*OLD stō* 17) alive and well (*bene*) among those duly (*bene*) mindful of the old *bene*faction?' Or, more elegantly: 'Is it because they are thankful for aid once given, and gratitude for past kindness stands firm in their mindful hearts?' (Goold). The adv. *bene* goes with *memorēs*, *stat* and, in tmesis, *factī*, just as the gen. *ueteris ... factī* is shared in common by *grātia* and *memorēs*. Dido here sarcastically riffs on Aeneas' claim 335–36*nec mē meminisse pigēbit Elissae, | dum memor ipse meī*. She makes two related points: (a) memory without reciprocity is worthless (just as reciprocity without memory is impossible); (b) those who have received favours (and are hence in debt) may well be inclined to convenient lapses of memory, forgetting that they owe something in

return to their benefactors.

Reciprocities based on memory can take the form of positive gratitude for services received or punitive retribution for injuries suffered. Memory as a source of negative reciprocity is a key theme of the *Aeneid* from the proem onwards, which links Aeneas' travails to the unforgetting and unforgiving wrath of Juno (1.4*saeuae memorem Iūnōnis ob īram*). She will be joined by Dido's equally implacable fury, in an ironic fulfilment of Ilioneus' appeal to Dido and her people at 1.541–42 (cited above 496) that divinities operate as cosmic guardians of justice who keep track (are *memorēs*) of right and wrong.

540–541a: quis m(ē) autem, fac uelle, sinet ratibusue superbīs | inuīs(am) accipiet? 'But who—suppose that I want (*fac uelle* sc. *mē*: the subj. acc. is implied: *OLD faciō* 20b)—will suffer me or will welcome me (the acc. obj. continues to be *mē*), hated that I am (*inuīsam*: arguably a projection on Dido's part; she wrongly assumes that the Trojans' departure is motivated by hatred for her and that what she now feels towards them is reciprocal), on their arrogant ships?' With regard to the local suitors, Dido took it for granted that they would still want her as a spouse, humbled and humiliated. By contrast, she is not at all sure that the Trojans would welcome her aboard, but still rehearses variations of this option at length (540–46). The persistent exploration of Option B (if hedged by hypotheticals) indicates how conflicted Dido remains: her (erotic) attraction to Aeneas is as powerful as ever; in some corner of her mind, she does still (always) want to go after him (alive or dead).

541b–542: nescīs heu, perdita, necdum | Lāomedontēae sentīs periūria gentis?: another rhetorical question cast as a self-apostrophe, including a pathetic exclamation (*heu*) and vocative (*perdita*: ruined one!). The acc. obj. *periūria* 'treacheries' (*Lāomedontēae ... gentis*: 'of the Trojan people') is shared by two verbs (*nescīs* and *sentīs*, linked by *necdum*) that capture two different modes of knowing: knowledge of facts, and applied understanding. Dido asks (a) 'do you not know (*nescīs*) that a track record of perjury is part of Troy's reputation ever since king Laomedon cheated the gods Apollo and Neptune, who helped him build Troy, of their wages?'; and (b) 'do you not yet (*necdum*) understand (*sentīs*) what this means for your present situation?' Her implied answer to (a) is: 'of course I do—it is on monumental exhibit on the temple of Juno

here in Carthage' (see below); but to (b): 'while I have learned through bitter experience, I am still struggling to draw the requisite conclusion'. Alliteration, assonance, and rhyme interrelate different elements of the sentence: *nescīs ~ necdum*, *perdita ~ periūria*, *sentīs ~ gentis*.

In addition, Dido will be thinking of Paris eloping with Helen, the wife of his host Menelaus, and the tradition of Aeneas betraying Troy, put on public display in the Carthaginian temple of Juno. The victory monument portrays the Trojans in the worst possible light, either humiliated in defeat or betraying their city. There Aeneas sees himself ([1.488]*sē quoque prīncipibus permīxtum āgnōuit Achīuīs* 'himself, too, intermingling with the Achaean chiefs, he recognized') in phrasing that is studiously ambiguous: *permīxtus* can carry the sense 'in close combat' or be a reference to the tradition that Aeneas managed to escape the sack of his city since he betrayed Troy to the Greeks (Horsfall 1990: 4). Despite Carthage's special relationship with Juno, Dido initially seems to have a much more favourable view (induced by Mercury at the behest of Jupiter?) that does not correspond to the images on the temple (Dido speaking: [1.565–66]*quis genus Aeneadum*, *quis Trōiae nesciat urbem | uirtūtēsque uirōsque aut tantī incendia bellī?* 'Who could be ignorant of the race of Aeneas' people, who of Troy's town and her brave deeds and brave men, or of the fires of that great war?'

[542]*Lāomedontēae ... periūria gentis*: in *Georgics* 1.501–2, Virgil blames Laomedon's perfidy for the century of civil warfare that Rome (as latter-day Troy) had just gone through, in atonement for the transgression of its legendary founder (*satis iam prīdem sanguine nostrō | Lāomedontēae luimus periūria Trōiae* 'long enough has our life-blood paid for Laomedon's perjury at Troy'). The adaptation with variation of the crucial line by Dido amounts to a surreptitious self-correction by the poet who, in the *Aeneid*, transforms the curse of Laomedon into the curse of Dido via a series of strategic uses of the name. First, the harpy Celaeno berates Aeneas and his troops as 'sons of Laomedon' ([3.238]*Lāomedontiadae*): she operates in the same spirit of reproach as Dido and tars all with the same brush. But the remaining instances point towards a more complex agenda, following on from Neptune's explicit reassurances to Venus at 5.799–815 that he is fully behind Aeneas and his mission despite the perjury of Laomedon (not explicitly named). At 7.104–6, Virgil notes in authorial voice that *Fāma* had already spread news of the Trojans'

arrival in Italy by the time when 'the folk of Laomedon moored their ships to the river's grassy bank' (*cum Lāomedontia pūbēs | grāmineō rīpae religāuit ab aggere classem*). The label of 'Laomedontian' for the Trojan collective prepares for the three instances of the adjective in Book 8. The first designates Aeneas and links his stay in (and departure from) Carthage with his arrival in Latium (8.18–21):

> Tālia per Latium. quae Lāomedontius hērōs
> cūncta uidēns magnō cūrārum fluctuat aestū*,
> atque animum nunc hūc celerem, nunc dīuidit illūc, = 4.285
> in partīsque rapit uariās perque omnia uersat. = 4.286
>
> *cf. 4.532 (of Dido) *magnō ... īrārum fluctuat aestū*
>
> [Thus it was in Latium. The hero of Laomedon's line, seeing it all, tosses on a mighty sea of troubles; and now this way, now that he swiftly throws his mind, casting it in diverse ways, and turning it to every shift.]

The second and third are presented from Evander's perspective, recalling a past meeting with Anchises and Priam; these instance mark the only time the term is used as a proper patronymic: 'Bravest of the Teucrians, how gladly I receive and recognize you! How I recall your father's words, and the voice and features of great Anchises (*Anchīsae magnī*)! For I remember how Priam, Laomedon's son (*Lāomedontiaden Priamum*), when on his way to Salamis he came to see the realm of his sister Hesione, passed on to visit Arcadia's cold borders. In those days early youth clothed my cheeks with bloom, and I wondered at the chiefs of Troy, wondered at their prince, Laomedon's son (*Lāomedontiaden*); but towering above all walked Anchises.' If the instance at 8.18–21 obliquely identifies Aeneas as the carrier of a curse (courtesy of Dido) in the tradition of Laomedon, the second and third, while implicating Aeneas in the history of Laomedontian Troy—not least since he has inherited the mantle as the royal representative of the community—obliquely associate the foundational treachery with the (now) defunct lineage of Priam. A transference has taken place: in contrast to the *Georgics*, in the *Aeneid* the Troy reborn as Rome will have a fresh, Aeneas-specific curse to contend with. Contrast Horace, *Odes* 3.3, cited above 157. (See further Winterbottom 1993, though he strips the text of some of its tensions and complexities.)

543a: quid tum?: 'what then?' Despite grave doubts on account of well-known Trojan treachery, Dido keeps dwelling on variants of Option B (following the Trojans), albeit with a slight shift in emphasis. If in 537–42 she plays through the scenario of boarding the Trojan ships, she now considers accompanying them either on her own (taken literally, the logistics of this are difficult to imagine: but there is nothing to prevent Dido from thinking in unrealistic hypotheticals) or with her entire people.

543b: sōla fugā nautās comitābor ouantēs?: 'on my own? (*sōla*, in implicit contrast to *comitābor*: shall I be a *solitary* <u>*com*</u>panion?)' This would almost inevitably involve self-erasure through assimilation and subjugation to the Trojans along very similar lines as 537–42: *fugā* and *nautās ... ouantēs* recall Aeneas and his men in departure mode ([314]*mēne fugis?*, [328]*ante fugam*, [400]*fugae studiō*, [418]*laetī nautae*) and evoke the Roman *ouātiō* ('a minor triumph, granted to a general not qualified by the scale or completeness of his victory for a full *triumphus*': *OLD*), in the deliberately paradoxical scenario of flight from the enemy compelling the enemy to flee alongside. But the notion of Trojans and Carthaginians becoming 'companions' by joining forces at the top has been on the agenda since Anna's speech at the beginning of the book (cf. [48–49]*Teucrūm* <u>*comitantibus*</u> *armīs* | *Pūnica sē quantīs attollet glōria rēbus!*), and Dido here rings desperate changes on the theme.

544–546: an Tyriīs omnīque manū stīpāta meōrum | [545]**īnferar et, quōs Sīdoniā uix urbe reuellī,** | [546]**rūrsus agam pelag(ō) et uentīs dare uēla iubēbō?** the second part of the disjunctive question introduced by *an* 'or' is designed as a tricolon in inverted logical sequence: [545]*īnferar* ('shall I rush in' = fut. ind. pass. with middle sense: *OLD* 3b; the verb tends to be used for aggressive actions) *et ...* [546]*agam ... et ... iubēbō?*, with the verb of command last, the pursuit in the middle, and the meeting up first. Dido opens the sentence by placing herself in the midst of her people: *stīpāta* 'surrounded' agrees with the implied subject ('I') and governs two instrumental ablatives linked by *-que* after *omnī*: *Tyriīs* 'the people from Tyre' and *omnī ... manū ... meōrum* 'the entire entourage of family members and close associates'. In the second and third clause, an *eōs* (referring back to both groups) must be supplied as acc. obj. of *agam* and as the subject acc. of the indirect statement dependent on *iubēbō*; it

is also the antecedent of *quōs*. Both the image of Dido surrounded by her subordinates and her sense of responsibility for her people as expressed in the relative clause are reminders of her royal status and recall [136]*tandem prōgreditur*, *magnā stīpante cateruā* as well as the first impression of Dido in the poem ([1.497]*incessit magnā iuuenum stīpante cateruā*). This is Dido in her incarnation as [1.364]*fēmina dux*, who led her people across the sea from Tyre to Tunisia. In Dido's hindsight, the mustering of companions proved considerably more difficult (*quōs ... uix ... reuellī*; *Sīdoniā ... urbe* is abl. of separation) than in Venus' version at 1.360–62 where a crowd gathered, voluntarily motivated by hatred or fear of the tyrant Pygmalion. Uprooting them again (as Dido goes on to recognize) would place an unfair burden on her people.

547: quīn morer(e) ut merit(a) es, ferrōqu(e) āuerte dolōrem: the adv. *quīn* 'adds force' (*OLD* Ab) to the orders Dido issues to herself: 'die (*morere* = 2nd pers. sg. imperative of the deponent *morī*) as you deserve and turn away your pain with the sword.' Having exhausted her options, she returns to her initial decision with renewed determination and desperation, brought out by *ut merita es*. Her thoughts turn to the act of self-imprecation performed at 24–29, uttered as a terminal measure to prevent herself from falling head over heels for Aeneas. She withdraws into a personal economy (contrast [317]*sī bene quid dē tē meruī*), deeming herself deserving of death for having broken her oath of loyalty to her husband Sychaeus (cf. 552). As [696]*meritā nec morte* makes clear, her reckoning is off: Dido did not deserve to die.

548–549: tū lacrimīs ēuicta meīs, tū prīma furentem | hīs, germāna, malīs onerās atqu(e) obicis hostī: Dido suddenly addresses her absent sister Anna (cf. the apostrophe *germāna*) in a tricolon – *ēuicta* [sc. *es*] ... *onerās atque obicis*—with the first two cola coordinated by the anaphoric *tū*, which splits the one passive (= cause) from the two active verbs (= effect). The implied acc. obj. of both *onerās* and *obicis* is *mē*, which governs the participle *furentem*. *prīma* points back to 30: instantly after her self-imprecation, Anna tried to convince her sister to give a relationship with Aeneas a shot. Dido is honest enough to concede that her own inner torment (religiously grounded self-prohibition vs. tears of desire and regret) motivated the intervention: Anna was as utterly conquered (*ēuicta*) by Dido's tears as Dido is by grief ([474]*ēuicta dolōre*).

[549]*obicis*: Servius (cited by Pease: 448) explains the scansion: '*ob-*' is naturally short (*nātūrāliter breuis*), but the following 'i' can acquire consonantal value, thereby creating a long by position.

550–551: nōn licuit thalam(ī) expertem sine crīmine uītam | dēgere mōre ferae, tālīs nec tangere cūrās: 'it was not permitted to me (*mē* is implied)' = 'I was not permitted to lead a life taking no part in marriage (*thalamī expertem*; the adj. agrees with the implied *mē*) without blame (*sine crīmine* can go either with *nōn licuit*, implying that Dido was shamed into her first marriage, or *uītam dēgere* as an attribute of the hypothetical life she did not get to lead—or both) according to the custom of a wild creature/woman and to not experience such cares'. After her attack on Anna, Dido steps back and reconsiders her life (a marriage to a spouse murdered by her brother, pressure to marry a local powerbroker in Africa, one pseudo-marriage that is driving her to suicide) against a radical alternative: a life in the wild with no consideration of marriage, resembling that of the goddess Diana (to whom she is compared upon her entry into the narrative: 1.494–504), her nymphs, or her other protégés such as the Amazons or Camilla (= *mōre ferae*; for the interpretation of *fera* as 'creature of the wild/undomesticated woman', see Nappa 2007).

552: nōn seruāta fidēs cinerī prōmissa Sychaeō!' 'The loyalty promised to the ash of Sychaeus (= if *Sychaeō* is taken as adj. or "to the ash, to Sychaeus" if taken as noun in apposition to *cinerī*: Austin: 165) was not kept (*seruāta* sc. *est*, with an implied abl. of the agent *ā mē*).' Dido ends her soliloquy with renewed emphasis on her marriage to Sychaeus and her self-imprecation.

553: tantōs illa suō rumpēbat pectore questūs: a symmetrical design centred in *rumpēbat*, one of Virgil's favourite verbs, concentrically framed by *suō ... pectore* and *tantōs ... questūs*. The resulting minor and major hyperbaton respectively highlight the laments Dido lets burst from her chest and the intensity of her anguish. The line, and in particular *tantōs ... questūs*, recalls [288]*tantōs rumpī non spēret* [sc. Dido] *amōrēs* (focalized through Aeneas) and look ahead to 563 where Mercury diagnoses what revolves in Dido's chest now that the lament has erupted.

554–555: [(a)]Aenēās cels(ā) in puppī [(b)]*iam* certus eundī | [(c)]carpēbat somnōs [(d)]rēbus *iam* rīte parātīs: these lines are a natural continuation

of 522–27/8, depicting the entire world asleep. At that moment the narrative focus took an adversative pivot to the one exception: Dido (529***at nōn*** *īnfēlīx animī Phoenīssa* ...), who remained in the limelight until 553*... illa rumpēbat questūs*. While Dido wails, Aeneas naps (554–55*Aenēās* ... | *carpēbat somnōs*). And yet, the other three 'units' in 554–55 all signal 'go': Aeneas is at the helm (a), has made up his mind (b), and is ready for immediate departure (d). But instead of leaving straightaway, he decided to doss down a bit (c). The urgent repetition of *iam* underscores the oddity of the situation, as does the antithesis of 553*rumpēbat ... questūs* and 555*carpēbat somnōs*. Dido and Aeneas are on track for another violent, even deadly collision. The verses generate the exasperation triggered by characters in horror movies who are shockingly unaware of clear and present danger and put themselves in harm's way out of sheer stupidity. As elsewhere in the book, Virgil portrays Aeneas as simultaneously well prepared and irresponsibly witless. His hero clearly has some learning still to do, not least as regards (scorned) women: the stage is set for another divine intervention and further cosmic differentiation between the male misogynists on Mt. Olympus and the chthonic divinities of retribution whom Dido is about to summon.

554*celsā in puppī*: anastrophe (= *in celsā puppī*), generating a thematically and sonically agreeable collocation of *Aenēās* and *celsā*. In imitation of his ancestor, Augustus is depicted as standing on the high stern of his general's ship during the battle at Actium (8.680*stāns celsā in puppī*).

554*certus*: adj. in predicative position agreeing with *Aenēās* and governing the genitive gerund *eundī*, perhaps with a mildly causal and/or adversative sense: *because* he has made up his mind, Aeneas has the mental tranquillity to fall asleep, *even though*, having made his decision, he should know better than to delay. The phrase correlates and contrasts with 564*certa morī* (Mercury on Dido), with the variation in construction (*certus* + gen. as opposed to *certus* + inf.) emphasizing the opposite paths about to be taken by Aeneas (departure) and Dido (death).

555*carpēbat somnōs*: picking up on 522–28 (and, in terms of idiom, esp. 522–23*placidum carpēbant fessa sopōrem* | *corpora*), where Virgil describes creatures worn out by daily toil resting at night. Aeneas emerges as one of those 'exhausted bodies' that sink into the blissful oblivion of sleep.

The moment thus highlights the humanity of our hero: like any other mortal organism, he has limited supplies of energy. Aeneas is of course not the only hero caught napping at inopportune moments: Odysseus too is asleep when his comrades decide to open Aeolus' bag of winds in sight of Ithaca, blowing them straight back to fantasy land (*Odyssey* 10.1–79).

[555]*rēbus ... parātis*: abl. abs. The sense is up to the reader: is it innocuously temporal ('after...') or critically adversative ('even though...')? *rīte*, which is related to *rītus, -ūs*, m. = 'religious observances; a religious usage or ceremony, a rite', indicates that *pius Aenēās* meticulously followed all (religious) protocols in preparing for departure.

556–559: huic sē fōrma deī uultū redeuntis eōdem | [557]obtulit in somnīs rūrsusqu(e) ita uīsa monēr(e) est, | [558]omnia Mercuriō similis, uōcemque colōremqu(e) | [559]et crīnīs flāuōs et membra decōra iuuentā: 556–57 describe a dream epiphany of Mercury, following up on his daytime visit at 265–78: 'to him (*huic*) in his sleep (*in somnīs*) the shape (*fōrma*) of the god, returning with the same appearance (*uultū ... eōdem*), presented itself (*sē ... obtulit*) and once more seemed to warn him thus'. 558–59 are devoted to reinforcing and elaborating *uultū ... eōdem*: the shape was 'similar (*similis*, nom. f. sg., agreeing with *forma*) to Mercury in every respect (*omnia* = 'adverbial acc. of reference'; a Greek construction imported by Virgil: Austin: 166), i.e. voice, complexion, blond hair, and limbs good-looking (*decōra*: acc. n. pl. agreeing with *membra*) in their youthfulness (*iuuentā*: f. sg.; abl. of respect)'. The series of accusatives stands in apposition to *omnia*, expressing the same idea of 'identical double' through extensive detail and polysyndeton, including the hypermetric verse 558: to make it scan, the last syllable (*-que*) needs to be elided with the first word of 559 (*et*).

On the problem of whether Aeneas is visited by Mercury himself, see Harrison (1984a), conveniently summarized by Feeney (1998/2021: 163):

> The first problem posed by these lines is whether or not the vision is genuine, for readers since Servius have been made suspicious by language such as "the form of the god", "similar to Mercury". Virgil certainly has invested the experience with an atmosphere of mystery and eeriness, but this is appropriate to the awesome nature of epiphany, and Harrison has conclusively shown that, within the terms of epic realism, "Mercury's second visit is as genuine as the first". The vital point – once again clearly established by Harrison – is that the elements of uncertainty

in the scene all stem from the fact that the second epiphany is focalised through Aeneas, whereas the first epiphany had been focalised through Mercury: "Earlier he took us inside Mercury, as it were, and let us see Aeneas as he seemed to the god on his arrival at Carthage ... Now he reverses the process and lets us see the god through the eyes of the dreaming Aeneas".

560–562: 'nāte deā, potes hōc sub cāsū dūcere somnōs, | [561]nec quae tē circum stent deinde perīcula cernis, | [562]dēmēns, nec Zephyrōs audīs spīrāre secundōs?: *nāte* = vocative of the perf. pass. part. of *nāscor*, *nāscī*, *nātus* 'to be born', functioning as a noun ('son'); *deā* = abl. of origin: 'born from/son of a goddess'. The address is frequent, but elevated and, dependent on context, marked. Here it recalls Jupiter's complaint to Mercury that Aeneas is not living up to the promise made by his mother (227–28) and Hector's dream visitation during the sack of Troy (2.289 *'heu! fuge, nāte deā, tēque hīs,' ait, 'ēripe flammīs ...'*): Aeneas has a track record of needing a nudge to live up to his destined potential. Mercury again comes straight to the point (cf. [265]*continuō inuādit*) with an aggressive rhetorical question designed as a tricolon with syntactical variation: *potes* (+ infinitive: *dūcere somnōs*) *... nec ... cernis* (+ acc. obj. and relative clause: *quae... perīcula*) *... nec ... audis* (+ indirect statement: *Zephyrōs ... spīrāre*), throwing in a gratuitous insult for good measure ([562]*dēmēns*, in the vocative: 'madman!'). He devotes the first two cola to highlighting the danger Aeneas is in, first briefly (*hōc sub cāsū* 'beneath this kind of peril': *OLD cāsus* 8), then in threatening and personalized detail: *quae tē circum stent deinde perīcula* 'the dangers which surround you (*tē circum* = *circum tē*) from now on (*deinde*: *OLD* 4b; scanning bi-syllabic, with *-ei-* as diphthong)'. In the third, he draws attention to the perfect conditions for eloping now: 'do you not hear that the West Winds are blowing favourably (*secundōs*: adj. in lieu of adv.)?' Put differently, Aeneas, goddess-born though he is, snoozes away (*dūcere somnōs* 'to prolong sleep': *OLD dūcō* 24) in blissful ignorance of a massive threat and the divinely engineered opportunity to escape from it.

[562]*Zephyrōs ... spīrāre secundōs*: another instance of sound imitating sense, with noun and attribute linked by soothing assonance (*Ze- se-*) and rhyme (*-rōs*, *-dōs*), the vowel piano of *spīrāre secundōs* (all five in play), and the entire phrase being 'sibilantly, seductively alliterative to enact the sound of the favorable winds' (Fratantuono–Smith: 792).

563–564: illa dolōs dīrumque nefās in pectore uersat, | certa morī, uariōsqu(e) īrārum concitat aestūs: *illa* = Dido: 'that woman', with contemptuous undertones: at least in this speech, Mercury is a dyed-in-the-wool misogynist. What he claims that Dido is revolving in her heart sounds ominous (*dolōs dīrumque nefās* 'treacheries and dire, unspeakable outrage') but remains vague and open to different interpretations. He could simply be referring to the fact that she is set on suicide (a *dīrum nefās*), carried out through deception of her sister, though the phrasing is designed to suggest something very different to Aeneas (one wonders whether he would have wavered in his resolve had he known of Dido's plans to kill herself), namely a nefarious act of aggression not against herself but him. *certa morī* 'resolved to die' (adj. in apposition to *illa* with explanatory infinitive) is similarly ambiguous: literally, it refers to her resolve to commit suicide; figuratively (and this is what Aeneas takes it to mean), it refers to her determination to carry out her nefarious treachery or die trying. Mercury's iniquitous portrayal of Dido also registers in the second part of the sentence, which reworks [532]*saeuit amor magnōque īrārum fluctuat aestū*, where Dido was the victim of powerful emotions of love and wrath. Now she is the agent: she stirs up 'changing tides of storming anger' (Austin: 168).

565: nōn fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitāre potestās?: 'are you not fleeing (present instead of future to add urgency: = 'flee right now!') hence headlong (*praeceps* = *prae* + *-ceps*, an adjectival suffix from *caput* 'head'), while there is the possibility (*potestās* sc. *est* and perhaps *tibi*) of rushing headlong (*praecipitō*, *praecipitāre* = *praeceps* + *-ō*) in flight?' Mercury uses another rhetorical question to point out that the window of opportunity to get out of Dodge is closing fast. Instant action is required: the *figūra etymologica* '*praeceps – praecipitāre*' puts oomph into the advice to leave head over heel, an effect amplified by the elision of the verb in the *dum*-clause. As 251–54 show, the god is well-placed to recommend a headlong plunge.

566–568: iam mare turbārī trabibus saeuāsque uidēbis | [567]conlūcēre facēs, iam feruere lītora flammīs, | [568]sī t(ē) hīs attigerit terrīs Aurōra morantem: an open conditional sequence, with postponed protasis—[568]*sī* ... 'if Dawn will have found (*attigerit* = fut. perf.) you lingering (*morantem*: pres. act. part. agreeing with *tē*, in fitting final position)

in these lands'—and fronted apodosis: 'you will see that...'. [566]*uidēbis* governs an indirect statement, consisting of three cola (*mare turbārī*; *conlūcēre facēs*; *feruere lītora*) but split in two by the anaphora of *iam* ('at this point': *OLD* 7), which differentiates between sea and shore. The sea (*mare*) is stirred up (*turbārī*) by vessels (*trabibus*, from *trabs*/*trabes* = tree trunk, timber, and metonymically ship, boat); the shores (*lītora*) are seething with flames (*feruere ... flammīs*). The middle colon, featuring the weapon of choice (*saeuās ... facēs* 'fierce firebrands', the only subject acc. with an attribute), bridges sea and shore: *conlūcēre* is linked to *turbārī* via the *-que* after *saeuās*, which indicates the presence of lit torches on the ships, whereas the *f*-alliteration *facēs – feruere – flammīs* reinforces their simultaneous presence on the shoreline.

Mercury invokes an inferno on sea and land that Aeneas is well advised to avoid by not procrastinating further. He will behold a version of the spectacle from afar at 5.3–4 *moenia respiciēns, quae iam īnfēlīcis Elissae* | *conlūcent flammīs*. Mercury's warning echoes Creon's to Medea in Euripides, *Mēdēa* 351–54: 'But I warn you, if tomorrow's sun sees you and your children within the borders of this land, you will be put to death' (προυννέπω δέ σοι, | εἴ σ᾽ ἡ ᾽πιοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ | καὶ παῖδας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός, | θανῇ).

569[a]: hei(a) age, rumpe morās: the interjection *heia* (colloquial yet used in epic since Ennius: *OLD* d) and the imperative *age* (also colloquial: *OLD* 24) combine to express urgency—'Com'on!'—as lead-in to the injunction: 'rupture delays', which follows fast on the characterization of Aeneas as 'someone who delays' ([568]*morantem*). Put differently, Mercury tells Aeneas: 'Bust it! Turn *moRa* and *amoR* into *Rōma*'. See further Reed (2016).

569[b]–570[a]: uari(um) et mūtābile semper | **fēmina.':** the verb (*est*) is elided: a gnomic utterance on 'womanhood' from a notoriously fickle and changeable deity, designed to light the gas under Aeneas. *uarium* (*OLD* 6 'changeable, wavering, fickle' hence 'untrustworthy') and *mūtābile* (*OLD* 1b 'subject to changes of mood or purpose, fickle, unsteadfast') can be taken as synonyms (with *semper* modifying both), but the semantic spectrum of *uarius* also comprises other nuances, such as 'varied in personality or talents, many-sided' (*OLD* 2c; Cicero uses it of Plato at *Acadēmica* 1.17 and with reference to Catiline at *prō Caeliō* 14), in

which case '*et mūtābile semper*' becomes an explanatory gloss: 'something many-sided and hence always liable to change is—woman' (in emphatic enjambment). Within the wider epic tradition, 'changeability' is also the hallmark of Odysseus: *uarium ... | fēmina* brings to mind Homer's *andra ... polutropon*. The metamorphic qualities associated with women feed into Virgil's sexist binary, in which a stable cosmic order often marked as male contends with forces of chaos often marked as female.

570[b]: sīc fātus, noctī s(ē) immiscuit ātrae: 'having spoken thus (*fātus* = perf. part. of the deponent *for*, *fārī*), he vanished into the black night', literally 'merged himself in the black night'. *immisceō*, *immiscēre* 'to mix one thing with another, mix in' governs both an accusative [here reflexive: *sē*; Austin: 169 reads the elision as 'a metrical representation of Mercury's disappearance'] and a dative (*noctī*). *ātrae*, the attribute of night, concludes 'the verse on a grim chromatic note' (Fratantuono–Smith: 799).

571–573[a]: tum uēr(ō) Aenēās subitīs exterritus umbrīs | corripit ē somnō corpus sociōsque fatīgat | praecipitēs: as in 397 and 450, *tum uērō* demarcates a new development. With some misgivings, commentators by and large concur that *subitīs exterritus umbrīs* means 'terrified by the sudden apparition' (of Mercury), even though the pl. and the notion that bright and youthful Mercury is referred to as 'shades' strike discordant notes. 5.80–81, where Aeneas addresses his dead father with 'hail, ashes, rescued though in vain and you, soul and shade of my sire' (*saluēte, receptī | nēquīquam cinerēs animaeque umbraeque paternae*), adduced by O'Hara (2008: 81) in support, seemingly proves the opposite: Anchises truly is a shade: dead, burned, and buried. In sum, the brightness of Mercury's epiphany, the deadly darkness that ensues as he vanishes into the black of night ([570]*noctī sē immiscuit ātrae*), and the emphatic *tum uērō*, which indicates a stage after the dream encounter**,** suggest that Aeneas (who is, after all, still in dreamland) is not terrified by 'shady Mercury' but by the sudden darkness (*OLD umbra* 6) after he disappears. This reading feeds into the complementarity of Mercury's two appearances in *Aeneid* 4 (on which, see Harrison 1984a and Feeney 1998/2021): shock-horror at diurnal appearance, shock-horror at nocturnal disappearance. (It would also be rather lame of Aeneas to be scared out of his wits (*ex-territus*) twice by the same event: even epiphanies can become routine.)

corripit ē somnō corpus recalls and contrasts with the animalistic [522–23]*placidum carpēbant fessa sopōrem | corpora*, putting the mind—already in over-drive courtesy of Mercury—back in charge of the body. The *-que* after *sociōs* links *corripit* and *fatīgat*, though for a moment one could be tempted to take both as acc. objects of *corripit* (with *-que* linking *corpus* and *sociōs*: 'he rouses from sleep both his body and his comrades'). There is a subtle touch of humour in the use of *fatīgat*, which shares a sonic link with *Aenēās* as the only two words in the sentence featuring the vowel *a*: fast asleep just a moment ago, our hero now suddenly makes his men go head over heel (*praecipitēs* in telling enjambment) with his urgent orders to make haste (before even issuing the wake-up call *uigilāte*), a point reinforced by the interlaced sequence of *co-* (*corripit*, *corpus*) and *so-* (*somnō*, *sociōs*) and the contrast between the spondaic drowsiness of *ē somnō corpus* (scanning [2]– – |[3]– – |[4]–), shaken off with the dactylic *corripit* ([1]–uu) which anticipates the urgent dactyls in feet 4 and 5 (*sŏcĭōsquĕ făt-*). The (at first sight) strong caesura after *corpus* might give the impression that Aeneas wastes precious time between rousing himself from sleep and spurring on his companions. But the *s*-sound that ends *corpus* and starts *sociōs* offers the option to bridge the caesura: if one sibilates across it, Aeneas' exhortation of his comrades commences instantly after waking up. The placement of the verbs at the beginning (*corripit*) and end of the line (*fatīgat*) and the ensuing chiasmus with the accusative objects (*corpus*, *sociōs*) reinforce the notion that rousing himself and urging on his comrades amounts to one seamless action. The verse design therefore highlights both Aeneas' failings and his qualities as leader of men: he should not have been asleep but once awake he takes instant and forceful charge.

[573a]*praecipitēs*: some editors make the adj. part of Aeneas' speech to his men, in which case it would modify *uirī* (voc. pl.) rather than *sociōs* (acc. pl.). His ventriloquizing of Mercury (cf. [565]*non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitāre potestās?*) would be a neat touch, but perhaps not as neat as enactment of sense through enjambment and the touch of disorder introduced by the fact that Aeneas' speech does not start at the beginning of a line but after a choriambic opening (*praecipitēs* scans – u u –). By opening his speech with two anapaests (*uigilāte*, *uirī* scans u u – | u u –, reinforced by the windy *ui*-alliteration that blows through till its thematic resolution in *uēla*), he also chooses prosody apt for issuing a collective marching order: 'First found in early Spartan marching songs, anapestic

metres were widely used in Greek and Latin dramatic verse, especially for the entrance and exit of the chorus' (https://www.britannica.com/art/anapest). Frantantuono–Smith (802) make the excellent point that 'the poet may have been well aware of the ambiguity of how to take *praecipitēs*: the very ambiguity contributes to the sense of rush.'

573[b]–574[a]: 'uigilāte, uir(ī), et cōnsīdite trānstrīs; | **soluite uēla citī:** a tricolon of imperatives: *uigilāte – cōnsīdite – soluite*, the last in asyndeton. 'Awake, men, and, altogether now (*cōn-*), get your butts on the rowing-benches (*trānstrum* is a piece of timber laid across (*trāns-*) a structure, hence rower's seat)! Unfurl the sails! Quick! (*citī*: nom. m. pl., in agreement with *uirī* = adj. instead of adv.).'

574[b]–576[a]: deus aethere missus ab altō | **festīnāre fugam tortōsqu(e) incīdere fūnīs** | **ecc(e) iter(um) īnstimulat:** Aeneas' agitation, already manifesting in rhythm (574, starting with *soluite uēla citī* is entirely dactylic: he is 'sped up'), continues to register in his fitful rationale for the haste: we get a massive hyperbaton *deus – ecce*, an anastrophe with fronted noun (*aethere ... ab altō*), an inversion of acc. objects and infinitives (*festīnāre fugam*, *incīdere fūnīs*), and two breathless elisions, the second of which generates an unwitting pun (*ecc+ iter+ īnstimulat*). Rearranged in unexcited prose, the sentence might read: *ecce deus*, *ab altō aethere missus*, *fugam festīnāre et fūnīs tortōs incīdere iterum īnstimulat* 'Lo and behold a god sent down from high aether yet again urges to make haste over the flight and to cut the twisted cables'.

[574]*deus aethere missus ab altō*: that Mercury has been *sent* (yet again) rather than acting of his own accord (as part of his first mission) is an assumption made by Aeneas without extraneous narrative confirmation. He would not be the first divinity to meddle above and beyond instructions from Jupiter. Arguably, his second intervention—in some sense full of fake news and hence unnecessary—worsens the crisis by radicalizing Dido even further.

[575]*incīdere*: *incīdō*, *-cīdī*, *-cīsum*, 3 (= *in* + *caedō*) 'to fell', 'to bring down', 'to cut' is to be distinguished from *incĭdō*, *-cĭdī*, *-cāsum*, 3 (= *in* + *cadō*) 'to befall', 'to happen'. Both verbs have generated a range of English derivatives (incisive – incident).

576[b]–577: sequimur tē, sancte deōrum, | quisquis es, imperiōqu(e) iterum pārēmus ouantēs: where the gods lead, Aeneas follows: *sequimur* is in the 'present of immediate intention': Hardie (1994: 73), with reference to 9.21–22 (Turnus responding to a visit from the messenger goddess Iris without knowing who sent her: *sequor ōmina tanta, | quisquis in arma uocās*). Aeneas takes care to flatter his visitor with the appropriately deferential, if (as *quisquis es* shows) all-purpose address 'holy among gods' (*sancte* = voc. m. sg.). Having recently been tricked by his own mother disguised as Diana (whatever next!? Cf. Ovid, *Amōrēs* 1.1.7-8), Aeneas prudently chooses not to make any assumptions about which deity paid him the visit, even if the apparition was the spitting image of Mercury. There is an ironic echo of the affected ignorance of Venus in disguise speaking to Aeneas at [1.387–88]'*Quisquis es, haud, crēdō, inuīsus caelestibus aurās | uītālīs carpis, Tyriam quī aduēneris urbem*' 'Whoever you are, not hateful, I think, to the powers of heaven do you draw the breath of life, since you have reached the Tyrian city'.

iterum ('again') carries an apologetic touch: it implies that Aeneas feels he *has* obeyed the first order to the letter (it did not include instructions to elope stealthily at night) and will of course also obey the second command he has just received (instant departure in the dead of night) and do so full of joy (*ouantēs*).

578–579[a]: adsīs ō placidusque iuuēs et sīdera caelō | dextra ferās.': an ascending tricolon of jussive subjunctives (*adsīs – iuuēs – ferās*, linked by *-que* and *et*, with a postponed particle *ō*: 'Oh, be with us, give your gracious aid...') typical of deferential prayer language. Aeneas articulates his wish in polite increments: he asks Mercury to be (efficaciously) present (*adsīs*), which means proving helpful (*iuuēs*), which in turn manifests itself ideally in bringing about (*ferās*) felicitous constellations (*sīdera ... dextra*) in the sky. *placidus* extends from divine disposition to the weather.

579[b]–580: dīxit uāgīnāqu(e) ēripit ēnsem | fulmineum strictōque ferit retinācula ferrō: 'as soon as he has finished speaking (*dīxit*: pres. perf.), Aeneas rips (*ēripit*: present) from its sheath his flashing sword (*ēnsem | fulmineum*: the association is of thunder and lightning; it is a weapon worthy of Jupiter, clearly equal to the one he left behind in Dido's bedchamber; the sparks fly in the enjambment) and, with his sword drawn (*strictō ... ferrō*: abl. of instrument), strikes through the cables.'

Thematic alliteration links the noun (*ēnsem*) to *ēripit* and the attribute (*fulmineum*) to *ferit* (continued by *ferrō*: the weapon remains in focus throughout): with one fell swoop Aeneas, substitute sword at the ready (this *is* a *man* of *arms* after all), cuts off his last physical tie to Dido and Carthage (*ferīre* is a verb of death and destruction: the sense 'to kill by striking', 'to give a deathblow' resonates alongside the more mundane meaning). After the unplanned sojourn in Africa, the polya(r)morous *uir* is back on his way to Italy at last. Aeneas cutting the cable serves as starting signal for everyone else: *dīxit* = ready, *ēripit* = steady, *ferit* = go!

581: īd(em) omnēs simul ārdor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque: after a spondaic opening, the verse rushes along in dactyls: ^{1}– –$|^{2}$– uu$|^{3}$–uu$|^{4}$–uu$|^{5}$–uu$|^{6}$–u. Up to *habet*, the line captures the mindset of the men, with the opening three words specifying the collective effort required in rowing in terms of quality (*īdem ... ardor*), quantity (*omnēs*), and time (*simul*). After the caesura, the verse captures the consequences of the mindset: an alliterative, polysyndetic bustle.

582: lītora dēseruēre, latet sub classibus aequor: *dēseruēre* (= *dēseruērunt*: a 'perfect of instantaneous action' chiming well with the surrounding verbs in present tense: Fratantuono–Smith: 811; the Trojans are gone in a shot). The image of the sea disappearing under the fleet correlates with Mercury's warning at 566–67 that, by morning, the sea will be churned up by ships carrying firebrands and the shore will be alight with hostile flames. The hyperbole of the fleet 'hiding' the sea might anticipate Rome's prolonged struggle with Carthage over supremacy at sea and the final designation of the Mediterranean as *Mare Nostrum* ('our sea'). —> ***TD*** Quinn.

583: adnīxī torquent spūmās et caerula uerrunt: ^{1}– –$|^{2}$– –$|^{3}$– –$|^{4}$– –$|^{5}$–uu$|^{6}$– –. Spondees expressive of physical exertion (cf. the keynote *adnīxī*: the composite verb signals that the men go all out) dominate the verse, with the dactyls of the fifth foot conveying a sense of the ensuing speed. Clash between ictus and accent in *adnīxī*, *torquent*, and *spūmās* and coincidence thereof in *caerula* and *uerrunt* reinforce the idea of effort resulting in acceleration, as does the chiastic design of *torquent spūmās* : *caerula uerrunt*: the laborious inversion of standard word order in the first phrase finds resolution in the second.

584–629: Lady Vengeance

When Dido, at dawn, spots the Trojans sailing away (a scene described in an expansive tableau: 584–90[a]), she bursts into a lengthy speech, at the end of which she performs the most consequential speech-act in the epic, a world-historical curse that will pursue Aeneas and his people down the ages. She reaches this point via two preliminary stages:

> 590[b]–594: Mindless outrage focused on (impossible) acts of instant violence.
> 595–606: Counterfactual revenge fantasies, uttered with regret.
> 607–629: Highly effective imprecation.

The Homeric equivalent of Dido's curse is the prayer for justice the Cyclops utters in *Odyssey* 9.528–35:

> 'Hear me, Poseidon, earth-bearer, dark-haired god, if indeed I am your son and you declare yourself my father; grant that Odysseus, the sacker of cities, may never reach his home, the son of Laertes, whose home is in Ithaca; but if it is his fate to see his people and to reach his well-built house and his native land, late may he come, and in distress, after losing all his comrades, in a ship that is another's; and may he find trouble in his house.'

> 'κλῦθι, Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα,
> εἰ ἐτεόν γε σός εἰμι, πατὴρ δ᾽ ἐμὸς εὔχεαι εἶναι,
> δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον οἴκαδ᾽ ἱκέσθαι
> υἱὸν Λαέρτεω, Ἰθάκῃ ἔνι οἰκί᾽ ἔχοντα.
> ἀλλ᾽ εἴ οἱ μοῖρ᾽ ἐστὶ φίλους τ᾽ ἰδέειν καὶ ἱκέσθαι
> οἶκον ἐυκτίμενον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
> ὀψὲ κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἅπο πάντας ἑταίρους,
> νηὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίης, εὕροι δ᾽ ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ.'

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The closest parallel on the Roman side is the curse that Ariadne sends after Theseus at 64.188–201 (see above 431, also for the 'intertextual progression' from her impossible desire to emulate such characters as Medea and Procne to re-enacting Ariadne).

584–585: et iam prīma nouō spargēbat lūmine terrās | Tīthōnī croceum linquēns Aurōra cubīle: the long delay of the subject of *spargēbat*, teasingly anticipated across the enormous hyperbaton *prīma ... Aurōra*, enacts the slow rise of first Dawn. The effect is reinforced by (a) the juxtaposition of *prīma* and *nouō* (... *lūmine*) and the imperfect tense of the main verb (*spargēbat*: inchoative 'was beginning to sprinkle'); (b) the present participle *linquēns* 'was beginning to leave', indicating contemporaneous action—Aurora getting up is as gradual as her appearance in the sky; and (c) the chromatic displacement of 'saffron-coloured' from the horizon to the coverlet of her aging husband's couch: *Tīthōnī* (gen.) *croceum ... cubīle* (the hyperbaton reflects the empty space Aurora leaves). This is the Dawn of Dido's 'Death-Day' (for the concept, see J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*), and the words *spargēbat*, *croceum*, and *cubīle* will all recur in the book's terminal scene. The explicit mention of Tithonus, a character who withers away into an ever-receding death, ominously anticipates the drawn-out terms of Dido's own, finally effected by Iris, Aurora's double, who descends from heaven on saffron-coloured wings ([700]*croceīs ... pennīs*).

[585]*croceum* alludes to her epithet κροκόπεπλος/*krokopeplos* 'saffron-robed', though in Virgil the adj. does not describe the garment Aurora wears but the bed on which she sleeps, and the displacement of the colour from garment to coverlet raises a troubling question: how bright is this specific Dawn, given that she is leaving 'her colours' behind? (The question becomes even more pointed given that *Aeneid* 4.585 = *Georgics* 1.447, where it is preceded by [446]*ubi pallida surget*, a sign of destructive hail to come; in the *Georgics* passage the lack of colour is made explicit; in the *Aeneid* it is intertextually implied via the self-citation.)

[585]*Aurōra*: the rise of Dawn from the bed of Tithonus is an epic trope since Homer. See e.g. *Iliad* 11.1–2: 'Now Dawn rose from her bed from beside lordly Tithonus, to bring light to immortals and to mortal men' (Ἠὼς δ᾽ ἐκ λεχέων παρ᾽ ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο | ὄρνυθ᾽, ἵν᾽ ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν) or *Iliad* 24.695: 'and Dawn, the saffron-robed, was spreading over all the earth' (Ἠὼς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ᾽ αἶαν).

Extra information

Lucretius offers a 'demythologised' version of the myth that emphasizes the delight and promise of Dawn (*Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 2.144), understood as a natural phenomenon:

> prīmum aurōra nouō cum spargit lūmine terrās
>
> [First, when dawn sprinkles the lands with new light]

The line is beautifully crafted: the fronted *prīmum Aurōra nouō*, including a deft centring of the goddess between an adv. and an adj. signifying 'initial/new', reflects Dawn's gradual appearance before she suddenly showers Earth with light: *spargit lūmine terrās*, with postpositive *cum* as pivot to mark the moment. Virgil works with Lucretian diction (*Aurōra*, *lūmen*, *nouum*, *prīmus/m*, *spargere*, *terra*), yet makes his 'Dawn-capture' all his own: he amplifies the sense of enactment by turning the adv. *prīmum* into an adj. modifying *Aurōra* and using the inchoative imperfect apart from revalidating the mythic backstory of her tragic partnership with the mortal Tithonus.

586–591: rēgīn(a), ē speculīs ut prīm(um) albēscere lūcem | [587]**uīdit et aequātīs classem prōcēdere uēlīs,** | [588]**lītoraqu(e) et uacuōs sēnsit sine rēmige portūs,** | [589]**terque quaterque manū pectus percussa decōrum** | [590]**flāuentīsqu(e) abscissa comās 'prō Iuppiter! ībit** | [591]**hic,' ait 'et nostrīs inlūserit aduena rēgnīs?:** the subject is [586]*rēgīna*, the main verb [591]*ait*. In between, we get:

- A bipartite temporal clause introduced by postpositive *ut prīmum* with *rēgīna* as implied subject. The two verbs are:
  1. [587]*uīdit*, which governs a bipartite indirect statement: [586]*albēscere lūcem* and [587]*classem prōcēdere*, linked by the *et* after *uīdit*; and
  2. [588]*sēnsit*, linked to *uīdit* by the *-que* after *lītora*, which governs an indirect statement consisting of the two subj. accusatives *lītora* and *portūs*, linked by the *et* before *uacuōs* (m. acc. pl.; the adj. agrees with *portūs* but in sense also goes with *lītora*) and an elided infinitive (*esse*)
- Two participles, [589]*percussa* and [590]*abscissa*, agreeing with [586]*rēgīna* and linked by the *-que* after [590]*flāuentīs*.

[586]*ē speculīs* 'from a watchtower' (*specula*; pl. for sg.) with *uīdit*. Its placement up front next to *rēgīna*, a juxtaposition reinforced by elision, ensures that we know instantly where the queen is and what she is doing.

[586]*ut prīmum* 'as soon as'; the reading *primam* (modifying *lūcem*, reiterating [584]*prīma*) also has some manuscript support.

[586]*albēscere lūcem* 'that the light started to become white', i.e. at dawn when the world becomes visible again.

[587]*aequātīs ... uēlīs*: either 'with sails squared' or, in light of [5.131]*fors aequātīs cepissent praemia rostrīs* 'with their prows level, they might perhaps have won the prize' (in the description of a boat race), 'with sails level': either way, the implication is that the ships form a phalanx—with appropriate switch from the disorderly pl. [582]*classibus* to the coordinated sg. *classem*, in alignment with *rēmige* (abl. of *rēmex*) and in contrast to the plurals *lītora* and *portūs*—and operate at maximum speed. (The objection that an even line is unlikely in a hasty flight underestimates coordinated Trojan seamanship. The heat is on, they rise to the occasion...)

[588]*uacuōs ... sine rēmige*: the pleonasm is psychologically astute: Dido discerns the empty harbours (and thinks: 'the ships are gone!'). *sēnsit sine rēmige* forms a coherent alliterative unit of sound, with the dominance of *e* and *i* conveying Dido's alarm at what she sees, in contrast to the dark vowels of *uacuōs ... portūs* that describe the sight. The emphasis on oars also recalls 399–400: it was the final element that needed refitting, and the Trojans clearly pulled an all-nighter.

[589]*percussa*: perf. part. of *percutiō*, pass. in form but middle in sense (Dido strikes herself) and hence able to take the acc. obj. *pectus ... decōrum* 'having struck her graceful chest'; *manū* is abl. of instrument. The highly emotive *terque quaterque* occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 1.94 where Aeneas, caught in Juno's storm, hails those heroes who died in Troy as threefold, fourfold blessed (*ō terque quaterque beātī*); and at 12.154–55 where Turnus' sister, in tears at his upcoming death, re-enacts Dido's grief: *uix ea, cum lacrimās oculīs Iūturna profūdit | terque quaterque manū pectus percussit honestum* 'scarcely had she said this when Juturna's eyes streamed with tears, and thrice, even four times her hand smote her comely breast'.

590*abscissa*: as *percussa*, a perf. part. (from *abscindō*), pass. in form but middle in sense with *flāuentīs ... comās* as acc. obj.: 'having torn out her hair' (*manū* 'with her hand': the abl. carries through). The hair-tearing looks forward to the hair-cutting (704*crīnem secat*) in the penultimate line of the book, in which Iris consigns Dido to death.

590*prō Iuppiter!*: 'in heaven's name!' (= interjection with vocative: *OLD prō*^{2}). A paradoxical opening to Dido's speech of power, at the end of which she will utter an anti-Jovian curse (her *fātum* against his). The exclamation has precedents in new comedy and tragedy but no parallel in the *Aeneid*, though it recalls and inverts in a spirit of disgusted outrage her hopeful invocation of Jupiter in Book 1 (1.731–33'*Iuppiter, hospitibus nam tē dare iūra loquuntur, | hunc laetum Tyriīsque diem Trōiāque profectīs| esse uelīs, nostrōsque huius meminisse minōrēs*' 'Jupiter—for they say that you appoint laws for host and guest—grant that this be a day of joy for Tyrians and the voyagers from Troy, and that our children may remember it!'), as well as 371–72 where she gave up on the idea that Juno and Jupiter act as guardians of justice. Her prayer for happy memories down the ages turns into a curse that ensures intergenerational hatred, but as noted earlier it is not clear that Aeneas has violated Jupiter's laws of guest-friendship. —> ***TD*** Gibson.

590–91*ībit hic ... et nostrīs inlūserit aduena rēgnīs?* literally 'Will this one go, and will he, foreign migrant that he is (*aduena*), have made a mockery (*inlūserit* = fut. perf.) of our kingdom (*nostrīs ... rēgnīs* is dat. with *inlūserit*)?' Dido uses vivid parataxis instead of adversative subordination: 'Will this foreign migrant go [sc. scot-free] even though he has ...'

592–593a: non arm(a) expedient tōtāqu(e) ex urbe sequentur, | dīripientque ratēs aliī nāuālibus?: Dido asks herself why her people do nothing to avenge the slight. Her rhetorical question takes the form of a tricolon crescens that becomes increasingly delusional (*expedient*, *sequentur*, *dīripient*, all future, linked via the two *-que*: 'will they not...?'), with chiastic arrangement of acc. objects and verbs in the first and final colon and an unbalanced subject at the end (*aliī*, in correlation with an implied *aliī* earlier in the sentence). Some editors print the conjecture *dēripient* ('tear down') for the *dīripient* ('tear apart') of the manuscripts to lessen the sense of frenzy. *nāuālibus* 'from the dockyards' is abl. of separation.

593[b]–594: īte, | ferte citī flammās, date tēl(a), impellite rēmōs!: an asyndetic sequence of four imperatives, starting with a general exhortation to get going (*īte*), followed by a triplet of specific orders, each with an acc. object. *citī*: adj. for adv. recalling [574]*soluite uēla citī*. Dido tries to follow Aeneas in every respect, including diction. The response she calls for resembles the scenario by which Mercury frightened Aeneas into action in what now appears to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Whether the Trojan fleet would have been threatened with an inferno had Aeneas stayed the night and departed in the morning is a question Virgil leaves studiously open (even if some readers are dead sure that this would have been the case).

595: quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae ment(em) īnsānia mūtat?: 'What am I saying? In fact, where am I? What madness is morphing my mind?' In a tricolon crescens of self-reflexive questions, Dido gradually recovers her bearings after her delusional commands to absent subordinates: she becomes aware that she has been talking nonsense, realizes that she is not where she thought she was (at the head of her people issuing orders), and self-diagnoses an attack of insanity. The final syllable of *ubĭ* 'where' is long but may scan short (as here) on account of so-called 'iambic shortening'.

596–597[a]: īnfēlīx Dīdō, nunc tē fact(a) impia tangunt? | tum decuit, cum scēptra dabās: literally and cryptically: 'Unhappy Dido, are impious deeds affecting (*OLD tangō* 8) you *now*? *Then* it was right [sc. to be affected by *facta impia*], when you began to grant/were granting power.' Dido contrasts the present moment ([596]*nunc*) when she is affected by (= thinks of) unholy deeds with a moment in the past ([597a]*tum* ..., *cum* ...) when she feels she should have been (but was not). This raises two questions: (a) what was that past moment when she handed over power? And (b) whose *facta impia* does she have in mind and what are they? As for (a): Dido made a first offer to share sovereignty with the Trojans even before setting eyes on Aeneas. In her conversation with Ilioneus, she promises help on their way back to Italy or Sicily, while also extending an invitation to stay and strengthen her (beleaguered) city (1.572–74, cited above 286–87). Juno proposes similar terms to Venus before the encounter in the cave, which for Dido is the beginning of a (*faux*-marriage) alliance with Aeneas and for the narrator is the

beginning of the death plot. At this moment, Dido, in not so many words, confers constitutional power onto Aeneas (making him a co-regent) while simultaneously breaching her loyalty to Sychaeus. Here she is essentially reiterating, in stronger language, the point already made from a different perspective at 550–52, where she regrets that she was not allowed not to 'encounter such cares' ([551]*tālīs ... tangere cūrās*), i.e. complications to do with marriage.

This scenario allows for a pointedly comprehensive answer to (b): before spelunking with Aeneas and thereby granting him a stake in her kingdom, she ought to have been affected by so-called Mr. Pietas' historiographical track-record of impious deeds—in particular his betrayal of Troy, which had after all been memorialized on the Carthaginian temple of Juno (above 505)—and just said 'no'. But she did not allow herself to be affected by Aeneas' past misdemeanours (as she now thinks she should have). As a result, she perjured herself, thus committing a *factum impium* of her own. The *facta impia* that affect her now are hence both those of Aeneas (from her perspective, a serial betrayer: of Troy, of Carthage) and her own. The latter category includes (i) those she did not commit when she had a chance (she details them at 600–6), (ii) the one she did commit in breaking her oath of loyalty to her dead husband, and (iii) those she is about to commit (uttering an infernal curse countersigned by killing herself). Put differently, the *facta impia* of Aeneas that she feels she ought to have considered then (*tum*) are only a subset of the *facta impia* that are on her mind now. (For incisive if one-sided discussion of the *facta impia* as being exclusively those of Aeneas, see Casali 1999b.)

[596]*īnfēlīx Dīdō*: Dido is the only character in Homer or Virgil to go in for self-apostrophe, a move pioneered in Latin literature by Catullus (Laird 1997: 289, cited by O'Hara 84, with reference to Catullus 8 *miser Catulle*). The only other character who uses this phrase as address to Dido is Aeneas in the Underworld non-meeting at 6.456 (cf. 1.749 and 4.68 for the narrator).

[597a]*scēptra*: Virgil early on establishes *scēptra* (n. pl.) as a Greek equivalent to (and 'objectification' of) Roman *imperium*: see 1.57 (of Aeolus) *scēptra tenēns*, glossed at 1.59 with *imperiō*: –> ***TD*** 'Content and Form'. Cf. also 1.78, 1.253 (Venus to Jupiter) *hic pietātis honōs? sīc nōs in scēptra repōnis?*, 3.296 (of Helenus) *scēptrīs ... potītum*.

597[b]–599: ēn dextra fidēsque, | quem sēcum patriōs aiunt portāre penātēs, | quem subiīss(e) umerīs cōnfect(um) aetāte parentem!: the interjection *ēn* calls sarcastic attention to the following pair of nominatives (*dextra fidēsque*) (*OLD ēn* 2d): 'Observe the right hand and the trustworthiness!', with an implied *eius*/*Aenēae*, who is the antecedent of the two *quem*, which are in the acc. as subjects of the indirect statement governed by *aiunt*: 'who, they say (= "they say that he...''), carries with him paternal household gods, who (they say) carried his father worn out by age on his shoulders' (for *subeō* + acc. see *OLD* 2). The switch from pres. inf. (*portāre*) to perf. inf. (*subiīsse*) differentiates between continuous action in the present and a past moment in time (cf. [2.708]*ipse subībō umerīs nec mē labor iste grauābit* 'on my own shoulders I (= Aeneas) will support you (= Anchises), and this task will not weigh me down'), while also acknowledging that Anchises is dead by now. Dido has heard of the sack of Troy and Aeneas' story before the arrival of the Trojan refugees (1.615–30); but the most recent account came from Aeneas himself in *Aeneid* 2–3, which she now obliquely dismisses as untruthful: *aiunt* here means as much as 'some sources out there (not necessarily reliable ones, and certainly endorsing a version of events at variance with the one I have on display in Juno's temple) report that...' It is of course the variant that was to become canonical because of the *Aeneid*. Dido has stopped believing in the epic. Should you?

[597b]*dextra fidēsque*: the formulation recalls earlier moments in the book that involve *fidēs*: [12]*crēdō equidem, nec uāna fidēs, genus esse deōrum*; [373]*nusquam tūta fidēs*; [552]*nōn seruāta fidēs cinerī prōmissa Sychaeō!*, as well as the triple use of *perfidus* (305, 366, 421). Outside of Book 4, the charge assimilates Aeneas to the despised Greek tricksters who sacked Troy ([2.309–10]*tum uērō manifēsta fidēs, Danaumque patēscunt | īnsidiae* 'Then indeed the truth is clear and the guile of the Danaans grows manifest') and contrasts sharply with the praise Anchises lavishes on Aeneas' descendent Marcellus at [6.878–79]*heu pietās, heu prīsca fidēs inuictaque bellō | dextera!* 'Alas for his sense of duty, alas for his ancestral sense of loyalty and his sword arm unconquerable in the fight!'

[598–99]*patriōs ... portāre penātēs |... parentem*: Virgil pairs *penātēs* with either *portāre* (1.379) and/or *patrius* (2.748) to good alliterative effect, but the combination here (followed up by *parentem* in the subsequent

line) amounts to a particularly 'plosive alliteration of indignation' (Fratantuono–Smith: 826). The theme of paternal lineage continues to resonate in the next three lines, when Dido's attention shifts from Aeneas' father to his son Ascanius. Carrying household gods is Aeneas' calling card, especially in the opening books. Significant references include [1.67–68]*gēns inimīca mihī Tyrrhēnum nāuigat aequor, | Īlium in Ītaliam portāns uictōsque penātēs* (Juno speaking to Aeolus); [1.378–79]*sum pius Aenēās, raptōs quī ex hoste penātēs | classe uehō mēcum* (Aeneas speaking to his mother Venus in disguise); [2.293]*sacra suōsque tibī commendat Trōia penātīs* (Hector speaking to Aeneas); [2.717]*tū, genitor, cape sacra manū patriōsque penātīs* (Aeneas speaking to Anchises); [2.747–48]*Ascanium Anchīsēnque patrem Teucrōsque penātīs | commendō sociīs* (Aeneas speaking); [3.11–12]*feror exul in altum | cum sociīs gnātōque penātibus et māgnīs dīs* (Aeneas speaking). At 3.148, the *Phrygiī penātēs* appear to Aeneas in a dream.

600–602: nōn potu(ī) abreptum dīuellere corpus et undīs | [601]spargere? nōn sociōs, nōn ips(um) absūmere ferrō | [602]Ascanium patriīsqu(e) epulandum pōnere mēnsīs?: a series of rhetorical questions, coordinated by the triple anaphora of *nōn*, with *potuī* governing the four infinitives (a) *diuellere* and (b) *spargere* (with *corpus* as shared acc. obj., agreeing with *abreptum* 'snatched away', sc. for punishment), (c) *absūmere* (acc. objects: *sociōs* and *ipsum ... Ascanium*) and (d) *pōnere* (acc. obj.: an implied *eum* = *Ascanium*, agreeing with the gerundive *epulandum* 'to be feasted upon'): Dido indulges in fantasies of retributive body horror she could/should have inflicted, starting with a *sparagmos* of Aeneas and the dispersal of his limbs at sea, moving on to the killing of his comrades and, climactically, his son Ascanius, and the serving up of his body to his father at mealtime (*patriīs ... mēnsīs*), bringing the notion of tearing Aeneas and his family to pieces full circle. Her murderous attention to Ascanius reflects his prominent role in Aeneas' justification for leaving Carthage (354, following on from Jupiter at 234 conveyed by Mercury at 274), but also his status as index of the future, both of Aeneas' own *gēns* (*Iūlia*—named after *Iūlus*, Ascanius' alternative name adopted for Italy—down to Augustus) and that of the Roman people (*gēns Rōmāna*).

Dido draws her inspiration for carnage from the Grand Guignol of Greek myth, which features a sickening abundance of high-profile slashings, such as Medea's dismemberment of her brother Apsyrtus during her flight from Colchis (the primary point of reference here given

that she scattered the body parts from the Argo onto the waves to slow down the hot pursuit of her father), or the tearing to pieces of Pentheus by a horde of maenads including his mother and aunts staged by the Dionysus Franchise. Gut-wrenching family dinners include the meal Atreus cooked up for his brother Thyestes with his sons as *plat principal* (the subject of a range of Greek and Roman tragedies, including the one Lucius Varius Rufus—one of Virgil's literary executors—produced in 29 BCE as part of the victory celebrations after (more than fratricidal) Actium; Leigh 1996), or the filial feast that Procne served to her husband Tereus for raping her sister Philomela (the classic account is Ovid, *Metamorphōsēs* 6.412–674, reworking various tragic scripts).

603[a]: uēr(um) anceps pugnae fuerat fortūna: the apodosis of a truncated conditional sequence with implied protasis 'but [if I had tried], the outcome (*fortūna*) of the battle would have been (*fuerat*: vivid pluperf. indicative for the standard pluperf. subjunctive in past counterfactuals, thus avoiding repetition of *fuisset*) uncertain (*anceps*).' Dido voices a commonplace of writing about warfare: see e.g. Cicero, *prō Marcellō* 15, Livy 21.1.2, Tacitus, *Historiae* 3.18.14–15.

603[b]–604[a]: fuisset: | **quem metuī moritūra?** 'Let it [sc. the outcome] have been (*fuisset* = past jussive subjunctive) [sc. uncertain]!', with 'I ought to have done it anyway' implied. Dido then continues: 'about to die (*moritūra*: fut. act. part. agreeing with the implied subject), whom had I to fear?' She plays fast and loose with tenses, projecting her current prospect of imminent death onto the past moment when a martial encounter with Aeneas and his troops was still a possibility but when her determination to die was, of course, not yet as forcefully on the agenda.

604[b]–606: facēs in castra tulissem, | **implēssemque forōs flammīs nātumque patremque** | **cum gener(e) exstīnxem, mēmet super ipsa dedissem:** in four past jussive subjunctives, Dido lists what she ought to have done. The first three concern Aeneas; they are joined by the two *-que* after *implēssem* and *nātum* (the *-que* after *patrem* links *nātum* and *patrem cum genere*). She then adds the fourth, which concerns her, in asyndeton: 'I (and no one else: *ipsa*) ought to have placed (*OLD dō* 19) myself (*mēmet*: *-met* provides enclitic support to the personal pronoun

mē) on top.' Dido's destructive imagination begins on land (*castra*), moves to the fleet (*forōs* = 'decks' or 'gangways', from *forus*, *-ī*, m.), and culminates in the entire lineage of Aeneas and his son, before turning on herself. Her preferred mode of destruction is fire (*facēs*, *flammīs*), which generates oxymora with *implēssem* and *exstīnxem* (the verbs evoke water; both are metrically convenient contractions: *implēssem* = *implē*[~~*ti*~~]*ssem*; *exstīnxem* = *exstīnx*[~~*is*~~]*em*) but suits the figurative heap of bodies on which Dido places herself at the end, anticipating her upcoming suicide on her funeral pyre. The Carthaginians threatened to torch the Trojan fleet upon arrival, mistaking them for pursuers from Tyre. Cf. 1.525 (Ilioneus speaking to Dido) ... *prohibē īnfandōs ā nāuibus ignēs*.

607–612[a]: 'Sōl, quī terrārum flammīs oper(a) omnia lūstrās, | [608]**tūqu(e) hār(um) interpres cūrār(um) et cōnscia Iūnō,** | [609]**nocturnīsqu(e) Hecatē triuiīs ululāta per urbēs** | [610]**et Dīr(ae) ultrīcēs et dī morientis Ělissae** | [611]**accipit(e) haec, meritumque malīs aduertite nūmen** | [612a]**et nostrās audīte precēs:** pivoting from missed opportunities in the past to actively shaping the future (reasonably open, within the parameters of fate), Dido turns to a host of divinities for support. She dedicates one line to each figure or type: the Sun (607), Juno (608), Hecate (609), and collective divinities of personal retribution (610), whom she then collectively addresses in a tricolon of alliterative imperatives in polysyndeton (611–12[a]), in which conventional requests for attention (*accipite haec* – *nostrās audīte precēs*: here in the sense of 'imprecations' rather than prayers) bracket a condensed 'prayer for justice' (*meritum ... malīs aduertite nūmen*). *malīs* (n. pl.) goes with both *aduertite* and *meritum*: Dido asks the divinities to direct their numinous power (*nūmen*) to the ills she has suffered (*malīs* = dat. with *aduertite*); she has merited to enlist their power in her service *because* of the ills she has suffered (*malīs* = causal abl. with *meritum*).

[607]*Sōl*: the arc of the verse describes the rising and sinking sun with a standstill moment at midday: the uphill opening of straining spondees (the 2.5 feet up to *flammīs* all scan long) yields to a moment of perfect spondaic poise at high noon (*flammīs* itself, at dead centre, bridging feet 3 and 4: – | –), followed by a dactylic setting in foot 4[b] and 5 (*opera omnia*: u u | – u u). The syntactical design further enacts the comprehensive illumination the Sun provides: *Sōl*, *quī* – *flammīs* – *lūstrās* ('you, who—

with your flames—irradiate': *OLD* 4 *lūstrō*) form a baldachin-like structure that includes everything happening on Earth (*terrārum ... opera omnia*, with emphatic alliteration of the postpositive attribute). Dido positions her people and her city vis-à-vis Sol in her reply to Illioneus, to reassure him that she is familiar with the story of Troy (1.567–68 *nōn obtūsa adeō gestāmus pectora Poenī, | nec tam āuersus equōs Tyriā Sōl iungit ab urbe* 'Not so dull are our Punic hearts, and not so far from this Tyrian city does the sun yoke his steeds').

[608]*Iūnō*: the *-que* after *tū* links the two vocatives *Sōl* and *tū*. Why does Dido conceive of Juno as an *interpres* of 'these sorrows', which she bears witness to (*hārum ... cūrārum* goes with both *interpres* and *cōnscia*)? An *inter-pres* is primarily an 'intermediary agent', not least between the human and the divine sphere, who is responsible for expounding/conveying ('interpreting') the will of the gods. This figure can be divine (Mercury figures as *interpres dīuum* at 356 and 378, tasked specifically with conveying the will of Jupiter) or human, such as the *uātēs* Helenus (3.359 *interpres dīuum*, 3.474 *Phoebī interpres*) or the diviner Asilas (10.175 *hominum dīuumque interpres*). But this meaning does not quite work here: Juno is not communicating anything to anyone, and dictionaries struggle to classify the instance (*TLL* 7.1, 2251.2). Possibly, Dido here (uniquely) refers to Juno as an *interpres* in her role as *Prōnuba*, the goddess of wedding: 'because (1) she brings man and woman together in wedlock and (2) explains its mysteries and "troubles" (*cūrae*)' (O'Hara: 85, who considers 'Dido's ignorance of Juno's real role ... striking'). But is Dido ignorant, or rather uncannily insightful? Arguably, she here subliminally blames Juno for her troubles. Two verbal reminiscences serve as cues. The gen. *hārum ... cūrārum* recalls Dido's regretful realization that she was not permitted to spend her life untouched by maritally induced troubles ([550–51]*nōn licuit ... | ... tālīs nec tangere cūrās*). The *cūrae* of 608 would seem to include or are even identical to the *cūrae* of 551. And Dido pinpoints Juno's complicity in her marital nightmares with the attribute *cōnscia*: it recalls [167]*cōnscius aethēr*, who bears witness to the pseudo-marriage in the cave that the goddess engineered. In the process of arranging Dido's yielding to temptation, thus exponentially amplifying her troubles, Juno acted as go-between, facilitator, and accomplice (*cōnscia interpres*, perhaps best taken as hendiadys), striking a bargain with Venus and bringing together various divinities mountainside.

With pointed precision, Dido here calls in the spirit of 'you owe me!' on the one arsonist co-responsible for the conflagration of whom she had every right to expect better. (Cf. [520–21]*cōnscia fatī | sīdera*, Dido speaking: despite momentary Epicurean leanings when it suits her argumentative purpose, she presupposes a sympathetic universe that bears moral witness to human affairs.)

[609]*Hecatē*: the *-que* after [609]*nocturnīs* (agreeing with *triuiīs*; 'crossroads at night-time' is an efficient way of designating the usual time and location for the rites of the goddess) links *Iūnō* and *Hecatē*: 'You, Hecate, [whose name is] howled (= "worshipped with wails": O'Hara: 85) throughout the city at the crossroads at night-time.' For Hecate, see above 491–93, including citation of Ovid, *Fāstī* 1.141–42, which offers one explanation for why Hecate is associated with crossroads (*triuia*: *tres* + *uiae*): triple-headed, she can face in three directions at once.

[610]*Dīrae ultrīcēs*: after their first hesitant appearance in the simile at 473, where they pursue the matricide Orestes (*ultrīcēs ... sedent in līmine Dīrae*), these goddesses of vengeance are now ready to be unleashed into Virgil's narrative universe, as divine personifications of Dido's upcoming curse.

[610]*dī morientis Elissae*: 'the gods of dying Elissa'. It is not entirely clear who these divinities are. The reference may be to the shades of the dead (*Mānēs*), but this would yield a weak sense. It is arguably better to understand them as the gods whom she tries to oblige to carry out her curse through the upcoming suicide (doubling as the Roman ritual of *dēuōtiō*, meant to establish contractual relations with chthonic divinities: see below). The tense of the 'death participle' that accompanies Dido from the moment she learns that Aeneas is leaving has changed from future (*moritūra*: 308, 415, 520, 604) to present (*morientis*): the end is nigh.

612[b]–614: sī tangere portūs | īnfandum caput ac terrīs adnāre necess(e) est, | et sīc fāta Iouis poscunt, hic terminus haeret: Dido begins her imprecations by acknowledging the preordained remit of what sufferings she can curse down on Aeneas, whom she refers to with visceral loathing as the 'unspeakable head' (*īnfandum caput*). If previously she fantasized about him drowning at sea, she now concedes, with difficulty, that this is not on the cards: 'if it is necessary for him to touch port (*tangere*

implies "by the skin of his teeth") and to swim ashore (*terrīs adnāre*: she has not entirely given up on the idea of shipwreck), and the utterances of Jupiter that establish fate demand thus, *hic terminus haeret ...*' At the very moment Dido says 'this is the boundary (stone) that remains fixed', matters become syntactically unmoored. Does *hic terminus haeret* continue the protasis (with the apodosis starting with [615]*at*), or is it the apodosis (with [615]*at* starting a new sentence)? While it makes little difference in practice, the ambiguity is telling: Dido both recognizes unmovable boundaries and strains against them. (From this point of view, it seems preferable, if one wishes to resolve the ambiguity, to take *hic terminus haeret* as an asyndetic continuation of the *sī*-clause.)

615–618[a]: at bell(ō) audācis populī uexātus et armīs, | [616]**fīnibus extorris, complex(ū) āuulsus Iūlī** | [617]**auxili(um) implōret uideatqu(e) indigna suōrum** | [618a]**fūnera:** after pushing at (but ultimately accepting) the boundaries of the possible, Dido performs an adversative pivot (*at*: yet even so) and specifies disaster scenarios that *can* happen. Fate does not predetermine everything: it only establishes parameters within which the future remains open. For this remaining realm of contingency, Dido spells out a well-structured wish list that will run until the end of her speech at 629. The first five items are:

1. Aeneas should be harassed (*uexātus*) by war with and the arms of (*bellō ... et armīs*) a daring people (*audācis populī*): a major war in Italy against the Rutulians is already on the books, but the details are not. In Jupiter's account, Aeneas' ultimate victory is swift and uncomplicated ([1.263–64]*bellum ingēns geret Ītaliā populōsque ferōces* | *contundet mōrēsque uirīs et moenia pōnet* 'he shall wage a great war in Italy, shall crush fierce peoples, and for his men shall lay down customs and walls'); Helenus is more vague when he advises Aeneas to seek out the Sibyl, who will know ([3.458–60]*illa tibi Ītaliae populōs uentūraque bella* | *et quō quemque modō fugiāsque ferāsque labōrem* | *expediet* 'the peoples of Italy, the wars to come, how you are to flee or face each toil, she will unfold to you'). Dido then goes into specifics of what this harassment ideally entails (items 2–5), none of which registers in earlier prophecies but becomes part of what the Sibyl foretells Aeneas in Book 6 (esp. [6.91–92]*... cum tū supplex*

in rēbus egēnīs | quās gentēs Italum aut quās nōn ōrāueris urbēs! '... while you, a suppliant in your need, what races, what cities of Italy will you not implore!').

2. Aeneas should be driven from the territory of his settlement in Italy. Some commentators take *fīnibus extorris* to refer to his exile from Troy, but at this stage in Aeneas' journey such a wish would be pointless, besides being expressed feebly (*fīnēs* = *patria*) and tautologically (*extorris* = ex- + terra + -is = driven from one's country/home/etc., exiled, banished). Dido can and does do better. The sense of *fīnēs* (pl.) here is 'the land lying within set limits, territory, domain' (*OLD* 2), anticipating Aeneas' initial colonial foothold in Italy, which he will be forced to leave to seek help. Cf. Servius' note *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 11.316: ... *Catō enim in Orīginibus dīcit Trōiānōs ā Latīnō accēpisse agrum, quī est inter Laurentum et castra Trōiāna. hic etiam modum agrī commemorat et dīcit eum habuisse iūgera IĪDCC*. 'For Cato says in the *Origines* that the Trojans received from Latinus the territory that lies between Laurentum and the Trojan camp. He also mentions the size of the territory and says that it comprised 2,700 *iūgera*' (= Cato, *Orīgines* fr. 5).

3. Aeneas should be torn from the embrace of his son Iulus: *complex(ū) āuulsus Iūlī* offers 'a metrical picture of the violence suffered' (Austin: 179–80), with the elision and placement of the wrenching participle in between the embrace and his son. When leaving his settlement to seek aid, Aeneas will be compelled to leave Iulus behind.

4. Aeneas should be forced to beg for help: '*auxilium implōret*' prefigures his encounter with Evander at the future site of Rome, which he visits to strike up a military alliance with the settlers from Arcadia.

5. Aeneas should see the undeserved funerals of those who belong to him: *uideat ... indigna suōrum | fūnera*: Dido concludes the first cluster climactically, with emphatic enjambment, echoing [507]*fūnereā*. Above all, this imprecation prefigures the death of Pallas, the son of elderly Evander, whom Aeneas takes under his wing as surrogate father. He is killed by

Turnus in Book 10 and his funeral arrangements dominate the first third of Book 11 (Gildenhard and Henderson 2018). Future developments thus endow *indigna* with a double sense: 'undeserved' (*OLD* 4, with reference to Pallas, who dies heroically) and 'shameful' (*OLD* 6, with reference to Aeneas who failed to prevent the death; he makes up for it at the very end of the poem in his hot-blooded revenge-killing of Turnus upon spotting the baldric of Pallas on his enemy). The seemingly arbitrary death of his comrade Misenus might also resonate here (6.162–63*... atque illī Mīsēnum in lītore siccō, | ut uēnēre, uident indignā morte perēmptum* 'and as they came, they see on the dry beach Misenus, cut off by untimely death').

In roughly chronological order, this first set of imprecations anticipates contents of Books 7–11 of the *Aeneid*, with repercussions right through to the end of the epic.

618b–620: nec, cum sē sub lēgēs pācis inīquae | trādiderit, rēgn(ō) aut optātā lūce fruātur, | sed cadat ante diem mediāqu(e) inhumātus harēnā: Dido continues and concludes the Aeneas-focused part of her curse with three further imprecations that involve his settlement in Italy and the rest of his life (6–8):

6. 'When he has submitted himself (*sē ... trādiderit*: fut. perf.; the verb implies impotent surrender) to the stipulations of an unjust peace'. The scholarly verdict is out on who got the upper end in the deal struck between Jupiter and Juno in the final arbitration on Mt. Olympus at 12.791–842, but from Aeneas' point of view the terms of the agreement might well look iniquitous: Juno allows fate to take its course, but Jupiter agrees to the cultural erasure of Troy (name, language, customs) in the future Romans. It remains unclear whether that was in the books all along; Juno at least believes that they are bargaining over contingent elements of history; and the loss of cultural markers is no obstacle to the kind of 'genetic' continuity that Jupiter promises to Venus (1.286*nāscētur pulchrā Trōiānus orīgine Caesar* 'a Trojan Caesar shall be born from distinguished origins') and which underwrites Virgil's race-craft in the *Aeneid* more generally (the Romans as a *gēns* with a significant admixture of Trojan genes).

7. Premature death: 'may he not enjoy (*fruātur*; the deponent *fruor*, *fruī* is construed with abl. objects) his hoped-for kingdom (*optātā* is best construed with both *lūce* and *rēgnō*) or life but die a premature death (*sed cadat ante diem*)', i.e. the same kind of death she will inflict on herself (697: her suicide happens *ante diēm*). The death of Aeneas happens after the epic ends. In his prophecy to Venus, Jupiter was studiously opaque about the terms of Aeneas' final days. At 1.258–60, he moves straight from the founding of Lavinium to Aeneas' apotheosis (... *cernēs urbem et prōmissa Lauīnī | moenia, sublīmemque ferēs ad sīdera caelī | magnanimum Aenēān* 'you will see Lavinium's city and its promised walls; and great-souled Aeneas you will raise on high to the starry heaven'). And after 1.265–66, which cover the three-year interval between the end of hostilities and the founding of Lavinium (*tertia dum Latiō rēgnantem uīderit aestās, | ternaque trānsierint Rutulīs hīberna subactīs* 'till the third summer has seen him reigning in Latium and three winters have passed in camp since the Rutulians were laid low'), he instantly proceeds to the exploits of the next generation ([1.267]*at puer Ascanius* ...). There seems to be nothing in the scrolls of fate that Jupiter cares to share with Venus about Aeneas reaching a ripe old age or the precise nature of his death (as opposed to the immediate aftermath: deification), which opens an opportunity for Dido to shape this aspect of his future with her curse. In some variants, he in fact dies soon after the founding of Lavinium, the enjoyment of his kingdom cut brutally short (see below). But cf. 6.764 (Anchises speaking), which refers to Aeneas with the attribute *longaeuus* ('long-lived') when Lavinia gives birth to their son Silvius. The prophetic passages are not necessarily at variance with one another, though they might be, raising questions about which aspects of the curse will come true (not all do).
8. Lack of burial: *mediāque inhumātus harēnā* 'and may he remain unburied amidst the sand' (a verb such as *iaceat* or *sit* needs to be supplied). The elision generates a sense of vagueness, apt to accommodate the account of Aeneas' death at the river Numic(i)us that Servius records at various places in his commentary (see esp. 1.259, 4.620, further 6.88; 7.150, 797;

12.794); 'to die in one's prime, and to die unburied – these were the most dreadful things that a man could suffer in ancient times' (Austin: 180). It was the fate of Priam (past *his* prime; cf. [2.557]*iacet ingēns lītore truncus*), which Virgil apparently modelled on Asinius Pollio's account of the death of Pompey the Great. There is no contradiction between Aeneas' body being deprived of interment (a contingency that Dido arguably curses into reality) and his soul undergoing the preordained apotheosis (1.259–60, cited above).

621: haec precor, hanc uōc(em) extrēmam cum sanguine fundō: 'these things I pray for; this last utterance I pour forth with my blood'. Dido 'finalizes' the prayer for a premature and undignified death of Aeneas with a signature in blood, evoking the Roman ritual of *dēuōtiō*: she sacrifices her own life in return for having her imprecations fulfilled. There is a sympathetic affinity between the two acc. objects *haec* ('the actual things') and *hanc uōcem extrēmam* (the utterance designed to bring them about). —> ***TD*** Gildenhard 356–57; Panoussi (2009: 45–77).

622–624[a]: tum uōs, ō Tyriī, stirp(em) et genus omne futūrum | exercēt(e) odiīs, cinerīqu(e) haec mittite nostrō | mūnera: Dido changes tack and addresses her people. She enjoins eternal hatred between Carthaginians and Romans: 'you, Tyrians, harass (*OLD exerceō* 2b) with hatred the stock and all the race to come (the seemingly tautological phrasing *stirpem et genus omne futūrum* deftly recognizes the Trojan core (*stirps*) at the centre of the future *genus Rōmānum*) and send this as funeral offering (*mūnera*: "Deliberately recalling 618 *fūnera*, with the corpses of Aeneas' descendants being envisaged as presents for the queen": Fratantuono–Smith: 849) to my ashes.' The vocatives (*uōs*, *ō Tyriī*) and imperatives (*exercēte*, *mittite*, linked by *-que* after *cinerī*) form the backdrop for a third volley of imprecations, starting with a general principle:

624[b]: nūllus amor populīs nec foedera suntō: 'Let there be (now and in future) no love and no treaties between the peoples.' *suntō* = 3rd pers. pl. fut. imp. of *sum*, *esse*; archaizing, solemn and formal in tone ('it belongs to the language of laws from the Twelve Tables onwards': Austin: 181), hence especially suitable for a 'binding' speech-act like a curse.

9. Here Dido did not (quite) get her way. No love was lost, but Rome and Carthage were to enter a series of treaties over the centuries (509, 348, 306, 279, 241/237), which included provision of military aid. —> ***TD*** Quinn (283): 'during Rome's war against Pyrrhus of Epirus, the Carthaginians provided naval transport for Roman troops, destroyed Pyrrhus' supplies, and intercepted his fleet on its way to Italy', with reference to 'Diodorus Siculus 22.7.5, with Miles 2010, 415 n. 30 and Plutarch, *Life of Pyrrhus* 24.1.' See further Serrati (2006).

625–627: exoriār(e) aliquis nostrīs ex ossibus ultor, | quī face Dardaniōs ferrōque sequāre colōnōs, | nunc, ōlim, quōcumque dabunt sē tempore uīrēs: 'May you arise (*exoriāre* = *exoriāris*: 2nd pers. sg. pres. (hortatory) subjunctive of the deponent *exorior*), avenger (*ultor*: in the vocative) whoever you are (*aliquis*), from my bones, to pursue (*quī ... sequāre* = *sequāris*: 2nd pers. sg. pres. subjunctive of the deponent *sequor* in a relative clause of purpose) the Trojan settlers with fire and sword (*face ... ferrōque*), now, hereafter (*ōlim*: with reference to the future), at whatever time (*quōcumque ... tempore*: a climactic, generalizing subsummation of *nunc* and *ōlim*) strength will offer itself (*dabunt sē ... uīrēs*).' By using the term *colōnus* (primary meaning: 'farmer') in the sense of 'settler', Dido implicitly acknowledges the rise of a rival settler community, in mortal enmity to her own (very much in the spirit of the proem, where her own settlement is the first colony to be mentioned in the epic: [1.12–13]*Vrbs antīqua fuit* (*Tyriī tenuēre colōnī*) | *Karthagō*...) The other three instances of the term occur in Book 7, in the context of the Trojans' arrival in Latium and local resistance to the land grab: 7.63, 410, 421–22 (Allecto speaking) *Turne, tot incassum fūsōs patiēre labōrēs | et tua Dardaniīs trānscrībī scēptra colōnīs?* 'Turnus, will you endure all these labours spent in vain, and sceptre transferred to Dardan settlers?'.

10. The rise of an Avenger: Dido curses the figure of Hannibal into existence, an ancestral shade of whom is about to appear in the narrative: see below on 632. Dido does not have biological descendants, but just as Anchises (or Aeneas or Iulus) figures as the *princeps gentis* not only of the *gēns Iūlia* but all the Romans, so Dido is the notional mother of all Carthaginians: see Ennius, *Annals* fr. 290 Skutsch: *Poenōs **Dīdōne** oriundōs*. At 10.11–13, Jupiter recognizes that this aspect of Dido's curse will make history.

Extra information

At the outset of his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, Freud interprets a misquotation of 625 (*exoriāre ex nostrīs ossibus ultor*) as a Freudian slip, which solicited a 'philological' response by the Italian scholar Sebastiano Timpanaro, who interpreted the omission of the third-person pronoun *aliquis* following the 2nd person verb *exoriāre* as an intuitive response to an anomaly in the Latin:

> Now, in the line from Virgil quoted by Freud's young travelling companion, the construction *exoriare aliquis … ultor* – whether *aliquis* is to be understood as subject and *ultor* as its predicate ("Let someone arise from my bones as an Avenger") or whether *ultor* is to be understood as subject and *aliquis* as its attribute ("Let some Avenger arise from my bones") – is highly anomalous. The anomaly consists in the coexistence in the line of the second person singular with the indefinite pronoun *aliquis*: Dido uses the familiar *tu* form of address to the future Avenger, as if she saw him standing in front of her, prophetically, already clearly outlined; while at the same time she expresses with that *aliquis* (and also, a little later in line 627: *nunc*, *olim*, *quocumque dabunt se tempore vires*, "Soon or in after-time, whenever the strength is given") his indeterminate identity. Dido's expression is at one and the same time an augury, and as vague as all auguries are ("Come, sooner or later, someone to avenge me"), as well as an implicit prophecy of the coming of Hannibal, the Avenger whom Virgil, writing *post eventum*, certainly had in mind, and whom the ancient readers of the *Aeneid* would immediately think of ("He is alluding to Hannibal", explains Servius in his commentary, which dates from antiquity). In German, i.e. the language spoken by Freud's young interlocutor, such a construction is almost untranslatable literally; the same difficulty occurs, for that matter, in Italian, French and English. Something has to be sacrificed: either one wishes to bring out the character of a mysteriously indeterminate augury, which means rendering *exoriare* by the third person singular rather than the second person ("… let some Avenger arise"); or one prefers to conserve the immediacy and directly evocative power of the second person singular, which means modifying somewhat, if not suppressing outright, the *aliquis* ("Arise, o Avenger, whoever you may be … "; "Arise, unknown Avenger… "). (https://newleftreview.org/issues/i91/articles/sebastiano-timpanaro-the-freudian-slip, May/ June 1975)

628–629: lītora lītoribus contrāria, fluctibus undās | imprecor, arm(a) armīs: pugnent ipsīque nepōtēsque.' 'I invoke shores against shores (*lītoribus* is dat. with *contrāria*, similarly *fluctibus* and *armīs*), sea against

sea, arms against arms: may they fight, both themselves and their children's children!' The triplet of oppositions is climactic: we move from opposing shorelines to the opposing seas that connect them to the clash of opposing arms (not least on the seas). Dido finishes her curse on a 'hypermetric line': the *-que* after *nepōtēs* opens an impossible 'seventh foot'. Even though, as elsewhere, the supernumerary syllable could be elided with the first syllable of the following line, 'in this case the possibility of elision looks no more than a technical nod to the rules. There must be a pause following Dido's speech, into which the extra syllable simply fades, as a small reflection of the unfinished business, the ongoing hatred': Maclennan (160).

11. Unremitting war between Rome and Carthage, with the spectre of civil war at the end (*pugnent ipsīque nepōtēsque* has acute reflexive potential): Dido anticipates the centuries of external and internal warfare, stretching from the three wars in three generations against Carthage (264–241, 218–201, 149–146 BCE) to the century of civil war (133–31 BCE), only recently concluded with the battle of Actium, which combines the two types of warfare, with Antony and Cleopatra (one of Dido's historical equivalents).

630–705: The End (Protracted)

After her imprecation, Dido proceeds to seal 'the contract' with the numinous forces she summoned in aid by way of her suicide. But the end is protracted, partly because of careful planning and preparation on Dido's part, partly because what she intends to do is in violation of cosmic law and is not supposed to happen:

> 630–641: Dido enlists Sychaeus' nurse Barce to instruct Anna to get everything ready for her magic rites.
> 642–662: Left alone, she ascends her funeral pyre and utters her final words before stabbing herself.
> 663–674: The news hits the stricken city (courtesy of *Fāma*) and reaches Anna; she rushes to her mortally wounded sister who is unable to die yet.
> 675–692: Anna addresses and embraces Dido in a drawn-out parting.
> 693–705: Juno (finally) takes pity on Dido and sends down Iris for the requisite cutting of a lock of hair, which consigns Dido to death.

630–631: Haec ait, et partīs animum uersābat in omnīs, | inuīsam quaerēns quam prīm(um) abrumpere lūcem: the imperfect *uersābat* could be understood as durative ('she continued turning...') or iterative ('she kept turning...'), less likely inceptive ('she began to turn...'): suicide has been on Dido's mind for some time, and now she comes back to it with a vengeance. *partīs ... in omnīs*: anastrophe and hyperbaton (= *in omnīs partīs*) help enact her restless mind. The circumstantial participle *quaerēns* specifies what she focuses her mind on: to cut short her life 'as soon as possible' (*quam prīmum*: adv.). Apart from the fifth foot (appropriately *-rumpere*), 631 scans spondaic, conveying a heavy sense of how hateful to look upon (*inuīsam*: fronted and agreeing in massive hyperbaton with the framing *lūcem*) light (= life; *OLD lūx* 6a) has become. Cf. the earlier [451]*taedet caelī conuexa tuerī*.

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632–633: tum breuiter Barcēn nūtrīc(em) adfāta Sychaeī, | namque suam patri(ā) antīquā cinis āter habēbat: Dido briefly addresses Barce, the nurse of her husband Sychaeus, who appears quick as lightning (*nōmen est ōmen*: *Barca* is a semitic word for 'lightning') as and when needed. 633 explains (*namque* 'for': *OLD* 2) why Dido does not call on her own nurse (*suam* sc. *nūtrīcem*; the reflexive refers back to the subject of the previous clause, i.e. Dido—a grammatical irregularity that hardly registers): 'black ash held her in the ancient fatherland', that is, 'she died and was buried back home in Tyre' (like Dido's husband: [552]*cinerī ... Sychaeō*). The contrived expression (one might have expected *patria* to be the subject with *cinis* as acc. obj.) lends eerie interest to what amounts to a parenthetical aside of background information, pointing towards a lethal double cross: her own nurse and her husband Sychaeus are already reduced to ashes back in Tyre, now Sychaeus' nurse will aid in lighting Dido's funeral pyre. Not coincidentally, Barce also evokes the family name of Hannibal (*Barca* or *Barcha*), the unnamed but here subtly de-anonymized Avenger of Dido's curse (625 above). See further Sharrock (2021: 104–6).

634: 'Annam, cāra mihī nūtrīx, hūc siste sorōrem: the imperative *siste* (nicely alliterative with *sorōrem*) has a formal ring to it: in Roman law, *sistō* ('to cause to stand') has the technical sense 'to cause to appear in court at the appointed time' (*OLD* 2), or more generally 'to present (a person) at the required time' (*OLD* 3). Dido only specifies the location (*hūc*: to this place here) where the nurse is to present Anna, not the time—a pointed omission since the enjoinder is designed to keep both out of the way until it is too late. The word order of *Annam cāra mihī nūtrīx*, with the nom. *cāra* morphing for a split second into the acc. *cāra-m-ihī*, signals that both Anna and the nurse are dear to Dido (though the hyperbaton *Annam ... sorōrem* also suggests a significant degree of emotional distance between the two sisters). The dat. *mihī* is similarly polyvalent, inviting construal with both *cāra* and *hūc siste*.

635–636: dīc corpus properet fluuiālī spargere lymphā, | et pecudēs sēc(um) et mōnstrāta piācula dūcat: 'Tell her (*dīc*, introducing an indirect command with the *ut* elided) to hurry (*properet*) to sprinkle (*spargere*, here in the sense "to ritually cleanse") her body with river water (*fluuiālī ... lymphā*, a phrase tinkling with liquids) and to bring

with her the victims for sacrifice (*pecudēs* = livestock; from *pecus*, *pecudis* ≠ *pecus*, *pecoris* 'sheep') and the expiatory offerings (*piācula*) that have been indicated as a remedy' (*OLD mōnstrō* 3b; cf. [483]*mōnstrāta sacerdōs*, [498]*mōnstrat ... sacerdōs*). The alliterative *pecudēs* and *piācula* are presumably identical. Dido abides by ritual protocols of Roman religion: consultation of experts in response to a religious worry (implied in *mōnstrāta*), who designate atonement activities (*piācula*) involving (costly) animal sacrifices (*pecudēs*), to be undertaken after ritual cleansing of those in attendance (*corpus ... fluuiālī spargere lymphā*).

[636]*piācula*: the term is generic, so need not necessarily trigger alarm bells, but the other two instances of it in the *Aeneid* are specifically associated with the netherworld: 6.153 (the Sibyl instructing Aeneas on how to prepare himself for his Underworld journey) *dūc nigrās pecudēs*; *ea prīma piācula suntō* 'Lead black cattle; be these your first peace offerings'; 6.566–69 (the Underworld judge Rhadamanthus exacting confession of crimes from whoever put off atonements (*piācula*) until after death). So, of course, is the passage here: Dido's rites are designed to bring death and destruction to both herself and Aeneas.

637: sīc ueniat, tūqu(e) ipsa piā tege tempora uittā: 'this having been done (*sīc OLD* 9, summing up the specified conditions), let her come (*ueniat*: 3rd pers. sg. pres. jussive subjunctive)'. Pivoting to Barce with *tū* ('Alliterative with *tege* and *tempora*, of addressee; action; object': Fratantuono–Smith: 862), Dido then also assigns a task to the nurse: '*You* (stressed by *ipsa*, nom. f. sg., though it could also be acc. n. pl. agreeing with *tempora*) cover your temples as ritually prescribed (*piā* = adj. modifying *uittā* in lieu of adv.) with a sacrificial/sacerdotal headband'.

638–640: sacra Iouī Stygiō, quae rīt(e) incepta parāuī, | [639]perficer(e) est animus, fīnemqu(e) impōnere cūrīs | [640]Dardaniīque rogum capitis permittere flammae.': subject and verb are *est animus* 'The intention is/I am minded to...' (*OLD animus* 7b), governing a tricolon of infinitive phrases, coordinated by the two *-que* after *fīnem* and *Dardaniī*. Dido plans (a) to complete the rites sacred to Stygian Jove (= Pluto, Jupiter's brother, in charge of the Underworld, here evoked via the adj. of the river Styx, anticipating [699]*Stygiō ... Orcō*); (b) to impose a limit on her anguish; (c) to relinquish (*OLD permittō* 3) to the flame 'the pyre of the

Dardanian head' (= Aeneas); *caput* here has various shades of meaning, foremost among which is 'life' (as the target of curses: *OLD* 4b) and, contemptuously, 'ringleader' (*OLD* 13). She glosses *sacra* in a relative clause: 'which I have prepared and begun (though the perf. pass. part. *incepta* in the acc. n. pl. technically agrees with *quae*) according to ritual protocol (*rīte* goes with both *incepta* and *parāuī*)'. The sequence can be read forwards with focus on Aeneas ('I complete the rites of Pluto and end my cares by burning his effigy') or backwards with focus on herself ('I burn his effigy and end my cares by completing the rites of Pluto' = committing suicide). Dido proceeds to do both.

641: sīc ait. illa gradum studiō celerābat anīlī: 'thus/in the manner just specified (*OLD sīc* 2) she spoke'. *illa* switches back to Barce, who begins to hasten (the imperf. *celerābat* is inchoative) her step 'with the eagerness characteristic of an old woman' (*studiō ... anīlī*: the attribute may hint not just at unsteady gait but also credulity: *OLD anīlis* b). The interlaced word order *gradum*/ STUDIŌ /*celerābat*/ ANĪLĪ might mimic her steps, just as the gradual build-up from two syllables (*gradum*) to three (*studiō*) to four (*celerābat*) mimics her acceleration (reinforced by the anapaestic rhythm *studiō celerā-*). The assonance in *illa – anīlī* helps to frame the vignette of the nurse bustling away at speed.

642–647: at trepid(a) et coeptīs immānibus effera Dīdō | [643]**sanguineam uoluēns aciem, maculīsque trementīs** | [644]**interfūsa genās et pallida morte futūrā,** | [645]**interiōra domūs inrumpit līmin(a) et altōs** | [646]**cōnscendit furibunda rogōs ēnsemque reclūdit** | [647]**Dardanium, nōn hōs quaesītum mūnus in ūsūs:** *at* marks a parting of ways. [642]*Dīdō* is the subject of a tricolon of verbs: [645]*... inrumpit ... et ...* [646]*cōnscendit ... -que reclūdit*. But before the action erupts, we get a detailed description of the queen consisting of five components (three predicative adjectives and two participles): (a) *trepida*: 'behaving in an excited or agitated manner' (*OLD* 3a). (b) *coeptīs immānibus effera*: the adj. *efferus* is a back-formation from *efferō*, *efferāre* 'to make beast-like', hence '[rendered] savage in character or conduct' and here specifically 'uncontrollably excited, frantic, furious' (*OLD* 2b). The abl. hovers between instrumental and causal: 'frantic with/because of her monstrous undertaking'. (c) *sanguineam uoluēns aciem*: 'rolling her blood-shod eyes'. (This item stands vividly disconnected at the centre of the polysyndeton: *et* after *trepida*

links (a) and (b), the *-que* after *maculīs* (b) and (d), the *et* after *genās* (d) and (e).) (d) *maculīs ... trementīs interfūsa genās*: *interfūsa* = perf. pass. part. of *inter* + *fundō* 'to pour': 'suffused here and there (*OLD interfūsus* b) with splotches (*maculīs*) as to/on her quivering cheeks (*trementīs ... genās*: acc. of respect, though some commentators take *interfūsa* to be middle in sense with *trementīs ... genās* as acc. obj.: "having suffused her quivering cheeks with splotches")'. (e) *pallida morte futūrā*: *pallidus* = pale or emaciated, in the *Aeneid* the attribute of ghosts (1.354; of Dido's husband Sychaeus), harpies (3.217), corpses (8.197), hell (8.244–45), and furies (10.761). The abl. *morte futūrā* is causal.

645*interiōra domūs inrumpit līmina*: the choice of idiom underscores the violence of Dido's action: *inrumpere* + acc. obj. carries more force than when construed with *in* + acc. The *OLD* classifies the instance as 'milder' (1c: 'to rush suddenly or impetuously into'), but the transitive use of *inrumpere* here is as violent (and apt) as elsewhere: Dido is about to burn the house down, figuratively enacting the sack of her own city. The inside of the palace had been the occasion for the welcome feast during which Cupid infected Dido with incurable passion for Aeneas (1.637*at domus interior rēgālī splendida luxū | īnstruitur mediīsque parant conuīuia tēctīs* 'But the palace within is laid out with the splendour of princely pomp, and amid the halls they prepare a banquet') and the place where she had instructed Anna to build the pyre (494–95*tū sēcrēta pyram tēctō interiōre sub aurās | ērige*). The choice to foreground the thresholds of the house (*līmina*, governing *domūs* = gen. f. sg.) reinforces ideas of armed invasion of her own home and (self-)harm.

645–46*altōs | cōnscendit furibunda rogōs*: the enjambed hyperbaton *altōs ... rogōs*, as well as the pl. for sg., is a reminder that the pyre Dido has built is enormous (504–5*pyrā ... | ... ingentī*). While terms associated with *furor* abound in the epic, Virgil reserves *furibundus* (*furō* + the suffix *-bundus*) for Dido and Amata, wife of Latinus and mother of Lavinia (also suicide-bound), when infiltrated by an infernal snake courtesy of the Fury Allecto (7.348).

646–47*ēnsemque reclūdit | Dardanium*: *ēnsem reclūdere* is rather recherché idiom for 'unsheathing the sword' (*OLD* 4 *reclūdō*), which encourages intratextual cross-references to other marked 'openings', such as those

of sacrificial victims at [63–64]*pecudum ... reclūsīs pectoribus* (Dido is about to sacrifice herself) and the opening of the temple of Janus and hence the Gates of War at 7.616–23, which is a significant moment in the accursed, post-Dido portion of the narrative and features several lexical echoes of our passage:

> hōc et tum Aeneadīs indīcere bella Latīnus
> mōre iubēbātur trīstīsque reclūdere portās.
> abstinuit tāctū pater āuersusque refūgit
> foeda ministeria, et caecīs sē condidit umbrīs.
> tum rēgīna deum caelō dēlāpsa morantīs
> impulit ipsa manū portās, et cardine uersō
> Bellī ferrātōs rumpit Sāturnia postīs.

> [In this manner then, too, Latinus was bidden to proclaim war on the sons of Aeneas, and to unclose the grim gates. But the father withheld his hand, shrank back from the hateful office, and hid himself in blind darkness. Then the queen of the gods, gliding from the sky, with her own hand drove in the lingering doors, and on their turning hinges Saturn's daughter burst open the iron-bound gates of war.]

[647]*nōn hōs quaesītum mūnus in ūsūs*: *mūnus* 'gift' stands in apposition to *ēnsem*: 'a gift sought not for (or 'aimed not at': *OLD quaero* 6) *this* purpose'. Anastrophe and hyperbaton (*hōs ... in ūsūs* = *in hōs ūsūs*) help to underscore the sense of shock and scandal invested in the demonstrative. If the sense of *quaesītum* is 'aimed at' (*OLD quaero* 6), this is possibly the sword Aeneas wears as a gift from Dido at 261–62 but then leaves behind (494, 507): it is a *mūnus* from Dido to Aeneas (which turns it into a Trojan sword), discarded again upon departure; now Dido turns the object that was once a *mūnus* aimed at solidifying the alliance against herself. The sword thus becomes a central element in the failed hospitality at Carthage.

648–650: hīc, postqu(am) Īliacās uestēs nōtumque cubīle | [649]**cōnspexit, paulum lacrimīs et mente morāta** | [650]**incubuitque torō dīxitque nouissima uerba:** when Dido reaches the top (*hīc*: adv. 'there'), at the sight of Trojan garments (presumably including those—an embroidered mantle and the veil of Helen—that were

among the gifts Aeneas gave to Dido at the outset: 1.647–55) and the familiar (*nōtum*, carrying connotations of 'notoriety') couch ([648]*cubīle*, more or less synonymous with [650]*torus*, anticipates [650]*incubuit* in a *figūra etymologica*), she pauses (*morāta*: nom. f. sg. agreeing with the implied subject = Dido) for a moment (*paulum*) 'in tearful thought' (Goold, taking *lacrimīs et mente* as hendiadys) before throwing herself onto the couch and uttering her final words. The scene recalls [82–83]*sōla domō maeret uacuā strātīsque relictīs* | *incubat*.

At this moment, Dido looks back over her life, essentially writing her own epitaph. In 651–56, the tone is solemn and resigned, with a coincidence of clause and verse endings. But the concluding lines 658–59 are full of renewed mental agitation, in a final moment of counterfactual yearning.

651–652: 'dulcēs exuuiae, dum fāta deusque sinēbat, | **accipit(e) hanc animam mēqu(e) hīs exsoluite cūrīs:** Dido addresses the items Aeneas left behind that she had placed on the pyre (496, 507) in mournful apostrophe. The melancholic attribute *dulcēs*, instantly qualified by the alliterative *dum*, signals her degree of emotional investment in these objects (and their former owner). But by now Dido knows that she loved on borrowed time, within predetermined parameters. The formulation *fāta deusque* as well as the notion of sufferance (*sinēbat*) manifest an astute degree of insight into the central (if opaque) relationship between *fātum* and Jupiter that shapes the world of the *Aeneid* and lies at the heart of Virgil's 'philosophy of history'. In a sense, she has grasped the logic of her (literary) world better than Juno (cf. [1.17–18]*... hoc rēgnum dea gentibus esse,* | *sī quā fāta sinant* 'that here should be the capital of the nations, should the fates perchance allow it'). As elsewhere in the final third of Book 4, Dido *knows*. In line 652, it gradually becomes obvious that she is thinking about one item from among the Trojan spoils in particular: the sword. She asks the objects to receive her soul (*accipite hanc animam*: what precisely is meant remains vague; it may refer to the outpouring of her lifeblood) and to free her from these cares (*hīs ... cūrīs*: abl. of separation), presumably in reference to their use in her suicide.

653–654: uīx(ī) et quem dederat cursum fortūna perēgī, | **et nunc magna meī sub terrās ībit imāgō:** Dido begins with a retrospective on her life. She begins with the brutally brief and categorical *uīxī* (perfect:

'I have lived my life', 'I have finished living'—all that remains is to die: *uīxī* looks forward to [659]*moriēmur* and [660]*moriāmur*), followed by the philosophizing variation *et quem dederat cursum fortūna perēgī* 'I have completed the course which Fortune had given [sc. to me]'. (*cursum* is acc. obj. of *perēgī* and antecedent of *quem* though embedded within the relative clause, next to *fortūna*.) To the end, Dido conceives of herself as a child of Fortune (though in and through her death she will turn herself into a force of fate). She then switches from perfect to future (*ībit*), from 'I' to a 3rd pers. perspective, with *magna meī ... imāgō* as subject. At the moment of her death, her embodied human agency ceases to exist, and Dido is about to join Creusa ([2.772–73]*īnfēlīx simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creūsae | uīsa mihi ante oculōs et nōtā maior imāgō* 'there rose before my eyes the sad phantom and ghost of Creüsa herself, a form larger than her wont') and Anchises (351–53 *patris Anchīsae ... turbida ... imāgō*) among the 'larger-than-life' ghosts that Aeneas leaves behind on his journey.

655–656: urbem praeclāram statuī, mea moenia uīdī, | ulta uirum poenās inimīc(ō) ā frātre recēpī: in an asyndetic tricolon crescens of lifetime achievements, Dido identifies with laconic precision what she is most proud of: she has founded a city that is famous (cf. [1.573]*urbem quam statuō*...), has seen walls (the idiom recalls the proem) that are hers (*mea moenia* in chiastic attribute-noun reversal of *urbem praeclāram*), and exacted punitive vengeance (*ulta* = perf. pass. part. of *ulcīscor*) from her brother, a personal enemy of hers (*inimīcō ā frātre* is a kinship paradox) for the murder of her husband (*uirum*). To what extent her escape from Tyre with the contents of the treasury and crown jewels constitutes appropriate payback is an open question (her brother Pygmalion certainly aims to escalate the dynamics of negative reciprocities by coming in pursuit) and beside the point: the lines carefully and deliberately calibrate civic exploits and personal revenge. Both get a line each; while Dido devotes two of the three cola to the city-foundation, she reserves the climactic third and most elaborate for the retribution. 'Vengeance' dominates Dido's thought, and satisfied [656]*ulta* looks forward to the dissatisfied [659]*inultae*.

[655]*praeclāram*: *praeclara* is a conspicuous and unique attribute of *urbs* in the *Aeneid*.

657–658: fēlīx, heu nimium fēlīx, sī līt̲ora tantum | n̲umquam D̲ardaniae tetigissent nostra carīnae!': the opening exclamation doubles as the apodosis of a past counterfactual condition (with an implied *fuissem*): the non-appearance of the Trojans would have ensured a quasi-hubristic degree of happiness. *heu nimium fēlīx* is paradoxical at several levels: it concerns a counterfactual scenario (all prior instances of the exclamation in Book 4, listed below, are about past or present suffering) and combines remonstration with exorbitant happiness. This is the first occurrence of *nimium* 'too' in the poem. It signifies transgressive excess (in Greek, *hubris*) and initiates a sequence that includes Palinurus (5.870–1), Misenus (6.189), Deiphobus reminiscing with Aeneas about his few delusional days of joy as spouse of Helen (6.513–14), Ancus (6.815–16), Marcellus/Rome (6.869–71), Euryalus and Nisus (9.354 and 430), and Camilla (11.841). The placement of *līt̲ora* and *carīnae* at opposite ends of the *sī*-clause, reinforced by contrastive assonance of the nouns with their attributes (*līt̲ora* ... *n̲ostra*; *D̲ard̲aniae* ... *c̲arīnae*; cf. [640]*Dardaniī ... capitis*, [646–47]*ēnsem* ... | *Dardanium*) and the 'pocketing' of *tetigissent nostra* by *Dardaniae ... carīnae*, enacts both the idea of 'touch' (*tetigissent*) and Dido's heartfelt desire that the touch had never happened.

heu: also 13 (Dido about Aeneas' trials and tribulations), 65 (the narrator about the *uātum ignārae mentēs*), 267 (Mercury about Aeneas building the wrong city), 283 (*heu quid agat?* = the narrator sympathizing with Aeneas), 376 (Dido about herself: *heu furiīs incēnsa feror*), 541 (Dido about her stupidity: *nescīs heu* ...). The seven instances of *heu* (no other book has more than 4) mark *Aeneid* 4 as the most tragic of them all.

659–660[a]: dīxit, et ōs impressa torō 'moriēmur inultae, | sed moriāmur' ait: the *et* links *dīxit* and *ait*, leading from one utterance to another, with Dido as implied subject. The perf. pass. part. *impressa* (from *imprimō*, *imprimere*) is middle in sense and takes *ōs* as acc. obj. Arranged across the verse break are Dido's last words before she stabs herself: 'we shall die (*moriēmur* = 1st per. pl. fut. ind.) unavenged but let us die (*moriāmur* = 1st per. pl. hortatory subjunctive).' Down to her last words, Aeneas is on her mind: *moriēmur inultae* pessimistically echoes 2.670 (Aeneas speaking) *numquam omnēs hodiē m̲oriēmur inultī̲*. Dido need not have been so despondent: her curse will continue to work on what she considers unfinished business. It remains unclear at what point (if ever) she would consider herself avenged against Aeneas and his people, or when her curse will have run its course.

660[b]: 'sīc, sīc iuuat īre sub umbrās: *iuuat* [sc. *mē*: 'it pleases me'] *īre sub umbrās* executes [654]*nunc magna meī sub terrās ībit imāgō*. What the anaphora of *sīc* refers to remains unclear: the moment Dido stabs herself (twice?), or the wider circumstances of her death (as of yet unavenged; on the wedding couch turned byre; using Aeneas' sword; sending a curse after him in the process)? The *Aeneid* ends on the phrase *sub umbrās* ([12.951]*uitaque cum gemitū fugit indignāta sub umbrās*, marking the death of Turnus; the line is a repeat of 11.831 where it marks the death of Camilla). Here the absence of closure after *sub umbrās* registers forcefully: Dido continues to speak, ominously.

661–662: hauriat hunc oculīs ignem crūdēlis ab altō | Dardanus et nostrae sēcum ferat ōmina mortis.': Dido continues speaking after stabbing herself (cf. [663]*media inter tālia*). But the words come out in gasps, especially in the first clause: 'Let the cruel Trojan (*crūdēlis ... | Dardanus*) imbibe with his eyes (*hauriat ... oculīs*) this fire (*hunc ... ignem*) from the high seas (*ab altō*).' The interspersing generates two foci, one on Dido (*hunc oculīs ignem*) and one on Aeneas (*crūdēlis ab altō Dardanus*), with the centred abl. phrases specifying (*ab altō*) and bridging (*oculīs*) the distance between the two. The second jussive subjunctive (*ferat*) expresses the result of the first (*hauriat*) in a concentric design, with the verb at the centre, framed by *sēcum ... ōmina* (focus on Aeneas) and bracketed by *nostrae ... mortis* (focus on Dido: there is no escape from her lethal embrace). An *ōmen* is a sign from the gods that prefigures the future, *mortis* a defining genitive: 'the omen of my death' means that her death is an omen of bad things to come, which Aeneas will carry forever as a souvenir from Carthage.

[661]*hauriat*: the verb already figured twice to express figurative fulfilling: (Aeneas speaking) [359]*uōcem ... hīs auribus hausī*; (Dido speaking) [383]*supplicia hausūrum scopulīs*. Its last occurrence comes at 12.945–46 when Aeneas takes in the spoils of Pallas sported by Turnus: *ille, oculīs postquam saeuī monimenta dolōris | exuuiāsque hausit*... 'Aeneas, as soon as his eyes drank in the trophy, that memorial of cruel grief...'

[661]*hunc ... ignem* seems proleptic: the pyre can hardly be on fire already during her final interaction with Anna (yet to come). But it must have

been lit instantly after Dido's death since the entire city is aglow when Aeneas looks back for a final impression of Carthage as the Trojans sail off (5.1–7, cited above Introduction 17). This is the first of Dido's wishes realized *post-mortem*.

[661]*crūdēlis*: cf. 311 (anticipated in 308), 681 (Anna to Dido).

663–665[a]: dīxerat, atqu(e) illam medi(a) inter tālia ferrō | [664]**conlāps(am) aspiciunt comitēs, ēnsemque cruōre** | [665a]**spūmantem sparsāsque manūs:** the tense shifts from pluperfect *dīxerat* to present *aspiciunt*, which governs three acc. objects each further modified by a participle (*illam ... conlāpsam*, *ēnsem ... spūmantem*, *sparsās ... manūs*). They bridge the temporal gap and, in their variation of tenses, set up the final part of the book: whereas *conlāpsam* and *sparsās* are perf. participles, *spumantem* is present, indicating ongoing contemporary action albeit with displaced subject: the wound made by the sword, not the sword itself, foams with blood and will continue to do so until the very end.

[663]*media inter tālia*: the phrase refers to Dido's words, with *inter* in its usual position between the words it governs.

[664]*conlāpsam*, a verb also associated with the fall of cities, initiates an alliterative sequence that concludes with [666]*concussam*, a participle agreeing with [666]*urbem* (via [664]*comitēs*, *cruōre* and [665b]*clāmor*). The death of Dido and the ruin of Carthage are thus obliquely linked even before the simile in 667–71 renders the coincidence explicit.

665[b]–666: it clāmor ad alta | **ātria: concussam bacchātur Fāma per urbem:** *ad alta* agrees with *ātria* across an expressive enjambment and correlates with [661]*ab altō*. *Fāma*, in the habit of perching high on roof-tops, takes it from there and spreads her version of the news through the stricken city, as unhinged in her rampage as Dido was at 301.

667–668: lāmentīs gemitūqu(e) et fēmineō ululātū | [668]**tēcta fremunt, resonat magnīs plangōribus aethēr:** the asyndetic juxtaposition of [668]*fremunt* and *resonat*, reinforced by the ensuing chiasmus of subjects (*tēcta*, *aethēr*) and verbs, expresses the echo, capturing 'the spread of sound from the closed space of the palace to the open sky' (Dainotti 2015: 135–36).

669–671: nōn aliter quam s(ī) immissīs ruat hostibus omnis | [670]Karthāg(ō) aut antīqua Tyros, flammaeque furentēs | [671]culmina perqu(e) hominum uoluantur perque deōrum: the expressions of grief resemble those in a city being sacked, a point reinforced by the simile with specific reference to 'all Carthage' ([669–70]*omnis | Karthāgō*) and 'ancient Tyre' ([670]*antīqua Tyros*), Dido's present and past homes, which are imagined to fall into ruin (*ruat*: intransitive, in the potential subjunctive like [671]*uoluāntur*) at the hands of marauding enemies (*immissīs ... hostibus*: abl. abs. with causal or temporal force). The second part of the simile moves from audio to visual and rekindles the fire theme: the flames, personified as raging (*furentēs*), roll through the homes of both humans and gods alike, a twofold destruction reinforced by the polysyndeton of *-que* and postponement and reiteration of the preposition *per* (= *et per culmina hominum et per* [*culmina*] *deōrum*): 'the repetition shows the flames rolling on, wave after wave' (Austin: 192). The identification of Dido and her city has a Homeric precedent. As Macrobius already observed (*Sāturnālia* 4.6), Virgil adapts the scene of lament and the illustrative simile from *Iliad* 22.408–11, which likewise intertwines individual and city in the context of lament. Priam and the Trojan women mourn for Hector slain, in anticipation of the fall of their city:

> His father groaned piteously, and all around the people were given over to wailing and groaning throughout the city. To this it was most alike, as if all of proud Troy were smouldering with fire from top to bottom.

> ὤμωξεν δ' ἐλεεινὰ πατὴρ φίλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ
> κωκυτῷ τ' εἴχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ.
> τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον ὡς εἰ ἅπασα
> Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης.

As Lyne (1989: 42) puts it: '[Dido] is Carthage's Hector'. The scenarios of the simile also anticipate historical events: Tyre, Dido's hometown, was besieged and sacked by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE, and Carthage was razed to the ground by the Romans in 146 BCE. As Otis

(1964: 72) puts it: 'The wound and the flames that mark Dido's end, and proleptically Carthage's end as well (*flammae furēntes*, 670), are thus the visible signs of an inner tragedy: the course of the book has developed Dido's private wound and private conflagration into a public catastrophe, foreshadowing a greater one to come.' Edgeworth (1976) also notes the transition from the figurative fire of love that has been smouldering in Dido to the historical conflagration of her city, and argues that the scenario specifically evokes the death of the last (nameless) queen, wife of Hasdrubal—the general who surrendered to the Romans in 146 BCE—who threw herself on a burning pyre.

In the teeth of Jupiter's promise in *Aeneid* 1 that the Romans would come to enjoy an 'an empire without end' ([1.279]*imperium sine fīne*), Appian of Alexandria (c. 95 – c. 165 CE), *Pūnica* 132 reports the historian Polybius (c. 200 – 118 BCE) bearing witness to the words of Scipio Aemilianus at the ruins of Carthage—the city he has just sacked:

> After meditating by himself a long time and reflecting on the rise and fall of cities, nations, and empires, as well as of individuals, upon the fate of Troy, that once proud city, upon that of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, greatest of all, and later the splendid Macedonian empire, either voluntarily or otherwise the words of the poet escaped his lips:
>
> > ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ
> > καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.
> >
> > [*Iliad* 6.448–49 (Hector speaking): The day shall come when sacred Ilios will perish and Priam and the people of Priam with goodly spear of ash.]
>
> Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for Polybius had been his tutor) what he meant by using these words, he said that he did not hesitate frankly to name his own country, for whose fate he feared when he considered the mutability of human affairs. And Polybius wrote this down just as he heard it.

The passage triangulates the Sack of Troy (= legendary archetype), the Sack of Carthage (historical), and the Fall of Rome (as a future inevitability). (Indeed, moving on a decade or so, Rome is starting to commit collective suicide in civil warfare—a collapse of internal socio-political order that the historian Sallust links to the disappearance of a meaningful external enemy with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE.)

Extra information

Virgil explores the *urbs-capta* scenario at length in Book 2, with a special twist: 'in the whole course of the narrative..., it is striking how deliberately Virgil emphasizes the burning of the city' (Heinze 1914/1999: 17). The theme carries an apologetic subtext: the narrator, after all, is Aeneas, who needs to justify fleeing from Troy in a moment of crisis: 'the stress laid upon the flames stresses ... the uselessness of trying to serve Troy by remaining there' (Austin 1964: 135) For rhetorical models, see *Rhētorica ad Herennium* 4.15 and Quintilian, *Īnstitūtiō ōrātōria* 8.3.67–69. Both bring out the horror of such events. Recent historical experiences include the Sack of Perugia in 40 BCE (Octavian vs. Lucius Antonius): see Appian, *Bellum Cīuīle* 5.32–49, and further Paul (1982), Rossi (2004: 24–30), and Closs and Keitel (2020).

672–674: audiit exanimis trepidōqu(e) exterrita cursū | [673]unguibus ōra soror foedāns et pectora pugnīs | [674]per mediōs ruit, ac morientem nōmine clāmat: three agitated verses capture how Anna reacts to the news. The basic structure is [672]*audiit* (= *audīuit*) ... [673]*soror* ... [674]*ruit* (linked to *audiit* by the *-que* after [672]*trepidō*) *ac* ... *clāmat*, which Virgil enriches with psychological and circumstantial detail and the vignette of self-flagellation in 673: the adj. *exanimis* (nom. f. sg. in predicative position) captures her state of mind in response to what she has heard; *exterrita* indicates a state of processing the news, which impacts on her movement (*trepidō ... cursū*) as she rushes through the crowd (*per mediōs ruit*; after the initial *audiit*, Virgil shifts from perfect to present tense). The participle [673]*foedāns* governs two acc. objects linked by *et*, *ōra* and *pectora*, each flanked by an instrumental abl. (*unguibus*, *pugnīs*; the words, which frame the line, 'belong to the same semantic register': Dainotti 2015: 221) in a chiastic design. After four future participles of *morī* (308, 415, 520, 604), two infinitives (475, 564), an imperative (547), a future indicative (659), and a present subjunctive (660), the present participle *morientem* (following on from its proleptic use in 610)—which agrees with an implied *eam*/*sorōrem*—indicates that Dido is now in the (prolonged) process of dying. It will last until the final line of the book. See further [678]*moriēns*.

Virgil re-deploys 673 in Juturna's reaction to the appearance of Jupiter's *Dīra*, which signals that the death of her brother Turnus is nigh (12.869–872):

at procul ut Dīrae strīdōrem adgnōuit et ālās,
īnfēlīx crīnīs scindit Iūturna solūtōs,
unguibus ōra soror foedāns et pectora pugnīs:
'quid nunc tē tua, Turne, potest germāna iuuāre?
...'

[But when his unhappy sister Juturna recognized the Dread One's whirring wings from afar, she tears her loosened hair, disfiguring her face with her nails, and her breasts with her fists: 'What help, Turnus, can your sister give you now? ...']

The adjective [12.870]*īnfēlīx* in particular 'introduces a new round of recollections of book 4' (Tarrant 2012: 312), followed hard on the heel by [12.870]*crīnīs scindit*, which echoes [704]*crīnem secat*, before the verbatim reiteration of 4.673. The intratextual correlation establishes a 'sister-in-mourning' pattern and underscores the parallels between Dido and Turnus, Aeneas' two main human adversaries.

675–685[a]: Anna's speech

Anna finds herself in a tragic situation of reality-altering insight. Powerfully painful emotions crash in on her as she realizes what Dido has done, including shock at the sight, anger at Dido's betrayal of her trust, guilt at having been made an unwitting accomplice, regret over not preventing the disaster, and sympathy for her mortally wounded sister. Despite her anguish, she manages to articulate her bitter thoughts in a powerful speech of more than eleven lines marked by jerky symmetries:

A 675–676: Reactions to the scene with three rhetorical questions.
(= 2 lines)
B 677–678[a]: Being abandoned; adumbration of the idea of shared death.
(= 1.5 lines)
C 678[b]–679: Exploration of the counterfactual scenario of a shared death.
(= 1.5 lines)
D 680–681: Focus on the fact that she abetted her own abandonment.
(= 2 lines)
E 682–683[a]: Epitaphic appraisal of the damage Dido has inflicted on her and others.
(= 1.5 lines)
F 683[b]–685[a]: Attending to her dying sister.
(= c. 2 lines)

Anna begins with three rhetorical questions, with the central one focusing on Dido's treachery (*fraus*) (A). This leads on to the idea that Dido spurned her as companion in death (B), a thought then explored as a counterfactual wish (C), before a return to the fact that she was manipulated into helping Dido to commit suicide all alone (D). These four sections thus form a coherent unit: A (2 lines) corresponds to D (2 lines) and B to C (1.5 lines each). After processing her shock not least by exploring an alternate story-line via rhetorical questions and a counterfactual scenario, Anna starts to accept the reality in front of her: she appraises the destruction that Dido wrought on herself, her sister, her people, and her city in 1.5 lines of epitaphic finality (E) before turning her mind to attending to wounded Dido's needs (F). Alternatively, one could parcel up the speech into three parts of 3.5 lines each: A+B (a series of shocked rhetorical questions), C+D (exploration of the idea of dying together), E+F (assessing and dealing with the situation at hand).

675[a]: 'hoc illud, germāna, fuit?: 'this was [what] that [was all about], sister?' 'this' (*hoc*: nom. n. sg., near and immediate) refers to the scene in front of Anna, and 'that' (*illud*: nom. n. sg., remote) points back to 478–98 where Dido instructed Anna to prepare the pyre. (*hoc* scans long despite a short 'o' and following vowel since the original form *hoc*(*ce*), here notionally in play, produces a long syllable by position; likewise in the following line [676]*hoc*…*hoc*, where both instances are in the acc. n. sg.).

675[b]: mē fraude petēbas?: 'it was me you were aiming at in deceit?' Anna makes (and conflates) two points: she realizes that Dido has operated a scheme of deception (*fraude*); and registers that she herself was the target (*mē* ... *petēbas*). The latter is certainly true insofar as Dido used Anna in her scheming; but Anna's question implies that she deems herself the target of the punitive suicide, which she was fooled into abetting: from her point of view, the deception and its outcome are a form of payback. She may not be entirely blameless for the malaise, and at 548–49 Dido holds Anna partly responsible; but to think that Dido was aiming to victimize her seems a misreading of the situation, however understandable psychologically.

676: hoc rogus iste mih(i), hoc ignēs āraeque parābant?: in a desperate attempt to downplay her own role in what has happened, Anna contorts

intent and agency. She imagines the pyre, the fires, and the altars as having prepared 'this' (*hoc*—in emphatic anaphoric reiteration, referring to the suicide scene—is the acc. obj.) *for her* (*mihi* continues Anna's thought that Dido is getting back at her). Her subjects are aspects of the setting, which she helped to arrange: *rogus iste* (the demonstrative conveys grief and disgust), *ignēs* (something is burning even though the pyre itself cannot yet be fully on fire; cf. [661]*hunc ... ignem*), *ārae* (cf. [509]*stant ārae circum*).

677[a]: quid prīmum dēserta querar?: 'What should I lament (*querar* = deliberative subjunctive) first, in my abandoned state?' Just as Aeneas abandoned Dido, Dido abandoned her sister. Forsaking is a theme that runs through the book: 42, 144, 323, 330, 468, 582, see Introduction 21–22.

677[b]–678[a]: comitemne sorōrem | sprēuistī moriēns?: the verse break enacts the separation between Anna and Dido who were once 'unanimous' ([8]*ūnanimam ... sorōrem*), and is difficult to capture in translation: 'Your companion, your sister—have you (truly) scorned (and left hanging) in dying on your own?' As the next sentence makes clear, *comitem* should also be construed as a predicative accusative: Dido has not just spurned her sister companion, but her sister *as* companion in suicide. The perfect is resultative: despite the (rhetorical) question, Dido's scorn of Anna is now a fact. The present participle *moriēns* highlights that Dido's death is ongoing.

678[b]–679: eadem m(ē) ad fāta uocāssēs, | īd(em) ambās ferrō dolor atqu(e) ead(em) hōra tulisset: the subjunctives are best taken as past jussives: 'You should have summoned me to the same fate, the same sword-inflicted pain (lit. "pain through sword": *ferrō* is instrumental abl.), the same hour should have taken (*tulisset* = *abstulisset*) us both (*ambās*).' Anna desperately tries to recreate unity through triple iteration of the 'uniting' demonstrative *īdem*. Likewise, the strained construction *ferrō dolor* suggests that the two sisters *are* united in agony (*dolor*), though Dido's alone is caused by the sword (*ferrō*). At the same time, Anna is starting to distance herself from Dido: that she was not summoned to the suicide would not seem to preclude her from following after, but this option does not cross her mind.

[678b]*fāta*: here has the sense of *mortem*, but the word is also a subtle reminder

that Dido has become a figure of death-stiny who scripts her own fate.

680–681: hīs etiam strūxī manibus, patriōsque uocāuī | uōce deōs, sīc t(ē) ut positā crūdēlis abessem?: 'Have I built the pyre (*rogum*, the acc. obj. of *strūxī* (cf. 676) is suppressed: Anna can't bear to utter the word) with these very hands (*hīs ... manibus* with emphatic hyperbaton of the deictic-demonstrative, further reinforced by the particle *etiam*) and have called upon our ancestral-paternal gods in order (*ut* introduces a purpose clause) to be cruelly (if *crūdēlis* = nom. modifying the implied subj. Anna) absent, with you laid out thus (*sīc tē ... positā*: abl. abs.), cruel one (if *crūdēlis* = voc. following on *tē* and referring to Dido)?' The question is clearly rhetorical: this was *not* Anna's purpose (nor was it the purpose of Fate, as wrongly assumed by Austin: 195 and Maclennan: 165). A note of bitterness creeps into her discourse as Anna retraces how cruelly she has been (or let herself be) fooled.

680*patriōs ... deōs*: the action is not mentioned elsewhere in the narrative, and the choice of gods is curious given that elsewhere in the poem the *dī patriī*, *patriī penātēs*, or *patriī mānēs* are systematically associated with the Trojans: 2.702, 717, 4.599, 5.62–63, 7.229, 9.247 *dī patriī*, *quōrum semper sub nūmine Trōia est*, 10.524–25). See also *Georgics* 1.498 *dī patriī indigetēs et Rōmule Vestaque māter...*

680–81*uocāuī | uōce*: the *figūra etymologica*, both solemn and fetching, is already attested for Ennius, *Annālēs* 46–49 Skutsch, a speech of Ilia, the mother of Romulus: *Haec effātus pater*, *germāna*, *repente recessit | nec sēsē dedit in cōnspectum corde cupītus*, *| quamquam multa manūs ad caelī caerula templa | tendēbam lacrumāns et blandā uōce uocābam* 'So our father spoke, sister, and then quickly withdrew, not putting himself in my sight, though my heart yearned for him as I kept stretching my hands to the azure regions of the sky, weeping and calling out with beseeching voice.' Cf. *Aen*. 6.247, 6.505, 10.873, 12.481, 12.638; Lucretius, *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 4.710.

682–683[a]: exstīnxtī tē mēque, soror, populumque patrēsque | Sīdoniōs urbemque tuam: *exstīnxtī* = *exstīnxistī* (syncopated 2nd pers. sg. perf. ind. act. of *exstinguō*). Anna's deft handling of the connective *-que* creates a sequence of three discrete yet interlinked acc. objects that highlight the scale of the destruction caused by Dido's suicide. It begins

with herself, extends to her family and civic community, and ultimately encompasses her entire city: (a) the *-que* after *mē* links *tē* and *mē*, i.e. the two sisters at the core of the royal household, prolonged via the direct address *soror*; (b) the *-que* after *populum* links '*tē mēque*' to '*populum ... patrēsque | Sīdoniōs*' (= *PPQR*), i.e. the people and the ruling elite of her community of Sidonian exiles (the phrasing recalls *SPQR* = *Senātus PopulusQue Rōmānus*, if in inverse order and with the enjambment of the ethnic marker reinforcing the effect of differential mirroring); (c) the *-que* after *urbem* links *PPQS* to *urbem tuam*, i.e. Carthage, the city Dido founded—her proudest achievement, highlighted by means of the postpositive *tuam*, which also generates a poignant frame with the initial *tē*: everything is wrapped up in her.

Extra information

exstinguere is a potent word in Virgil's lexicon, of elevated stylistic register, used rarely and always with reference to 'world-historical individuals' and scenarios of particularly consequential obliteration (and here, paradoxically, in the proximity of fire). The two instances in the *Eclogues* (5.20–21 *exstīnctum ... Daphnin*, nymphs lamenting the death of Daphnis = Caesar) and the *Georgics* (1.466: the Sun, pitying Rome in the wake Caesar's assassination (*exstīnctō ... Caesare*) and wrapping the universe in darkness) also evoke the collapse of a world-order centred in one person. In the *Aeneid*, the first two instances occur in speeches of Dido, anticipating its use by Anna here: [322]*exstīnctus pudor* and 606, where she imagines the complete destruction of Aeneas' lineage and people, in an ironic anticipation of what she ends up inflicting on herself and her kin and community. The fourth occurrence comes in Aeneas' address to Dido in the Underworld, recapitulating the scene here: [6.456–57]'*īnfēlīx Dīdō, uērus mihi nūntius ergō | uēnerat extīnctam ferrōque extrēma secūtam | fūneris heu! tibi causa fuī?...*' ('Unhappy Dido! Was the tale true then that came to me, that you were dead and had sought your doom with the sword? Was I, alas! the cause of your death?...'). And the five remaining instances refer to Helen's betrayal of Troy at the night of the sack in the vain hope of blotting out the notoriety of her evil deeds (6.527), Hercules' civilizing annihilation of Geryon (7.662) and Cacus (8.267), Latinus ominously mooting the scenario of Turnus' death

in battle (12.38), and Amata wrongly believing that Turnus has been killed (12.599) and then hanging herself. The word thus helps to link Dido and Turnus but, via *oeuvre*-intertextuality with the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, also brings to mind Caesar and Rome (a mental leap facilitated by the nod to *SPQR*) and, more generally, the problematics of a political set-up centred in one individual, poignantly explored as undesirable by Cicero in the *prō Marcellō* (22) but an ineluctable reality by the time Virgil penned the *Aeneid*.

683[b]–685[a]: date uulnera lymphīs | ablu(am), et, extrēmus sī quis super hālitus errat, | ōre legam.': *date* is perhaps best taken in the sense of *permittite/sinite* with suppressed *ut*: 'Let me wash her wounds with water and, if any (*quis* = *aliquis*) last breath (*extrēmus ... hālitus*) floats about residually (*OLD super* 4), catch it with my mouth.' An alternative way to construe the sentence is to take *date* with *uulnera lymphīs* and imagine a distraught Anna to invert direct and indirect object ('Give wounds to water = give water to the wounds'), followed by two future indicatives (*abluam* 'I shall wash them...'; *legam* 'I shall catch...').

The sentence signals a pivot from holding Dido to account to performing last rites of purifying care and ritual compassion. The idea of 'last breath' looks back to [621]*hanc uōcem extrēmam cum sanguine fundō* and forward to the concluding sentence of the book ([705]*in uentōs uīta recessit*).

[684]*extrēmus ... hālitus*: the only other instance of *hālitus* occurs at 6.240 with a very different meaning, but cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 2.21 (Hercules speaking) *ō ante uictrīcēs manūs, | ō pectora, ō terga, ō lacertōrum torī, | uestrō nē pressū quondam Nemeaeus leō | frendēns efflāuit grauiter extrēmum hālitum?* 'O once victorious hands, O breast, O back, O muscles of my arms, beneath your grip did once the Nemean lion gnashing his teeth gasp painfully his last?'

685[b]–687: sīc fāta gradūs ēuāserat altōs, | sēmianimemque sinū germān(am) amplexa fouēbat | cum gemit(ū) atq(ue) ātrōs siccābat ueste cruōrēs: *fāta* = perf. pass. participle in the nom. f. sg. of *for, fārī* 'to speak', but expressing contemporaneous action with *ēuāserat* (here: 'to ascend, rise, climb', with *gradūs ... altōs* as acc. obj.): 'while speaking thus, she had scaled the high steps...', retracing Dido's steps

([645–46]*altōs* | *cōnscendit furibunda rogōs*). The *-que* after *sēmianimem* links *ēuāserat* and *fouēbat*. *sēmianimem ... germānam* is the shared acc. obj. of *amplexa* and *fouēbat*. The imperfect verbs (linked by *atque*) are best taken as inchoative (*fouēbat*) and conative (*siccābat*): 'she began to caress... and tried (in vain) to dry up....' The graphic plural *ātrōs ... cruōrēs* indicates that Dido's blood keeps flowing (cf. Horace, *Ode* 2.1.5). The last sound we hear from Anna is groaning (*cum gemitū*), highlighted by enjambment reinforced by caesura (though blurred through the elision). It anticipates [692]*ingemuit* (with Dido as subject): at this stage, both sisters are reduced to aphatic noises. Virgil elsewhere uses *gemitus* only at 3.570 (of marginal relevance) and in the death-lines of Camilla and Turnus (11.828 = 12.952, cited below 573).

[686]*sēmianimem* (= *sēmjanimem* for scanning purposes, with 'consonantal *i*'): the compound adj., in recalling [8]*ūnanimam* and [672]*exanimis*, not only expresses Dido's half-way state between life and death but also the gradual separation of the sisterly unit over the course of the book. It is the idiom of the battlefield since Ennius (cf. *Annālēs*, fr. 483–84 Skutsch: *ōscitat in campīs caput ā ceruīce reuulsum* | *sēmianimēsque micant oculī lūcemque requīrunt* 'the head, torn from the neck, gapes on the plain, and half-alive, the eyes twitch and seek the light'). See also 10.390, 10.400, 11.631, 12.353.

688–689[a]: illa grauīs oculōs cōnāt(**a**) **attollere rūrsus** | **dēficit**: Dido tries to be responsive and lift her eyes, heavy with death, for an entire line—but fails, in a particularly effective enjambment: 688 ends on a note of expectancy, which is instantly crushed. The diaeresis after the first foot of 689 allows the futility of the effort to sink in.

689[b]: īnfīxum strīdit sub pectore uulnus: 'the deep-set wound wheezes in her chest', perhaps referring to the sound made by a pierced lung when breathing. Each word (and their combination) recalls earlier moments in Book 4, creating a dense web of intratextual threads here brought together in a moment of preliminary closure: see Introduction 15.

690–692: ter sēs(**ē**) **attollēns cubitōqu**(**e**) **adnīxa leuāuit,** | [691]**ter reuolūta tor**(**ō**) **est oculīsqu**(**e**) **errantibus altō** | [692]**quaesīuit caelō lūc**(**em**) **ingemuitque repertā:** 'three times ([690]*ter*), trying to raise herself (the

present participle *attollēns* expresses incomplete endeavour) and having propped herself up on the elbow (*cubitō ... adnīxa*), she lifted herself (*leuāuit*); three times ([691]*ter*) she rolled back on the couch and, with errant eyes, sought the light in the high sky (*altō | ... caelō* with effective hyperbaton across verse break) and groaned, having (finally! *reperta* is pointedly placed at the end of the line) found it.' Austin (198) draws attention to 'the slow spondees in *ter sēsē attollēns* for her effort, the dactyls (691) as she falls back writhing, and again the spondees (692) as her dim eyes grope for the light.' The assonance *ter reuolūta torō est* in the phrase that undoes her exertion (itself carefully spelled out by the sequence of the two alliterative participles *attollēns* and *adnīxa* and the main verb *leuāuit*) reinforces the metrical enactment, just as the delayed position of *lūcem*, the acc. obj. of *quaesīuit*, expresses the long-drawn-out effort of her roaming eyes. It remains unclear why Dido groans when she finds the light. [451]*taedet caelī conuexa tuerī* and [631]*inuīsam quaerēns quam prīmum abrumpere lūcem* suggest that she groans at realizing that she is still alive.

[690]*sēsē*: the shared acc. obj. of *attollēns* and *leuāuit*.

[692]*quaesīuit caelō lūcem*: Dido's upward gaze anticipates the re-appearance of Juno at 693: 'In these lines of great intensity Virgil leads our eyes, with Dido's, skywards, where we encounter a pitying Juno' (Pobjoy 1998: 47).

[692]*ingemuit*: Dido's terminal sound links her death to that of Turnus at the end of the epic ([12.951–52]*illī soluuntur frīgore membra | uītaque cum gemitū fugit indignāta sub umbrās*), where several aspects coincide: (1) the loss of vital warmth (cf. *frīgore*); (2) the departure of life (*uīta*) to the shades below (cf. *sub umbrās*); (3) a final groan (*cum gemitū*); (4) a sense of resentment (*indignāta*). Dido has anticipated two of the elements (resentful departure to the shades) in her last speech with [659]*moriēmur inultae* and [660]*sīc, sīc iuuat īre sub umbrās*. 692 features her terminal groan. But it will take another thirteen lines before we get the collapse of her vital energy ([704–5]*omnis et ūnā | dīlāpsus calor*) and the dissipation (not departure!) of her life, not *sub umbrās* but into the winds ([705]*in uentōs uīta recessit*). By comparison to Turnus (or any other character in the poem), Dido experiences a unique and uniquely fragmented and drawn-out death, in what some scholars have read as a perverse enactment of the labour of childbirth, aided by

Juno in her role of Lucina (Phillips 1977).

[692]*repertā*: sc. *lūce* (an effective elision).

693–695: Tum Iūn(ō) omnipotēns longum miserāta dolōrem | [694]difficilīsqu(e) obitūs Īrim dēmīsit Olympō | [695]quae luctant(em) animam nexōsque resolueret artūs: the temporal adv. *tum* sets up the final scene of the poem. The basic components of the sentence are [693]*Iūnō* ... [694]*Īrim dēmīsit*, with acc. obj. and main verb much delayed by Juno's epithet *omnipotēns* and the participle *miserāta* (from the deponent *miseror*, agreeing with *Iūnō*), which governs two acc. objects: *longum ... dolōrem* and *difficilīsque obitūs*. [695]*quae* (with *Īrim* as antecedent) introduces a relative clause of purpose: Iris is supposed to free Dido's soul from her body (that is, enable her to die). *resolueret* governs two acc. phrases consisting of a participle and noun (*luctantem animam* and *nexōs ... artūs*) but with slightly different meanings: with the former, the sense is 'to release' (the struggling soul); with the latter, 'to loosen' (the interconnected limbs of the body so that the struggling soul can exit). The zeugma nicely enacts the disparate unity of soul and body. (Alternatively, the phrase can be understood as an extended hendiadys: 'to free the struggling soul from the tied-knit limbs'.) The two pairs of accusatives with *miserāta* and *resolueret* work in parallel: *longum ... dolōrem* anticipates *luctāntem animam*; and *difficilīs obitūs* anticipates (and is explained by) *nexōs ... artūs*. Causally, the sequence works backwards: the 'limbs' (*artūs*) are tightly held together (*nexī*); hence the soul (*anima*) struggles to set itself free; hence death (*obitūs*) proves difficult; and hence the suffering (*dolor*) is prolonged.

[693]*Tum Iūnō omnipotēns*: 'Juno now appears for the last time as the patroness of Carthage and its queen, though it seems ironical that she should be described as *omnipotēns* when her plans have been so completely frustrated' (Pease: 529). This is true as far as it goes. But Juno is about to team up with Dido and Iris to achieve something no other character in the poem manages to do: rupture *fātum*. In this, her powers match or even exceed those of Jupiter, who ponders the possibility but never quite does it (cf. *Aeneid* 9.93–103, where he addresses Cybele; for the limits of divine ability to meddle with fate, see esp. [97]*cui tanta deō permissa potestās?* 'to what god is such power allowed?').

[693]*miserāta*: Juno is primarily associated with violent and destructive

emotions, particularly anger (*īra*), but she is capable of pity/compassion. Cf. 10.685–86, where the person she pities is Turnus.

694*difficilīs ... obitūs*: Virgil uses the adj. elsewhere only at 5.864 and the noun at 12.501 (also in the sense of 'death', in the collective singular: Tarrant 2012: 220, with reference to Lyne 1989: 108–11). The combination here is unparalleled. True, the plural 'avoids hiatus with the following vowel' (Pease: 529), but this is surely a side-benefit of the more pertinent point that the phrase captures the drawn-out nature of Dido's dying: the grammatical peculiarity underscores the peculiar scenario that her death, despite her best efforts, has not happened instantly but is a potentially never-ending process. This is a curious idea that requires an explanation, which Virgil provides in 696–99 (*nam*...): Juno needs to intervene because Dido's suicide goes against *fātum*.

694*Īrim*: according to Hesiod, *Theogony* 265–67, 'swift' Iris' parents are Thaumas ('Wonder') and Electra, a daughter of Okeanos (a genealogy liked by Plato in *Theaetetus* 155d, where Socrates approves of 'Mr. Wonder' as dad of 'Lady Rainbow'). Her multicoloured link-up between Heaven and Earth predestines her for the role of divine messenger, which she plays from Homer onwards. As the personification of a natural phenomenon (Ἶρις/*īris* means 'rainbow'), she invites speculations of the ontological kind: is Iris herself the rainbow, or does she generate the rainbow during her travels or perhaps as a pathway for travel? The Greek acc. of Ἶρις/*Īris* is Ἶριν/*Īrin*, the *m*-ending an assimilation to Latin declension. See further Feeney (1998/2021).

694*Olympō*: abl. of separation. This is the only place in the poem where Juno is exclusively associated with Mt. Olympus (whether or not she is physically present remains open, but seems implied). Within the cosmic geography, the mountain, just like the attribute *omnipotēns*, is primarily associated with Jupiter as the representative of cosmic order. Virgil underscores the complementarity lexically: *dēmīsit Olympō* recalls 268–69*ipse deum tibi mē clārō dēmittit Olympō* | *rēgnātor*... (the Iris-equivalent Mercury speaking). The two passages work in gendered parallel: Jupiter > Mercury > Aeneas (departing); Juno > Iris > Dido (departing), with the first sequence causing the second.

Mt. Olympus is an essential point of reference in Rome's Greek-

inspired literary geography, since the first transmitted line of Latin hexameter poetry (Ennius, *Annālēs* fr. 1 *Mūsae quae pedibus magnum pulsātis Olympum* 'Muses, who strike great Olympus with your feet'). It is a resonant location: associations include the spatio-temporal coordinates of the ordered cosmos (day and night, heaven and hell), the source of key divine interventions and Rome's (and Augustus') final destination: the rise of the *urbs* to cover the *orbis* is expressed with reference to Olympus at 6.780–81 *ēn huius, nāte, auspiciīs illa incluta Rōma | imperium terrīs, animōs aequābit Olympō* 'Lo, under his auspices, my son, shall that glorious Rome extend her empire to earth's ends, her ambitions to the skies'. (Cf. the end of the *Georgics* where Caesar Octavianus is imagined as forging a path to Olympus in gigantomachic fashion: 4.559 ... *uiam ... affectat Olympō*.)

[695]*luctantem animam nexōsque ... artūs*: *anima* and *artūs* seem to imply a proto-philosophical soul/body dualism in the tradition of Plato, with the soul locked into and animating the body. With a loosening of the limbs the soul departs the body (as if from a prison), retaining memory and identity. This is different from the Epicurean idea that the soul, conceived as a life-force, is a source of tension that keeps the body compact and animated; when the configuration of atoms that constitute the soul disperse upon death, the limbs loosen. Dido herself seems to endorse a proto-Epicurean model of the self at [385]... *cum frīgida mors animā sēdūxerit artūs*, but comes closer to the Platonic variant at [648]*accipite hanc animam mēque hīs exsoluite cūrīs*. The ambiguities continue till the end: Dido's 'shade-soul' will end up in the Underworld, yet her life(-force) disperses into the winds.

696–699: nam quia nec fātō meritā nec morte perībat, | [697]sed miser(a) ante diem subitōqu(e) accēnsa furōre, | [698]nōnd(um) illī flāuum Prōserpina uertice crīnem | [699]abstulerat Stygiōque caput damnāuerat Orcō: the lines explain why Dido, who mortally wounded herself in line 660, has not yet died—indeed, cannot die without *unconventional* divine assistance. The explanatory particle *nam*, which anticipates the main clause (698–99), is instantly followed by the conjunction *quia*, which introduces a causal subordinate clause (696–97). The combination is unparalleled in Virgil and rare elsewhere. It urges the reader to please pay attention: what comes may well surprise! The subordinate clause offers

a double reason—first negative, then positive—why Proserpina has not yet (*nōndum*) performed (nor, implicitly, ever will perform) the ritual act required to let Dido die and enable her entry into the Underworld: the cutting of a lock. This 'seems to be a Vergilian invention, despite the effort of Macrobius *Sat*. 5.19.2 to make it traditional' (O'Hara: 93, with reference to Rauk 1995, recognizing that Euripides, *Alcestis* 72–76 (cited below) offers a precedent of sorts). As a result of this cosmic law of Virgil's literary world, Dido was trying to die only to find herself in a permanent state of dying: the imperfect *perībat* is both conative and durative. She did not 'botch her suicide' (*pāce* Fratantuono–Smith: 922): she could hardly have done better than falling on her sword. But she did so neither 'by/through/because of fate, on her allotted day' (the negated abl. *fātō* specifies that her dying was not preordained and was premature), nor aimed for a death she deserved (*meritā ... morte*). Instead (Virgil now rephrases the point in positive terms just to make sure), she wretchedly (*misera*: adj. in lieu of adv.) was trying to take her own life before her appointed day (*ante diem*, correlating with *nec fātō*) and in a flare-up of sudden madness (*subitō ... accēnsa furōre*, correlating with *meritā nec morte*). Far from being fated, Dido's suicide goes against (her) *fātum* (her allotted time on Earth, but inevitably (!?) also implying 'destiny' as set out in the scrolls of fate), which is why Proserpina refuses to act: since her death was not supposed to happen, the warden of the universe responsible for entry to the Underworld does not let her pass the threshold. Ultimately, of course, Dido achieves the impossible: she bends the world to her will by forcing the hand of Juno and, in so doing, ruptures (her) *fātum*. By sending down Iris, Juno becomes complicit in Dido's death, which countersigns her curse, unleashing it on Aeneas and Rome as well as (ultimately) on Juno's city of Carthage. Dido emerges as the most powerful agent of the poem: the only one who breaks fate and bends destiny to her will, not only on the individual level but also in terms of world history: her curse will come to complement the *fātum* over which Jupiter presides —> ***TD*** Geisthardt and Gildenhard 415–19.

The closest parallel to the idea that entry into hell requires a ritual haircut is Euripides, *Alcestis* 73–76 (Thanatos/Death speaking):

> The woman is going down in any case to the house of Hades. I go to her to take the first sacrificial cutting of her hair. For when this sword has consecrated the hair of someone's head, he is the

sacred property of the gods below.
ἡ δ᾽ οὖν γυνὴ κάτεισιν εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους.
στείχω δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει·
ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν
ὅτου τόδ᾽ ἔγχος κρατὸς ἀγνίσῃ τρίχα.

The association of cut hair with death and departure also resonates in Callimachus' 'Lock of Berenice' (rendered into Latin by Catullus in c. 66), though in this case the hair ends up in heaven —> ***TD*** 'Allusion'.

[696]*fātō*: Dido's suicide happened against fate. As Jupiter points out (speaking to Hercules, in advance consolation for the imminent death of Pallas) at 10.467–72:

'stat sua cuique diēs, breue et inreparābile tempus
omnibus est uītae; sed fāmam extendere factīs,
hoc uirtūtis opus. Trōiae sub moenibus altīs
tot gnātī cecidēre deum, quīn occidit ūnā
Sarpēdōn, mea prōgeniēs; etiam sua Turnum
fāta uocant mētāsque datī peruēnit ad aeuī.'

'Each has their day appointed; short and irretrievable is the span of life for all: but to lengthen fame by deeds—that is valour's task. Under Troy's high walls fell those many sons of gods; indeed, with them fell my own child Sarpedon. For Turnus too his own fates calls, and he has reached the goal of his allotted years.'

Jupiter here refers to the common desire of gods to prolong the lifespan of their favourite mortals, an issue *Iliad* 16.426–61 negotiates with reference to the imminent death of Sarpedon at the hands of Patroclus. Zeus wishes to save him, but Hera warns her husband not to interfere since every other Olympian divinity would then wish to save their favourites from preordained death: it would mean the end of the Olympian order, which presupposes consensual acceptance of certain laws, on some level. Conversely, the passage highlights why Dido struggles to execute her suicide: this is *not* her 'appointed day' (cf. *ante diem*); the *fāta* do *not* 'call her'; she has *not* 'reached the goal of her allotted years'.

[697]*ante diēm*: the phrase recalls [620]*sed cadat ante diēm* (part of what Dido wishes on Aeneas, she inflicts on herself: sympathetic magic at work).

[697]*subitō ... accēnsa furōre*: the phrasing is echoed in the suicide scene of *īnfēlīx Amata* (12.598), who, erroneously believing herself to have caused the death of Turnus, 'her mind distraught by sudden anguish' ([12.599]*subitō mentem turbāta dolōre*), hangs herself.

[698]*illī*: referring to Dido.

[698]*flāuum ... crīnem*: Lavinia also has blonde or 'shiny' hair ([12.605]*flauōs ... crīnīs*, unless one adopts the conjecture *flōrōs*), which she tears in grief at her mother's suicide.

[698]*Prōserpina*: the Latin name for Persephone (cf. Cicero, *Dē Nātūrā Deōrum* 2.66 ... *Prŏserpina*, *quod Graecōrum nōmen est*, *ea enim est quae* Περσεφόνη *Graece nōminātur*). The goddess is imagined as being in charge of the Gates of Hell, with considerable leverage for deciding on what terms people should be kept in or out. As the story of Orpheus and Eurydice illustrates, recounted by Virgil in *Georgics* 4, she is a stickler for protocol and recalls Eurydice after Orpheus broke the injunction 'there's no looking back' ([487]*namque hanc dederat Prōserpina lēgem* 'for that condition had Proserpine imposed'). Here we have the inverse scenario of her refusing to admit an undeserving soul to the Underworld.

[698]*uertice*: abl. of separation.

[699]*Stygiō ... caput damnāuerat Orcō*: '*caput Orcō damnāre*' seems to be a variation of the standard idiom for passing a death sentence (which Proserpina refuses to do) in contrast to *aliquem* (*dē*)*mittere Orcō*, which Virgil uses to describe a kill in battle (2.396, 9.525, 9.785).

700–702[a]: erg(ō) Īris croceīs per caelum rōscida pennīs | mīlle trahēns uariōs aduersō sōle colōrēs | dēuolat et suprā caput astitit: since Proserpina will not act, Juno sends Iris on her way, and she descends as or on a rainbow. The hyperbaton of subject [700]*Īris* and verb [702]*dēuolat* (in enjambment) measures out the distance of the slide from heaven, with the intervening words adding colour: Iris, dewy (*rōscida*: moisture in the air is a prerequisite for a rainbow), flies down through heaven (*per caelum*) on saffron wings (*croceīs ... pennīs*; perhaps to be construed as

abl. of respect with *rōscida*: 'with dew on her saffron wings'), trailing behind her (*trahēns*) a thousand different colours (*mīlle ... uariōs ... colōrēs*: the spread of the phrase across the beginning, middle and end of the verse enacts the colour spectrum) that are flashing up when struck by the rays of the sun (*aduersō sōle*: lit. 'with the sun facing her'). She comes to rest just above Dido's head (*suprā caput astitit*).

Extra information

Virgil's rainbow is reminiscent of Lucretius' explication of lightning at *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 6.204–7:

> Hāc etiam fit utī dē causā mōbilis ille
> dēuolet in terram liquidī color aureus ignis,
> sēmina quod nubēs ipsās permulta necessust
> ignis habēre...
>
> Another reason why that golden colour of flowing fire swiftly flies down to the earth is that in themselves the clouds must have very many seeds of fire

The usual complementarity of Epicurean physics versus traditional myth (with Virgil retaining touches of science) is here enhanced by the implicit contrast between Jupiter, wielder of the lightning bolt, and Juno, who cosplays her husband as Lady Omnipotent, residing on Mt. Olympus.

702[b]–703: 'hunc ego Dītī | sacrum iussa ferō tēqu(e) istō corpore soluō': *hunc* modifies an implied *crīnem* (the lock of hair Iris cuts) with *sacrum* as predicative complement: 'this [lock of hair] I bring as offering to Dis, having been ordered to do so (*iussa* = perf. pass. part. in the nom. f. sg. modifying the implied subject Iris) and [thereby] release you from this body (*istō corpore*: abl. of separation).' Iris' model of the human self operates with a variant of body/soul dualism, with Dido's 'self' becoming untethered from her body in death (but continuing to exist).

[703]*tēque istō corpore soluō* develops [695]*nexōsque resolueret artūs*, where the basic meaning of *soluere* is in play: 'to loosen, untie', or with reference to limbs specifically, 'to slacken, relax'. At 703, the sense is 'to set someone

(acc.) free from (abl. of separation)'. With reference to the duality of 'self/life' and 'body', the verb implies imprisonment of the soul within the body: *OLD* 5d 'to set free (a person or their soul) in death'. It is a solemn pronouncement: a weighty speech act with an efficacious if sad outcome. The idea has had significant purchase in philosophy and religion, ancient and modern. See e.g. Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.75 (the body as prison of the soul, life as death and death as liberation), and Quintilian, *Īnstitūtiō ōrātōria* 5.14.13 *solūta corpore anima*.

704–705: sīc ait et dextrā crīnem secat, omnis et ūnā | dīlāpsus calor atqu(e) in uentōs uīta recessit: Virgil uses present tense for Iris' actions (*ait et ... secat*) and switches to (resultative) perfects (*dīlāpsus* [*est*] ... *atque ... recessit*) to capture the impact on Dido: the moment Iris cuts the lock of hair with her right hand (*dextrā* sc. *manū*), all warmth (*omnis ... calor*) collapses simultaneously (*ūnā*) and her life (*uīta*) recedes into the winds. The reference to heat dispersing closes the thematic sequence of 'internal blaze' that began with [2]*caecō ... ignī*.

calor occurs in only three other places in the poem, and the sequence profiles the special nature of Dido's death. Twice it is used in a situation of a woman fainting in the face of a death-like appearance or news of death: 3.308–9 (Andromache reacting to the appearance of Aeneas) *dēriguit, ... calor ossa relīquit, | lābitur* 'she stiffened ... the warmth left her limbs, she swoons'; 9.475 (Euryalus' mother reacting to news of her son's death) *subitus ... calor ossa relīquit* 'at once warmth left her frame'. In the third instance, it refers to the warm surge of sexual energy that Vulcan experiences when seduced by Venus ([8.387–88]*accēpit solitam flammam, nōtusque medullās | intrāuit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit* 'he felt the usual flame; the familiar warmth passed into his marrow and ran through his melting frame'). Only in Dido's case is *calor* synonymous with *uīta*: it is conceived as the life-force itself that collapses in a moment of entropy. The attribute *omnis* and the adverb *ūnā* reinforce the effect.

The final phrase *in uentōs uīta recessit* is similarly unique. Commentators routinely adduce the deaths of Lausus, Camilla, and Turnus as *comparanda*. And as we have seen, the end of *Aeneid* 4 with its combination of *calor* and *uīta* does anticipate the death of Turnus at the very end of the poem (prefigured in the same language by the death of Camilla in Book 11). But the differences are equally striking:

10.819–20 (Lausus):

tum uīta per aurās
concessit maesta ad Mānīs corpusque relīquit.

[then through the air the life fled sorrowing to the Shades and left the body.]

11.831 = 12.952 (Camilla and Turnus):
uītaque cum gemitū fugit indignāta sub umbrās.

[with a moan her/his life fled resentfully to the Shades below.]

In those cases, the *uīta* stands in for the person and, in the form of the person, enters the Underworld. What happens to Dido is different: her *calor* and *uīta* disperse into the winds; her (lifeless) entry into the Underworld is taken as understood. Why this difference in emphasis and terminology? Virgil might have opted for this special idiom to reinforce the idea of Dido's continual, ubiquitous presence (in the form of a curse or avenging fury) in the upperworld (which does not apply to Lausus, Camilla, or Turnus). The idea of ghostly presence finds support in how Virgil describes the disappearance of Creusa's phantom (which also retains some presence on earth): [2.790]*tenuīs ... recessit in aurās* 'she drew back into thin air'. The phrasing also grants Dido a final Epicurean moment. See Lucretius, *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* 3.128–29:

est igitur calor ac uentus uītālis in ipsō
corpore, quī nōbīs moribundōs dēserit artūs.

There is therefore within the body itself a heat and a vital wind which deserts our frame on the point of death.

[705]*dīlāpsus*: Virgil uses the compound verb *dīlābor* only here in the *Aeneid*, though the motif of collapse is pervasive throughout Book 4. The two instances of *dīlābor* in the *Georgics* (3.556–58; 4.407–10) highlight the radical disintegration that the verb signifies.

[705]*in uentōs uīta recessit*: the alliterative collocation of winds (*uentī*) and life (*uīta*) hints at thematic affinity. At 5.523–26, Virgil uses a similar idiom of Acestes' arrow turning into a blazing 'comet' before vanishing into thin air (*tenuīs ... recessit* | ... *in uentōs*), prefiguring Caesar's catasterism and signalling the opposite destinations of Dido and Aeneas.

Vocabulary

ā, ab (prep. + abl.)	(away) from, out of; down from; by; at, in, on
abeō, -īre, -iī/-īuī, -itum	to go away, depart; vanish
abluō, -luere, -uī, -ūtum	to wash away; cleanse, purify
abnuō, -nuere, -uī	to refuse (by a sign), deny, reject, decline
aboleō, -ēre, -ēuī (-uī), -itum	to destroy, abolish, efface, annihilate
abripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptum	to take forcibly away, tear from, force off
abrumpō, -ere, -rūpī, -ruptum	to break off, break away, tear, rend, burst, sever
abscindō, -ere, -scidī, -scissum	to tear off, break away, break off
abscondō, -ere, -dī/-didī, -ditum	to hide, conceal
absēns, -entis (part. of absum)	absent
absum, abesse, āfuī	to be away from, be absent
absūmō, -ere, -mpsī, -mptum	to take away, diminish, use up, consume
ac	and
accendō, -ere, -dī, -sum	to set on fire, kindle, light; to inflame, incite
accingō, -cingere, -cinxī, -cinctum	to gird to/on/round, bind on
	to arm, equip, furnish, provide
accipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum	to receive, listen to, get, accept
ācer, -cris, -cre (adj.)	sharp, piercing, penetrating, vehement, fierce
aceruus, -ī, m.	pile, heap
aciēs, aciēī, f.	a sharp edge, point, cutting part
	sharpness of vision, pupil of the eye
	front of an army, line of battle

ad (prep. + acc.)	to, toward; near, at
adeō (adv.)	to this, thus far, so far, as far
adeō, -īre, -iī/-īuī, -itum	to go to, approach, enter upon, undertake
adfātus, -ūs, m.	a speaking to, address
adfor, -ārī, -ātus	to speak to, accost, address
adgredior, -ī, -gressus	to approach
adhūc (adv.)	until now, hitherto, as yet
adigō, -igere, -ēgī, -āctum	to drive, urge, bring by force, take
adimo, -imere, -ēmī, -emptum	to take away, take from, deprive of
aditus, -ūs, m.	approach, access; entrance
adloquor, -loquī, -locūtus	to speak to, address
admoneō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to bring to mind, remind, suggest
admoueō, -mouēre, -mōuī, -mōtum	to move to
adnītor, adnītī, adnīsus or adnixus	to press against, lean upon, exert oneself, strive
adnō, -āre, -nāuī, -nātum	to swim/sail to, approach
adnuō, -nuere, -nuī, -nūtum	to nod assent to, to approve, favour, allow, grant
adquīrō, -quīrere, -quīsīuī, -quīsītum	to add to, to get or acquire; obtain, secure
adsum, adesse, adfuī	to be present, be at (hand)
adsurgō, -surgere, -surrexī, -surrectum	to rise towards/up, rise, stand up
aduena, -ae, m./f./n.	a stranger, foreigner, immigrant
aduersor, -ārī, -ātus	to resist, withstand, oppose
aduersus, -a, -um (adj.)	turned toward, opposite, in front of
aduertō, -tere, -tī, -sum	to turn to, observe, notice
aeger, -gra, -grum (adj.)	unwell, ill, sick, diseased, suffering, feeble
Aenēās, ae, m. (Αἰνείας)	Aeneas
ăēnus, -a, -um (trisyllabic)	of copper or bronze
aequō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make equal, equalize
aequor, -ŏris, n.	an even surface, level; calm/smooth sea
aequus, -a, -um (adj.)	even, plain, level, flat; fair, right, equitable

aestus, -ūs, m.	agitation, glow, heat, rage of fire; boiling of the sea; commotion of the mind; trouble, uncertainty
aetās, -ātis, f.	age, lifetime, years
aeternus, -a, -um (adj.)	lasting, enduring, permanent, endless
aethēr, -ĕris, (acc. aethera) m. (αἰθήρ)	the upper air, sky, firmament
aetherius, -a, -um (adj.) (αἰθέριος)	of the upper air, heavenly, ethereal, celestial
Aethĭŏps, -ŏpis, m. (Αἰθίοψ)	an Ethiopian
Āfrica, -ae, f. (ἡ Ἀφρική)	Africa
Agamemnonius, -a, -um	of/pertaining to Agamemnon
Ăgăthyrsī, -ōrum, m. (Ἀγάθυρσοι)	the Agathyrsi
ager, -grī, m.	arable land, a field, farm, estate, pasture
aggerō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to heap/pile up, augment, increase, intensify
agitō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum (freq. of agō)	to set in violent motion, move, impel, urge
agmen, -inis, n.	that which is driven: marching line, troop, band
agnōscō, -nōuī, -nitum	to recognize, identify, make out; allow, admit to know, perceive
agō, agere, ēgī, actum	to move, lead, drive, tend, conduct
- imper.: age, agite	come on! quick!
aiō (aiō, ais, ait—aiunt)	to say, affirm, assert; to speak
āla, -ae, f.	feather, wing; wing of an army, troop of hunters
ālātus, -a, -um (adj.)	winged, having wings
albēscō, -bēscere	to become white, whiten
aliēnus, -a, -um (adj.)	belonging to another, foreign, alien, strange
aliquī, aliqua, aliquod (adj.)	some, any
aliquis, aliquid (indef. pronoun)	some one

aliter (adv.)	in another manner, otherwise, differently
alius, alia, aliud (adj.)	another, other, different
alō, alere, aluī, altum/ alitum	to feed, nourish, support, sustain, maintain
Alpīnus, -a, -um (adj.)	of the Alps, Alpine
altārium, -iī, n.	altar
altē (adv.)	(on) high
alter, altera, alterum (adj.)	one or the other (of two)
alternō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to do by turns, interchange; alternate, waver
altus, -a, -um (adj.)	high, lofty, elevated; deep, profound
- altum (sc. caelum)	the height of heaven, high heaven, the heavens
- altum (sc. mare)	the high sea, the deep, the sea
amārus, -a, -um (adj.)	bitter, pungent; offensive
ambiō, -īre, -īuī/-iī, -ītum	to go round, go about; solicit, canvass for votes
ambō, -ae, -ō (adj.)	both
āmēns, -mentis (adj.)	out of one's senses, mad, frantic, distracted
āmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to send away, dismiss, part with, lose
amnis, -is, m.	river
amō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to love
amor, -ōris, m.	love/Love; [516]love charm (= hippomanes)
amplector, -plectī, -plexus	to twine around, encircle, encompass, embrace
amplus, -a, -um (adj.)	of large extent, great, ample, spacious, roomy
	great, abundant, ample, much, long
an (conj.)	or
anceps, ancipitis (adj.)	two-headed, double; doubtful, undecided
Anchīsēs, -ae, m. (Ἀγχίσης)	Anchises
angustus, -a, -um (adj.)	narrow, strait, contracted
anīlis, -e (adj.)	of or pertaining to an old woman.

anima, -ae, f.	air, a current of air, a breeze, wind
	the vital principle, the breath of life, mind, soul
animus, -ī, m.	the rational soul, intellect; affection, passion
Anna, -ae, f.	Anna (Dido's sister)
annōsus, -a, -um (adj.)	full of years, aged, old
ante (adv. + prep. + acc.)	before
ante ... quam (conj.)	before
anteferō, -tulī, -lātum, -ferre	to place before; to prefer, give the preference to
antīquus, -a, -um (adj.)	ancient, former, of old times
aper, -prī, m.	wild boar
apex, -icis, m.	the extreme end, point, summit, top
Apollō, -inis, m. (Ἀπόλλων)	Apollo
[apō, -ere	to fasten, attach, join, bind, tie to]
- used only in perf. pass. part. aptus	joined, bound, or tied together, connected
	suited, suitable, proper, apposite, fit
aptō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to fit, adapt; to prepare, get ready, furnish
apud (prep. + acc.)	with, at, by, near, among
aqua, -ae, f.	water
aquilō, -ōnis, m.	north wind
aquōsus, -a, -um (adj.)	abounding in water, rainy, moist, watery
āra, -ae, f.	altar
arbor, -oris, f.	tree
arcānus, -a, -um (adj.)	secret, trusty, silent; hidden, concealed, private
ārdeō, ārdēre, ārsī, ārsum	to be on fire, burn, blaze, be burned
ārdor, -ōris, m.	a burning, flame, fire, heat;
	impatience, eagerness, ardent desire
arduus, -a, -um (adj.)	high, elevated, lofty, steep
arguō, -guere, -guī, -gūtum	to make known, show, prove, manifest, disclose

arma, -ōrum, n. pl.	implements, outfit, instruments, tools
armō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to furnish with weapons, arm, equip
armus, -ī, m.	shoulder
arō, arāre, arāuī, arātum	to plough, till
arrēctus, -a, -um (perf. pass. part. of arrigō)	erect, upright
ars, artis, f.	(practical) skill, handicraft, trade
artus, -ūs, m.	joint, limb
arua, -ōrum, n. pl.	regions, fields
arundō, -inis, f.	reed, cane
arx, arcis, f.	a castle, citadel, fortress, stronghold
Ascanius, -iī, m. (Ἀσκάνιος)	Ascanius
aspectus, -ūs, m.	a seeing, looking at, sight, view, glance, look
asper, -era, -erum (adj.)	rough, harsh, sour, bitter; violent, savage
aspiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum	to look at, look upon, behold, look
assiduus, -a, -um (adj.)	busy, continual, unremitting, incessant
- assiduē (adv.)	continually
ast = at	
astrum, -ī, n.	a heavenly body, star, constellation
astō, astāre, astitī	to stand at, take place near
at	but, on the contrary, in opposition to this
āter, -tra, -trum (adj.)	black, coal-black, gloomy, dark
Atlās, -antis, m. (Ἄτλας)	Atlas
atque (conj.)	and, and also
ātrium, -iī, n.	fore-court, hall, principal room
attingō, -tingere, -tigī, -tactum	to touch, come in contact with; attack; arrive at
attollō, attollere	to lift up, raise (up), elevate
attonō, -āre, -uī, -itum	to thunder at
- attonitus, -a, -um (adj.)	thunderstruck, terrified, amazed, confounded

auctor, -ōris, m.	promoter, producer, father, progenitor
audax, -ācis (adj.)	daring, bold, courageously, spirited
audeō, audēre, ausus	to venture, dare, be bold, dare to do, risk
audiō, -īre, -īuī or iī, -ītum	to hear
āuello, -uellī/-uulsī, -uulsum/-uolsum	to tear away, rend off, pluck, snatch away
Auernus, -a, -um (adj.)	without birds
- (lacus) Auernus	lake Avernus
āuertō, -ere, -tī, -sum	to turn away, avert, turn off, remove
auferō, abstulī, ablātum, auferre	to take off or away, carry off, withdraw, remove
augur, -uris, m.	a seer, soothsayer, diviner, augur
auis, -is, f.	bird
aula, -ae, f.	a court, fore-court, yard
Aulis, -is or -idis, f. (Αὐλίς)	Aulis (harbour in Boeotia)
aura, -ae, f.	the air (in motion), a breeze, breath of air, wind
aureus, -a, -um (adj.)	of gold, golden
auris, -is, f.	ear
Aurōra, -ae, f.	(the goddess) Dawn
aurum, -ī, n.	gold; [138]a golden hairband
Ausonius, -a, -um (adj.)	Ausonian (= Italian)
auspex, -spicis (adj.)	fortunate, favourable, auspicious, lucky
auspicium, -iī, n.	divination; right, power
aut (conj.)	either, or
autem (conj.)	but, on the other hand, however
auus, -ī, m.	grandfather, ancestor
auxilium, -iī, n.	help, aid, assistance, support
axis, -is, m.	the axis of the earth, pole
bacchor, -āri, -ātus	to celebrate the festival of Bacchus, to rave like Bacchae, revel

Bacchus, -ī, m. (Βάκχος)	Bacchus, [302]the cry of 'Bacchus'
barba, -ae, f.	beard
Barcaeī, -ōrum m. pl.	Barcaeans (inhabitants of Barce)
Barcē, ēs, f. (Βάρκη)	Barce (the nurse of Sychaeus)
bellum, -ī, n.	war
bene (adv.)	well
bidēns, -entis (adj.)	with two teeth; an animal for sacrifice
bis (adv.)	twice, on two occasions
bonus, -a, -um (adj.)	good
- comp. melior, -us; sup. optimus/ optumus	
Boreas, -ae, m. (Βορέας)	Boreas (North Wind)
breuiter (adv.)	shortly
būbō, -ōnis, m. (but f. at 462)	an owl, horned owl
cadō, cadere, cecidī, cāsum	to fall, fall down, descend; die
caecus, -a, -um (adj.)	not seeing, blind; invisible, concealed, secret
caedēs, -is, f.	slaughter, massacre, carnage
caelum, -ī, n.	sky, (the region of) heaven
caerulus, -a, -um (adj.)	azure, blue, dark blue
- caerula (n. pl. as noun)	the blue sea
callis, -is, m.	narrow footway, a foot-path, a mountain-path
calor, -ōris, m.	warmth, heat, glow
campus, -ī, m.	an even, flat place, a plain, field
candeō, -ēre, -uī	to be bright, white
- candēns, -entis (= candidus) (adj.)	shining, dazzling, white, bright, glowing
canis, canis, f. and m.	dog, hound
canō, canere, cecinī, cantum	sing, sound, play
capessō, -essere, -essīuī/-essiī, -essītum	to seize eagerly, snatch at, lay hold of
capiō, capere, cēpī, captum	take hold of, lay hold of, take, seize, grasp
capra, -ae, f.	she-goat

caput, -itis, n.	head, life
carbasus, -ī, f.	fine flax, fine linen; curtain, sail, canvas
careō, carēre, caruī	to be without, be free from, be destitute of
carīna, -ae, f.	the keel of a ship; ship, vessel, boat
carmen, -inis, n.	song, poem, prophecy, form of incantation
carpō, carpere, carpsī, carptum	to pick, pluck, pluck off, cull, crop, gather
	to enjoy, make use of
cārus, -a, -um (adj.)	dear, precious, valued, esteemed, beloved
castīgō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to correct, chastise, punish; to blame, reprove
castrum, -ī, n.	a fortified place, castle, fort, fortress
cāsus, -ūs, m.	a falling; chance, occasion; calamity
caterua, -ae, f.	a crowd, troop, throng
Caucasus, -ī, m. (Καύκασος)	Caucasus
causa, -ae, f.	cause, reason, motive, inducement, occasion
cautēs, -is, f.	a rough, pointed rock
celer, -eris, -e (adj.)	swift, fleet, quick, speedy
celerō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to quicken, hasten, accelerate
celsus, -a, -um (adj.)	raised, elevated, lifted, high, lofty
centum (indecl. adj.)	a hundred
Cerēs, -eris, f.	Ceres
cernō, cernere, crēuī, crētum	to separate; perceive, see, discern; decide
certāmen, -inis, n.	contest, struggle, strife
certō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to strive, compete
certus, -a, -um	determined, fixed, settled; sure, certain
cerua, -ae, f.	doe, deer
ceruus, -ī, m.	stag
Chaos, Chaī, n. (Χάος)	Chaos; the unformed world, void

chlamys, -ydis, f. (χλαμύς)	cloak, mantle
chorus, -ī, m. (χορός)	a dance in a ring, choral dance, dance
cieō, ciēre, cīuī, citum, 2	to cause to go, move, arouse, stir, drive
cingō, cingere, cinxī, cinctum	to surround, encompass; wreathe, crown
cinis, -eris, m.	ashes
circum (adv. and prep. + acc.)	around, round about, all around
circumdō, -dare, -dedī, -datum	to put, set, or place around; enclose, encircle
Cithaerōn, -ōnis, m. (Κιθαιρών)	Cithaeron
citus, -a, -um (adj.)	lit. *put in motion*, *hence*: quick, swift, rapid
clamō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to shout
clāmor, -ōris, m.	a loud call, shout, cry
clārus, -a, -um (adj.)	clear, bright, shining, brilliant, famous
classis, -is, f.	fleet
coepī, coepisse	to begin
coeptum, -ī, n.	a work begun, a beginning, undertaking
coeptus, -a, -um (adj.)	begun, started
Coeus, -ī, m. (Κοῖος)	Coeus (a Titan)
cōgō, cogere, coēgī, coactum	to drive/bring together, collect, summon
coll-	see conl-
colō, colere, coluī, cultum	to till, tend, care for, cultivate; care for, revere
colōnus, -ī, m.	farmer, colonist
color, -ōris, m.	colour
coma, -ae, f.	hair (of the head), foliage
comes, -itis, m./f.	companion, associate, comrade
comitātus, -ūs, m.	an escort, train, retinue, suite
comitor, -ārī, -ātus, 1	to join as an attendant, accompany, follow
commisceō, -miscēre, -miscuī, -mixtum	to mix, mingle together, intermingle

commoueō, -mouēre, -mōuī, -mōtum	to move, shake, stir; agitate, disturb
commūnis, -e (adj.)	common, general, universal, public
compellō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to address (reproachfully), rebuke
complector, -plectī, -plexus	to clasp, embrace, grasp; seize, enfold
complexus, -ūs, m.	a encompassing, embrace, clasp, grasp
compōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum	to bring together, put in place, set right; settle
concipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum	to take or lay hold of; to take in, take, receive
concitō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to summon up
concutiō, -cutere, -cussī, -cussum	to strike together, shake (violently), agitate
condō, -ere, -didī, -ditum	to found, build; conceal, hide
cōnficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum	to make (ready), prepare, bring about,
- pass.: confīō, confierī	to diminish, weaken; wear out, consume
coniciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum	to throw together, hurl; unite, collect
coniugium, -iī, n.	connection, union; marriage, wedlock
coniūnx, -iugis, f./m.	a consort, spouse, wife; husband
conlābor, conlābī, conlāpsus	to fall together, fall in ruins, sink down
conlūceō, -ēre	to shine brightly, to be wholly illuminated
cōnor, -ārī, -ātus, 1	to attempt, try, seek, aim, make an effort, begin
cornū, -ūs, n.	horn, antler
cōnscendō, -ere, -ndī, -nsum	to mount, ascend, climb; embark
cōnscius, -a, -um (adj.)	knowing in common, privy, witnessing
cōnsīdō, -ere, -sēdī, -sessum	to sit down, take seats, be seated, settle
cōnsilium, -iī, n.	deliberation, consultation, counsel
	resolution, measure, plan, purpose, intention
	understanding, judgment, wisdom
cōnsistō, -ere, cōnstitī	to come to a stop, halt

cōnspiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum	get sight of, perceive, observe, fix eyes upon
cōnsternō, -sternere, -strāuī, -strātum	to strew over, cover; throw down, level
cōnsulō, -sulere, -suluī, -sultum	reflect, deliberate, take counsel, consult
contendō, -ere, -dī, -tum	to stretch, bend, draw tight, strain
	to dispute, fight, contend against, vie with
continuō (adv.)	immediately, straightway, directly, without delay
contrā (adv. and prep. + acc.)	in opposition, opposite, face to face, in front
contrārius, -a, -um (adj.)	lying over against, opposite
cōnŭbium, -iī, n.	marriage, wedlock
conuectō, -āre	to carry together, heap together
conueniō, -uenīre, -uēnī, -uentum	to come together, meet, assemble, gather
conuexus, -a, -um (adj.)	vaulted, arched, rounded, convex, concave
- conuexum, -ī/ conuexa, -ōrum, n.	a vault, arch, concavity
conuīuium, -iī, n.	social feast, entertainment, banquet
cor, cordis, n.	heart
cornu, -ūs, n.	horn
corōna, -ae, f.	garland, wreath
corōnō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to furnish with a garland, crown, wreathe
corpus, -oris, n.	body, person; a lifeless body, a corpse
corripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptum	to seize, grasp, collect, take hold of, arrest
crāstinus, -a, -um (adj.)	of to-morrow, to-morrow's
crēdō, crēdere, crēdidī, creditum	to give as a loan, to loan, lend
	to trust to/confide in a person or thing
	to think, believe, suppose
Cres, -ētis, m.	a Cretan

crescō, crēuī, crētum, 3	to come into being, spring up, be born
Crēsius, -a, -um (adj.)	Cretan
crīmen, -inis, n.	a judgment, charge, accusation, reproach
	the fault complained of, a crime, offence
crīnis, -is, m.	hair
croceus, -a, -um (adj.)	saffron-coloured, yellow, golden
crūdēlis, -e (adj.)	rude, unfeeling, cruel, severe, fierce
cruor, -ōris, m.	blood, bloodshed, gore
cubīle, -is, n.	a place of rest, couch, bed
cubitum, -ī, n.	elbow
culmen, -inis, n.	the top, summit, roof, gable
culpa, -ae, f.	crime, fault, blame, failure, defect
cum (conj. + ind.)	when, as, while, after
cum (conj. + subjunctive)	when, after, since, although
cum (prep. + abl.)	with, together with
cumulō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to heap, accumulate, increase
- cumulātus, -a, -um (adj.)	increased; filled, full
cūnctor, -ārī, -ātus	to delay, hesitate
cūnctus, -a, -um (adj.)	all in a body, all together, the whole, all, entire
cupīdō, -inis, f.	a desire, wish, longing, eagerness, passion
cupiō, cupere, cupīuī or -iī, cupītum	to long for a thing, to desire, wish
cūr	why? wherefore? for what reason?
cūra, -ae, f.	trouble, care, pains, diligence, exertion
cūrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to care for, take pains with, look to, attend to
cursus, -ūs, m.	a running, course, way, march, journey
custōs, -ōdis, m./f.	a guard, preserver, keeper, protector, attendant
Cyllēnius (adj.) (Κυλλήνιος)	of Cyllene, i.e. Mercury

Cynthus, -ī, m. (Κύνθος)	Cynthus (a mountain on Delos)
Cytherēa (Κυθέρεια)	Venus (from Κύθηρα in Crete or the island Κύθηρα)
damnō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to harm, damage; to condemn, doom
Danaus, -ī, m. (Δαναός)	Danaus, son of Belus, twin-brother of Aegyptus
Danaī, -ōrum, m. (Δᾰνᾰοί)	the Danai = the Greeks
Dardanius, -a, -um (adj.)	of or belonging to Troy, Trojan
Dardanus, -ī, m. (Δάρδανος)	Dardanus, Dardanian (poet. for Trojan)
dē (prep. + abl.)	from, away from, down from, out of
dea, -ae, f.	goddess
dēbeō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to owe
dēcēdō, -cedere, -cessī, -cessum	to go away, depart, withdraw, retire
dēcernō, -cernere, -crēuī, -crētum	to decide, judge, decree, resolve, vote
decet, -ēre, -cuit (impers.)	it is seemly, comely, becoming
dēcipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum	to catch, ensnare, entrap, elude, deceive, cheat
dēclīnō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to bend aside, turn away; to lower, close
decōrus, -a, -um (adj.)	becoming, fitting; decorated, adorned; shining, beautiful
dēcurrō, -currere, -(cu)currī	to run down, hasten down, run, hasten
decus, -oris, n.	grace, glory, honour, dignity, splendour, beauty
dēdignor, -ārī, -ātus	to reject as unworthy, disdain, scorn, refuse
dēdūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum	to lead away, remove, drive off, draw down
dēfendō, -fendere, -fendī, -fensum	to defend
dēferō, -tulī, -lātum, -ferre	to bring (away), carry off, take down, deliver

dēficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum	to withdraw, revolt, desert; fail, forsake
dēgener, -is (adj.)	inferior to ancestors, degenerate
dēgō, -ere, dēgī	to spend, pass
dehīscō, -hīscere	to part, divide, split open, gape, yawn
dēiciō, -icere -iēcī, -iectum	to throw down, hurl down, precipitate
deinde (adv.)	then, next, thereafter, thence
dēligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lectum	to choose out, select; gather, pick off
Dēlos, -ī, f. (Δῆλος)	Delos
dēlūbrum, -ī, n.	a temple, shrine, sanctuary
dēmēns, -entis (adj.)	insane, demented, mad, raving, foolish
dēmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to send down; let sink; engage in
dēripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptum	to tear off/away, snatch away, remove violently
dēsaeuiō, -saeuīre, -saeuiī, -saeuītum	to rave furiously, rage
dēscendō, -ere, -dī, -sum	to climb down, come down, descend, fall, sink
dēserō, -serere, -seruī, -sertum	to sever, leave, forsake, abandon
- dēsertus, -a, -um (adj.)	deserted, desert, solitary, lonely, waste
dēsinō, -sinere, -siuiī/-siī, -situm	to leave off, give over, cease, desist, forbear
dēspiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum	to look down upon, to despise, disdain
dēstruō, -struere, -struxī, -structum	to tear down, raze, demolish
dēsuper (adv.)	from above, from overhead
dētineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum	to hold off, keep back, detain, check
dētorqueō, -torquēre, torsī, -tortum	to bend aside, turn off, turn away, turn, direct
dēueniō, -uenīre, -uēnī, -uentum	to come, arrive, reach
dēuolō, -uolāre, -uolāuī	to fly down
deus, -ī, m.	god, divinity
dexter, -tra, -trum (adj.)	right, favourable
- dextra (sc. mănus)	the right hand

dī (gen. deum), m. pl.	(plural of deus)
Diāna, -ae, f.	Diana
dicō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to proclaim; to dedicate, consecrate, devote
dīcō, dīcere, dīxī, dictum	to say, speak, mention, relate, declare, state
- dictum, -ī, n.	something said, a saying, word, remark
Dictaeus, -a, -um (adj.)	Cretan (from the mountain Dictē, -ēs, f. (Δίκτη))
Dīdō, -ūs and -ōnis, f. (Διδώ)	Dido
diēs, -ēī, f.	day; set day, appointed time
difficilis, -e (adj.)	hard, difficult, troublesome
diffugiō, -fugere, -fūgī	to fly apart, flee in different directions, disperse
diffundō, -fundere, -fūdī, -fūsum	to spread by pouring, pour out, pour forth
dignor, -ārī, -ātus	to deem worthy, honour, deign, condescend
dīgredior, -gredī, -gressus	to go apart, separate, go away, depart
dīlābor, -lābī, -lāpsus	to fall asunder, go to pieces, melt away, dissolve
	to perish, slip away, vanish
dīligō, -ligere, dīlēxī, dīlēctum	to love
- dīlēctus, -a, -um (adj.)	loved, beloved, dear
dīmoueō, -mouēre, -mōuī, -mōtum	to move asunder, to part, separate, divide
Dīrae, -ārum, f.	the Furies
dīrus, -a, -um (adj.)	ill-omened, ominous; dreadful, horrible
Dīs, -ītis, m.	god of the Underworld, Pluto
discernō, -cernere, -crēuī, -crētum	to separate, set apart, mark off, divide
dissimulō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make unlike, disguise, conceal, keep secret
dīua, -ae, f.	a goddess, deity
dīuellō, -uellere, -uellī	to rend asunder, to tear in pieces

dīuersus, -a, -um (from dīuertō)	turned different ways; diverse, contrary
dīues, dīuitis (adj.)	rich, wealthy, opulent
dīuidō, -uidere, -uīsī, -uīsum	to divide, force asunder, part
dīuus, -ī, m.	a god, deity
dō, dare, dedī, datum	to give, allow, concede; deliver
doceō, -ēre, -cuī, -ctum	to teach, instruct, inform, show, tell
doleō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to feel pain, suffer, be in pain
dolor, -ōris, m.	pain, distress, grief, affliction, anguish
dolus, -ī, m.	evil intent; guile, deceit, deception
dominus, -ī, m.	master, possessor, ruler, lord, proprietor, owner
domus, -ūs, f.	house, building, mansion, palace
dōnum, -ī, n.	gift, present
dōtālis, -e (adj.)	of a dowry, given as a portion, [104]as dowry
dracō, -ōnis, m.	serpent, dragon
Dryops, -opis, m. (Δρύοψ)	one of the Dryopes
dubius, -a, -um (adj.)	vacillating in mind, uncertain; doubtful
dūcō, dūcere, dūxī, ductum	to lead, guide, direct, draw, bring, fetch, escort
ductor, -ōris, m.	leader, commander, chief, general, officer
dulcis, -e (adj.)	sweet, agreeable, delightful, pleasant
dum (conj.)	while, whilst, during the time in which; until
dūmus, -ī, m.	thorn-bush, bramble
duo, duae, duo (adj.)	two
duplex, -icis (adj.)	twofold, double
dūrus, -a, -um (adj.)	hard, harsh, rough, stern, unyielding
dux, ducis, m./f.	leader, commander, guide
ē, ex	out of, from within
eadem	see *īdem*

ecce (interj.)	lo! behold! there! look!
edō, ēsse, ēdī, ēsum	to eat, consume
efferō, efferre, extulī, ēlātum	to carry out, take out, bring forth, remove
efferus, -a, -um (adj.)	very wild, fierce, savage
effigiēs, -ēī, f.	copy, imitation, likeness, semblance, effigy
effor, -fārī, -ātus	to speak out, say out, utter, tell
effundō, -fūdī, -fūsum	to pour out, pour forth, shed, spread abroad
egeō, -ēre, -uī	to be needy/poor, need, want, lack, have need
egō/ egŏ	I, me
ēgregius, -a, -um (adj.)	select, extraordinary, excellent, eminent
ēiciō, ēicere, ēiēcī, ēiectum	to cast out, thrust out, drive away, eject, expel
Elissa, -ae, f. (Ἔλισσα)	Dido
ēn (interj.)	lo! behold! see! see there!
Enceladus, -ī, m. (Ἐγκέλαδος)	Enceladus
enim	for, for instance, namely, that is to say
ēniteō, -ēre, -tuī	to shine forth, shine out, gleam, brighten
ēnsis, -is, m.	sword
ēnumerō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to reckon up, count over; recount, relate
eō, īre, īuī/iī, ītum	to go, walk, ride, sail, fly, move, pass
epulae, -ārum, f.	viands, sumptuous food, dishes, meats
epulor, -ārī, -ātus	to feast, banquet, dine; eat upon
eques, -itis, m.	horseman, rider
equidem (adv.)	verily, truly, indeed, at all events intensification of 'I'
equus, -ī, m.	horse
Erebus, -ī, m. (Ἔρεβος)	god of darkness, the Lower World
ergō (conj.)	consequently, accordingly, therefore

ērigō, ērigere, ērēxī, ērēctum	to raise up, lift, set up, erect, elevate
ēripiō, ēripuī, ēreptum	to pull out, tear out, snatch away
errō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to wander; to err; fly about, move fitfully
ēruō, ēruere, ēruī, ērutum	to cast forth, throw out, root up, dig out, take
et (conj.)	and
etiam (adv.)	now too, yet, as yet, even yet, still, even now
ēuādō, -ere, -sī, -sum	to go out, come out; to climb, ascend; escape
ēuānēscō, -ere, ēuānuī	to vanish, pass away, die away, disappear
ēuincō, -ere, ēuicī, ēuictum	to overcome, conquer, subdue, overwhelm
ēuocō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to call out, call forth; to bring out, draw forth
Eumenidēs, -um, f. (Εὐμενίδες)	the Furies
exanimis, -e (adj.)	dead, extinguished; half dead with fear, terrified
exaudiō, -īre, -īuī/-iī, -ītum	to hear clearly, distinguish, discern, hear
exciō, -īre, -īuīi/iī, -itum	to rouse, excite, stir up; to frighten, terrify
exipiō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum	to draw out, withdraw; capture, receive
excubiae, -ārum, f. pl.	lying out on guard, watching, keeping watch
exerceō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to drive, keep busy, keep at work, practise
exhauriō, -haurīre, -hausī, -haustum	to draw out, empty, exhaust; bring to an end
exigō,-ere, -ēgī, -actum	to drive out/forth, to thrust out; conduct, finish
	to determine, ascertain, find out
exiguus, -a, -um (adj.)	exact, scanty, small, little, petty, short, poor
exordium, -iī, n.	a beginning, introduction

exorior, -orīrī, -ortus	to come out/forth, spring up, rise, appear
expediō, -īre, -īuī/-iī, -ītum	to set free; to fetch out, procure, make ready
experior, -īrī, -pertus	to try, prove, test, experience, endure
expers, -tis (adj.)	having no part in, not sharing in, not privy to
	destitute or devoid of, free from, without
exposcō, -poscere, -poposcī	to beg, request, to entreat, implore
exquīrō, -quīrere, -quīsīuī, -quīsītum	to search out diligently, to seek for;
	to make inquiry, to inquire, to ask
exscindō, -scindere, -scidī, -scissum	to extirpate, annihilate, destroy
exsequor, -sequī, -secūtus	to follow to the end; carry out, execute
exsoluō, -soluere, -soluī, -solūtum	to loose, set loose, release, deliver, free
exspectō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to look out for, await, wait for
	(intr.) to wait in expectation
exstinguō, -stinguere, -stīnxī, -stīnctum	to put out, quench, extinguish
exstruō, -struere, -struxī, -structum	to pile, heap up; raise, rear, erect, construct
exta, -ōrum, n. pl.	the chief internal organs of the body
extemplō (adv.)	immediately, straightway, without delay
exter or exterus, -tera, -terum (adj.)	outward, of another country, foreign, strange
exterreō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to strike with terror, frighten
extorris, -e (adj.) (ex + terra)	driven out of the country, exiled, homeless
extrēmus, -a, -um	outermost, utmost, extreme, farthest, last
exuō, -uere, -uī, -ūtum	to draw out, take off, pull off, put off
exuuiae, -ārum, f. pl.	that which is stripped off, clothing, arms
facessō, -cessere, -cessī, -cessītum	to do eagerly, carry out, execute

facilis, -e (adj.)	easy to do, easy, without difficulty
faciō, facere, fēcī, factum	to make, construct, build, erect, compose
- factum, -ī, n.	deed, act, exploit, achievement
fallō, fallere, fefellī, falsum	to deceive, trick, dupe, cheat, disappoint
falx, falcis, f.	sickle, reaping-hook, a pruning-hook, scythe
fāma, -ae, f.	common talk, report, rumour, renown
Fāma, -ae, f.	the goddess Fama
famula, -ae, f.	maidservant, handmaid
far, farris, n.	grain, spelt
fās (indecl.) n.	the dictates of religion, divine law
- fās (est)	- it is permissible by divine law
fātālis, -e (adj.)	of/belonging to fate, ordained by fate, destined
fateor, fatērī, fassus	to confess, own, grant, acknowledge
fatīgō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to weary, tire, fatigue, vex, harass, fret
fātum, -ī, n.	prophecy, prediction
	that which is ordained, destiny, fate
	bad fortune, ill fate, calamity, mishap; death
faucēs, -ium, f. pl.	throat, gullet
fax, facis, f.	torch, firebrand
fēlīx, -īcis (adj.)	fruitful, productive; fortunate, felicitous, happy
fēmina, -ae, f.	a female, woman
fēmineus, -a, -um (adj.)	of a woman, womanly, feminine, female
fera, -ae, f.	a wild beast, wild animal
fērālis, -e (adj.)	of a funeral, of funeral rites, of the dead; funereal; deadly, fatal, dangerous
feriō, -īre	to strike, smite, beat; kill
ferō, ferre, tulī, lātum	to carry (off), bear

ferōx, -ōcis (adj.)	wild, bold, courageous, warlike, spirited, brave
ferrum, -ī, n.	iron; sword
ferueō, feruēre	to seethe
feruō, -ĕre	to boil, be hot, glow, rage, blaze
ferus, -a, -um (adj.)	wild, untamed, uncultivated; savage, barbarous
fessus, -a, -um (adj)	wearied, tired, exhausted, worn out, feeble
festīnō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to hasten, make haste, hurry, be quick
fēstus, -a, -um (adj.)	solemn, festive, festal, joyful, merry
fībula, -ae, f.	fastening, clasp, buckle, pin, brace, brooch
fictum, -ī, n.	deception, falsehood, fiction
fidēs, fidĕī, f.	trust, faith, confidence, reliance, loyalty
fīgō, fīgere, fīxī, fīxum	to fix, fasten, drive, thrust in, attach, affix
fingō, fingere, fīnxī, fictum	to touch, form, shape; imagine, conceive, think
fīnis, -is, f.	boundary, limit, border; pl. territory
flāmen, -inis, n.	blowing, blast, breeze, wind, gale
flamma, -ae, f.	blazing fire, blaze, flame
flātus, -ūs, m.	blowing, breathing; breath, breeze; blast
flāueō, -ēre	to be golden yellow
flāuus, -a, -um (adj.)	golden yellow, reddish yellow, flaxen-coloured
flectō, flectere, flexī, flexum	to bend, bow, curve, turn
flētus, -ūs, m.	weeping, wailing, lamenting
flōreō, -ēre, -uī	to bloom, blossom, flower
fluctuō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to move in waves, wave, undulate, fluctuate to be restless/doubtful; waver, hesitate; rage
fluctus, -ūs, m.	a flood, flow, tide, wave, billow, surge
fluentum, -ī, n.	flow, running water, stream, river

flūmen, -inis, n.	a flowing, flood, stream, running water
fluō, fluere, flŭxī, fluxum	to flow, stream
fluuiālis, -e (adj.)	of a river, river-, fluvial
fluuius, -iī, m.	river
foedō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make foul, defile, pollute, disfigure, mutilate
foedus, -a, -um (adj.)	foul, filthy, loathsome, ugly, detestable
foedus, -eris, n.	a league, treaty, compact, alliance
fōns, fontis, m.	a spring, fountain, well, source
for, fārī, fātus	to speak, say
fore (= futūrum esse)	*see* sum
fōrma, -ae, f.	a form, figure, shape, appearance, looks
formīca, -ae, f.	ant
forsan (adv.) (ellipt. for fors sit an)	perhaps, perchance
fortis, -e (adj.)	strong, powerful, courageous
fortūna, -ae, f.	chance, hap, luck, fortune
forus, -ī, m.	gangway
foueō, fouēre, fōuī, fōtum	to cherish, caress, love, support, assist
frāter, -tris, m.	brother
frāternus, -a, -um (adj.)	of a brother, brotherly, fraternal
fraudō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to cheat, beguile, defraud, rob
fraus, fraudis, f.	cheating, deceit, imposition, fraud; harm, injury
fremo, -ere, -uī, -itum	to roar, growl, murmur, rage, snort, howl
frēnum, -ī, n.	a bridle, curb, bit
frētus, -a, -um (adj.)	leaning, relying, depending, trusting, confident
frīgidus, -a, -um (adj.)	cold, cool, chill, chilling
frondeō, -ēre	to put forth leaves, be in leaf, become green
frōns, -dis, f.	a leafy branch, green bough, foliage
frōns, frontis, f.	the forehead, brow, front

frūmentum, -ī, n.	corn, grain, harvested grain
fruor, fruī, fructus	to derive enjoyment from, enjoy, delight in
frustrā (adv.)	in deception, in error, in vain
fuga, -ae, f.	flight
fugiō, fugere, fūgī, fugitum	to flee, run away, take flight; vanish, disappear
fuī (perf. of sum)	see *sum*
fulciō, fulcīre, fulsī, fultum	to prop up, keep up by props, stay, support
fulgeō, fulgēre, fulsī	to flash, lighten
fulmen, -inis, n.	a lightning flash, stroke of lightning, thunderbolt
fulmineus, -a, -um (adj.)	of lightening; sparkling; destructive, murderous
fuluus, -a, -um (adj.)	deep yellow, reddish yellow, gold-coloured
fundāmentum, -ī, n.	a foundation, ground-work, basis
fundō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to lay the bottom, make a foundation, found
fundō, fundere, fūdī, fūsum	to pour, pour out, shed
fūnereus, -a, -um (adj.)	of a funeral, funereal; deadly, destructive
fūnis, -is, m.	a rope, sheet, line, cord, cable
fūnus, -eris, n.	a funeral procession/rites, burial, funeral
furia, -ae, f.	violent passion, rage, madness, fury
furibundus, -a, -um (adj.)	raging, mad, furious
furō, furere, furuī	to rage, be out of one's mind/ mad/ furious
furor, -ōris, m.	rage, madness, fury
fūrtīuus, -a, -um (adj.)	stolen; hidden, secret, concealed, furtive
fūrtō (adv.)	by stealth, secretly
fūrtum, -ī, m.	stealth, theft, deception
futūrus, -a, -um (fut. part. of sum)	going to be, yet to be, to come, future

Gaetūlī (Gētūlī), -ōrum, m. (Γαιτοῦλοι)	the Gaetulians
Gaetūlus, -a, -um (adj.)	Gaetulian
Garamantis, -idis, f.	a Garamantian
gaudeō, gaudēre, gāuīsus	to rejoice, be glad, take pleasure, delight
geminus, -a, -um (adj.)	twin-born, twin-; paired, double, two-fold, both
gemitus, -ūs, m.	a sighing, sigh, groan, lamentation, complaint
gemō, -ere, -uī, -itum	to sigh, groan, lament
gena, -ae, f.	cheek
genetrīx, -īcis, f.	mother
genitor, -ōris, m.	begetter, parent, father
gēns, gentis, f.	race, clan
genus, -eris, n.	race, stock, family, birth, descent, origin
germāna, -ae, f.	sister
germānus, -ī, m.	brother
gignō, gignere, genuī, genitum	to produce, give birth to, beget, bring forth
glaciēs, -ēī, f.	ice
glomerō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to gather up, roll together, collect
glōria, -ae, f.	glory, fame, renown, praise, honour
gradior, gradī, gressus	to take steps, step, walk, go, advance
gradus, -ūs, m.	step, stage, degree
Grāius, -a, -um (adj.)	of the Greeks, Grecian, Greek
Grāiī or Grāī, -ōrum, m. pl.	the Greeks
grandis, -e, (adj.)	full-grown, large, great, full, abundant, huge
grandō, -inis, f.	hail, a hailstorm
grātia, -ae, f.	favour, esteem, regard, liking; obligation
grātor, -ārī, -ātus + dat.	to manifest/with joy, congratulate, rejoice with
grauidus, -a, -um (adj.)	pregnant; laden, filled, full, swollen

grauis, -e (adj.)	heavy, weighty, burdensome, burdened
gremium, -iī, n.	lap, bosom
Grynēus, -a, -um (adj.)	of Grynia (a town in Asia Minor)
habeō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to have, hold, support, carry, wear
haereō, haerēre, haesī, haesum	to hang/hold fast, stick, cling, adhere, be fixed
hālitus (alitus), -ūs, m.	breath, exhalation, steam, vapor
Hammōn (Amm-), -ōnis, m. (Ἄμμων)	Jupiter
harēna, -ae, f.	sand
harēnōsus, -a, -um (adj.)	sandy
harundō, -inis, f.	reed, cane, shaft (of an arrow)
haud/haut (adv.)	not, not at all, by no means
hauriō, haurīre, hausī, haustum	to draw (up/out); to drain, drink (in), spill, shed
Hecatē, -ēs, f. (Ἑκάτη)	Hecate
heia (interj.)	ho!
herba, -ae, f.	herb, grass, green blades, herbage, turf
hērēs, -ēdis, m./f.	heir
hērōs, -ōis, m. (ἥρως)	hero
Hesperia, -ae, f.	land of the West, Italy
Hesperides, -um, f. pl.	the Hesperides
heu! (interj.)	alas!
hībernus, -a, -um (adj.)	of or belonging to winter, wintry, winter-
hic, haec, hoc	this
hīc (adv.)	in this place, here; now, then, next, hereupon
hiems, hiemis, f.	winter
hinc (adv.)	from this place, hence
homō, -inis, m.	a human being
honor or honōs, -ōris, m.	honour, repute, esteem; public office
hōra, -ae, f.	hour

horrendus, -a, -um (adj.) dreadful, terrible, fearful, terrific, horrible

horreō, -ēre, -uī to stand on end, stand erect, to bristle
to be astonished, to be frightful

horridus, -a, -um (adj.) rough, shaggy; wild, savage; horrid

horrificō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum to ruffle, make rough; to cause terror

horror, -ōris, m. a shaking, trembling, shudder, chill

hospes, -itis, m. visitor, guest, friend; stranger, foreigner

hospitium, -iī, n. a hospitable reception, entertainment

hostis, -is, m. stranger, foreigner, enemy

hūc (adv.) to this place, hither

humilis, -e (adj.) low, lowly, small, slight

Hymenaeus, -ī, m. (Ὑμέναιος) the god of marriage;

hymenaeus, -ī, m. wedding song; wedding

Hyrcānus, -a, -um (adj.) Hyrcanian (Lydian)

iactō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum to throw or toss about; to shake, flourish

iam (adv.) at this time, now, just now, at present

iamdūdum (adv.) long since, long before; forthwith, immediately

Iarbās, -ae, m. Iarbas

iaspis, -idis, f. (ἴασπις) a green precious stone, jasper

īdem, eadem, idem (pron.) the same

ideō (adv.) for that reason, on that account, therefore

igitur (conj.) then, therefore, thereupon, accordingly

ignārus, -a, -um ignorant, unacquainted with, unaware

igneus, -a, -um (adj.) of fire, fiery, on fire, burning, burning-hot

ignis, -is, m. fire

ignōtus, -a, -um (adj.) unknown, strange, unrecognized, unfamiliar

īlex, -icis, f.	oak, holm-oak, great scarlet oak
Īliacus, -a, -um (adj.)	of Ilium, Ilian, Trojan
ille, illa, illud (pron.)	that (person), she, he, it
illinc	thence, there
illūc (adv.)	to that place, thither
imāgō, -inis, f.	copy, image, likeness, statue, bust
imber, -bris, m.	rain, heavy/violent rain, shower, pouring rain
immānis, -e, (adj.)	monstrous, enormous, immense, huge, vast
immemor, -oris (adj.)	unmindful, forgetful, negligent, heedless
immisceō, -cēre, -cuī, -mixtum/-mistum	to mix in, intermix, intermingle, blend
immittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to send in, let in, throw into, admit, introduce
immōtus, -a, -um (adj.)	unmoved, immovable, motionless; steadfast
impellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum	to push/drive/strike against a thing; to urge on, impel
impēnsus, -a, -um (adj.)	considerable, great; costly, expensive
imperium, -iī, n.	a command, order, direction, injunction
impius, -a, -um (adj.)	irreverent; abandoned, wicked, impious
impleō, -ēuī, -ētum, 2	to fill up, fill full, make full, fill
implicō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to infold, involve, entangle, entwine, envelop
implōrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to invoke with tears; beseech, entreat
impōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum	to place upon, set on, establish, set, place
imprecor, -ārī, -ātus	to invoke on, call down upon, imprecate
imprimō, -primere, -pressī, -pressum	to press upon, press against; impress, engrave
improbus, -a, -um (adj.)	bad, wicked, base, shameless, wanton

īmus, -a, -um (adj.) (contr. for īnfimus)	the lowest, deepest
in (prep.) + abl. | + acc.	in, among, on; during | into, to, for
inānis, -e (adj.)	empty, void; useless, worthless, vain
incautus, -a, -um (adj.)	incautious, heedless, reckless; uncertain
incēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum	to advance, march, proceed, stride, move, strut
incendō, -cendere, cendī, cēnsum	to set fire to, kindle, burn
incertus, -a, -um (adj.)	not fixed, unsettled, undetermined
incīdō, -cīdere, -cīdī, -cīsum	to cut into/through/open/away; engrave
incipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum	to begin, take in hand
- inceptum, -ī, n.	a beginning, attempt, undertaking
incomitātus, -a, -um (adj.)	unaccompanied, unattended, alone
incubō, -cubāre, -cubuī, -cubitum	to lie in/on, to weigh upon, brood over
incumbō, -cumbere, -cubuī, -cubitum	to lay one's self upon, to lean/recline upon
	to press upon, burden, oppress, weigh upon
indāgō, -inis, f.	encircling, enclosing; circle of hunters/nets
indignus, -a, -um (adj.)	unworthy, undeserving, unfit
indulgeō, -dulgēre, -dulsī, -dultum + dat.	be kind, be tender, yield, indulge, concede
iners, -ertis (adj.)	unskilled; inactive, idle, indolent
inexpertus, -a, -um (adj.)	without experience, unpractised
īnfabricātus, -a, -um (adj.)	unwrought, unfashioned
īnfandus, -a, -um (adj.)	unspeakable, unutterable, abominable
īnfectus, -a, -um (adj.)	not done, unmade, undone, unaccomplished
īnfēlīx, -īcis (adj.)	unfruitful, barren; unfortunate, unhappy
īnfēnsus, -a, -um (adj.)	hostile, inimical, enraged

īnferō, īnferre, intulī, illātum	to bring in, introduce, bring to, carry in
īnfīgō, -fīgere, -fixī, -fixum	to fasten, implant, drive in, affix
īnflammō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to set on fire, light up, kindle
īnflectō, -flectere, -flexī, -flexum	to bend, bow, curve, turn aside
īnfrēnus, -a, -um and infrēnis, -e (adj.)	unbridled; untamed, unchecked
īnfundō, -fundere, -fūdī, -fūsum	to pour in, pour upon
ingeminō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to redouble, repeat, reiterate
ingemō, -gemere, -gemuī	to groan, sigh, mourn (over); lament
ingēns, ingentis (adj.)	not natural, vast, huge, enormous, great
ingredior, -gredī, -gressus	to advance, go forward, march, proceed
inhiō, -hiāre, -hiāuī, -hiātum	to stand open, gape, gaze, be amazed
inhospitus, -a, -um (adj.)	inhospitable
inhumātus, -a, -um (adj.)	unburied
inimīcus, -a, -um (adj.)	unfriendly, hostile, inimical
inīquus, -a, -um (adj.)	uneven, slanting, steep; unfair, unjust
iniūria, -ae, f.	injury, wrong, violence; injustice
inlūdō, -lūdere, -lūsī, -lūsum	to play at/with, jest, mock; destroy, ruin
innectō, -nectere, -nexuī, -nexum	to tie, join, bind, attach, connect, fasten to
inops, -opis (adj.)	without resources, helpless, weak
inrīdeō, -rīdēre, -rīsī, -rīsum	to laugh at, mock, ridicule
inrītō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to incite, excite, stimulate, provoke, irritate
inrumpō, -rumpere, -rūpī, -ruptum	to break, burst, or rush in/into
īnsānia, -ae, f.	unsoundness of mind, madness, frenzy, folly
īnsequor, -cūtus, 3	to follow, follow after, come next
īnsignis, -e (adj.)	eminent, distinguished, prominent
īnsistō, -sistere, -stitī	to set foot, take a stand, stand on, step on
	to follow up, persevere, press on
īnsomnium, -iī, n.	dream

īnstaurō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to establish, ordain; repeat, celebrate anew
īnstō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātum	to stand upon, take a position; to draw nigh, to press upon
īnsuperābilis, -e (adj.)	insurmountable, unconquerable
intendō, -ere, -dī, -tum/-sum	to stretch out, reach forth, extend
inter (adv. and prep. + acc.)	between, amongst, amid, surrounded by
intereā (adv.)	meanwhile, in the meantime, in the interim
interfundō, -fundere, -fūdī, -fūsum	to pour/flow between
- interfūsus, -a, -um	stained with, suffused, mottled (644)
interior, -ius; gen. -ōris	inner, interior, middle
interpres, -etis, m./f.	a middleman, mediator; interpreter, translator
interrumpō, -rumpere, -rūpī, -ruptum	to break apart, break off, interrupt
intrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to go into, enter
inuādō, -uadere, -uāsī, -uāsum	to go, come, or get into, to enter upon to make an attack on, lay hold of, attack, befall
inueniō, -uenīre, -uēnī, -uentum	to come upon, find, meet with, light upon
inuideō, -uidēre, -uīdī, -uīsum	to look askance at, envy, to be loath
inuidia, -ae, f.	envy, grudge, jealousy, ill-will, prejudice
inuīso, -uīsere, -uīsī, -uīsum	to look after, go to see, visit
inuīsus, -a, -um (from inuideō)	hated, hateful, detested
inuītus, -a, -um (adj.)	against the will, unwilling, reluctant
inuius, -a, -um (adj.)	without a road, impassable, insuperable
inultus, -a, -um (adj.)	unavenged, unrevenged, not vindicated
ipse, -a, -um	self
īra, -ae, f.	anger, wrath, rage, ire, passion, indignation
Īris, -is or -idis (acc. Īrim), f. (Ἶρις)	Iris

is, ea, id	he, she, it
iste, ista, istud	that, this, the very, that particular
ita (adv.)	in this manner, in such a way, so, thus
Ītalia, -ae, f.	Italy
iterum (adv.)	again, a second time, once more, anew
iubar, -aris, n.	the radiance of the heavenly bodies light, splendor, brightness, sunshine
iubeō, iubēre, iussī, iussum	to order
iugālis, -e, (adj.)	of or belonging to a yoke, yoked together; matrimonial, nuptial
iugum, -ī, n.	pair, yoke; height/summit of a mountain, ridge
Iūlus, -ī	Iulus
iungō, iungere, iūnxī, iūnctum	to join/unite together, connect, attach, yoke
Iūnō, -ōnis, f.	Juno
Iuppiter, Iouis, m.	Jupiter
iūrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to swear, to take an oath
iūs, iūris, n.	right, law, justice
iussum, -ī, n.	an order, command
iūstus, -a, -um (adj.)	just, upright, righteous
iuuenta, -ae, f.	age of youth, youth
iuuentūs, -ūtis, f.	youth, young persons
iuuō, iuuāre, iūuī, iūtum, 1	to help, aid, assist, support, benefit; to delight, gratify, please
- iuuat (impers. + acc.)	it gives pleasure
iuxtā (adv. and prep. + acc.)	very near, close to, near to, hard by
Karthāgō, -inis, f.	Carthage
labefaciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factum	to cause to totter, shake, loosen
labō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to totter, waver, be undecided, hesitate

lābor, lābī, lāpsus	to glide, slide, move; to go to ruin, perish
labor, -ōris, m.	labour, toil, exertion
lac, lactis, n.	milk
lacrima, -ae, f.	tear
lacus, -ūs, m.	an opening, hollow, lake, pond, pool
laena, -ae, f.	a woollen mantle, shawl, cloak
laetus, -a, -um (adj.)	joyful, cheerful, glad, joyous, rejoicing, happy
lāmentum, -ī, n.	wailing, weeping, lamentation, lament
lampas, -adis, f. (λαμπάς)	light, torch; splendour, brightness, lustre
Lāomedontēus, -a, -um	Trojan
lāpsus, -ūs, m.	a falling, fall; a slipping, sliding, gliding, flowing
lātē (adv.)	broadly, widely; far and wide, everywhere
lateō, latēre, latuī	to lurk, lie hid, be concealed, escape notice
latex, -icis, m.	liquid, fluid, water
Latium, -iī, n.	Latium
latus, -eris, n.	the side, flank
lātus, -a, -um (adj.)	broad, wide, extensive
Lāuīnius, -a, -um (adj.)	Lavinian
laus, laudis, f.	praise, glory, fame, renown, esteem
lectus, -ī, m.	couch, bed
lēgifer, -fera, -ferum (adj.)	lawgiving
legō, legere, lēgī, lēctum	to bring together, to gather, collect to extract, remove, pluck; choose; to read
Lēnaeus, -a, -um (adj.) (Ληναῖος)	Lenaean, Bacchic
lēniō, lēnīre, lēnīuī/iī, lēnītum	to soften, mollify, moderate, soothe, calm
leō, -ōnis, m. (λέων)	lion
lētālis, -e (adj.)	deadly, fatal, mortal

lētum, -ī, n.	death, annihilation
leuō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to lift up, raise, elevate
lēx, lēgis, f.	law; motion, bill
lībo, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to take out as a sample, take a little of; to pour out, offer, dedicate
Libya, -ae, and Libyē, -ēs, f. (Λιβύη)	Libya
Libycus, -a, -um	Libyan
licet, licēre, licuit/-citum est	it is lawful, is allowed, is permitted
limbus, -ī, m.	a border, hem, edge
līmen, -inis, n.	threshold, door, entrance
lingua, -ae, f.	tongue
linquō, linquere, līquī	to go away, leave, quit, forsake, depart from
liquidus, -a, -um (adj.)	flowing, fluid, liquid
litō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make an acceptable sacrifice, to obtain favourable omens
lītus, -oris, n.	the sea-shore, seaside, beach, strand
locō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to place, put, lay, set, dispose, arrange
locus, -ī, m.	place, spot
longus, -a, -um (adj.)	long, protracted
loquor, loquī, locūtus	to speak, talk, say, tell, mention, utter
luctor, -ārī, -ātus	to wrestle, struggle, strive, contend
lūdo, lūdere, lūsī, lūsum	to play, play at a game
lūmen, -inis, n.	light; eye
lūna, -ae, f.	moon
lūstrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to light up, illuminate, make bright; purify to go round, wander over, traverse to review, survey, observe, examine
lustrum, -ī, n.	a slough, bog, haunt, den of beasts
lūx, lūcis, f.	light, daylight
luxus, -ūs, m.	excess, indulgence, luxury, debauchery

Lyaeus, -ī, m. (Λυαῖος)	Lyæus, the relaxer, deliverer from care
Lycius, -a, -um (adj.)	Lycian
lympha, -ae, f.	water
māchina, -ae, f. (μηχανή)	machine, engine
mactō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to offer, sacrifice, immolate; kill
macula, -ae, f.	spot, mark, stain
madeō, madēre, maduī	to be wet, be moist, drip, flow
Maeonius, -a, -um (adj.)	Maeonian, Lydian
maereō, -ēre	to be sad, be mournful, mourn, grieve, lament
maestus, -a, -um (adj.)	sad, sorrowful, dejected, gloomy, despondent
māgālia, -ium, n.	little dwellings, huts, tents
magicus, -a, -um (adj.)	of magic, magical
magis (adv.)	more
magnus, -a, -um (adj.)	great, large, vast, extensive; grand, mighty
maior, -us (adj.)	greater
male (adv.)	badly; scarcely (as a negative: not)
mālō, mālle, māluī	to choose rather, prefer
malum, -ī, n.	an evil, mischief, misfortune, calamity
malus, -a, -um (adj.)	bad, wicked, injurious, evil
mandātum, ī, n.	order, commission, injunction, command.
mandō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to put in hand, deliver over, intrust, confide
mandō, mandere, mandī, mansum	to chew, masticate
maneō, manēre, mansī, mansum	to stay, remain, abide, tarry
M/mānēs, -ium, m.	departed spirits, ghosts, shades
manifēstus, -a, -um (adj.)	clear, plain, apparent, evident, manifest
manus, -ūs, f.	hand; pl. company
mare, -is, n.	sea

marītus, -ī, m.	a married man, husband
marmor, -oris, n.	marble, a block of marble
marmoreus, -a, -um (adj.)	made or consisting of marble, marble-
Massȳli, -ōrum, m. (Μασσύλιοι)	Massylians
Massȳlus, -a, -um	Massylian
māter, -tris, f.	mother
māternus, -a, -um (adj.)	of a mother, maternal
Maurūsius, -a, -um (adj.) (Μαυρούσιος)	Mauritanian
maximus (maxum-), -a, -um	greatest (superlative of *magnus*)
mēcum	= cum mē
meditor, -ārī, -ātus	to reflect, consider, meditate, give attention
medius, -a, -um (adj.)	in the middle/midst, mid, mean, middle
medulla, -ae, f.	marrow, innermost part, kernel
mel, mellis, n.	honey
melior, -ius, meliōris	better (comparative of *bonus*)
membrum, -ī, n.	limb, member
meminī, -isse	to remember, recollect, think of, be mindful of
memor, -oris (adj.)	mindful, remembering, heedful
memorābilis, -e (adj.)	memorable, remarkable
memorō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	mention, recount, relate, speak of, say, tell
mēns, mentis, f.	mind, heart, soul
mēnsa, -ae, f.	table
mentum, -ī, n.	chin, beard
Mercurius, -iī, m. (= Ἑρμῆς/*Hermes*)	Mercury
mereō, -ēre, -uī, -itum / mereor, -ērī	to deserve, merit, be entitled to/ worthy of
- meritus, -a, -um (adj.)	deserved, due, fit, just, proper, right
metō, metere, messuī, messum	to gather, reap, mow, cut off
metuō, metuere, metuī, metūtum	to fear, be afraid, stand in fear, be apprehensive

metus, -ūs, m.	fear, dread, apprehension, anxiety
meus, -a, -um	of me, my, mine, belonging to me, my own
migrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to remove, depart, flit, migrate
mille (in the plur. mīlia)	a thousand, thousands
mina, -ae, f.	projecting points, pinnacles; threats, menaces
mīrābilis, -e (adj.)	wonderful, marvellous, extraordinary, amazing
mīrus, -a, -um (adj.)	wonderful, astonishing, extraordinary
misceō, miscēre, miscuī, mixtum	to mix, mingle, intermingle, blend, combine
miser, -era, -erum (adj.)	wretched, unfortunate, miserable, pitiable
misereor, miserērī, miseritus (+ gen.)	to take pity on
miseror, -ārī, -ātus	to lament, deplore; to pity, feel compassion
mitra, -ae, f. (μίτρα)	a headband, coif, turban (an Asiatic head-dress)
mittō, mittere, mīsī, missum	to cause to go, let go, send, send off, despatch
Mnēstheus, -eī and -eōs, m. (Μνησθεύς)	Mnestheus
mōbilitās, -ātis, f.	activity, speed, rapidity, quickness, mobility
modo (adv.)	only, merely
modus, -ī, m.	a measure, extent, quantity; way, manner, mode, method
moenia, -ium, n. pl.	defensive walls, ramparts, bulwarks, city walls
mola, -ae, f.	a millstone, grindstone; grains of spelt
mōlior, mōlīrī, mōlītus	to make exertion, endeavour, struggle, strive
mollis, -e (adj.)	yielding, flexible, soft, tender, delicate, gentle

moneō, monēre, monuī, monitum	to remind, admonish, advise, warn, instruct
monitum, -ī, n.	advice, warning, precept
monitus, -ūs, m.	warning, admonition
mōns, montis, f.	mountain
mōnstrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to point out, exhibit, make known
	to indicate, inform, advise, teach
mōnstrum, -ī, n.	a divine omen, monster
monumentum, -ī, n.	a memorial, a monument
mora, -ae, f.	delay
moribundus, -a, -um (adj.)	dying, at the point of death, moribund
morior, morī, mortuus	to die
moror, morārī, morātus	to delay, tarry, stay, wait, remain, linger
mors, -tis, f.	death
mortālis, -e (adj.)	subject to death, destined to die, mortal
mōs, mōris, m.	manner, custom, way, usage, practice, fashion
mōtus, -ūs, m.	a moving, motion
moueō, mouēre, mōuī, mōtum	to move, stir, set in motion, shake, remove
mox (adv.)	soon, directly, presently, by and by
mūgiō, -īre, -īuī/-iī, -ītum	to low, bellow, rumble
multiplex, -plicis (adj.)	manifold, various, fickle
multus, -a, -um (adj.)	much, great, many
mūnus, -eris, n.	a service, office, post, function, duty
	present, gift; public show, entertainment
mūrex, -icis, m.	purple fish, shell, the purple dye, purple
murmur, -uris, n.	hum, roar, growling, grumbling, crash
mūrus, -ī, m.	wall, city wall
mūtābilis, -e (adj.)	changeable, mutable

mūtō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to move, move away, remove; alter, change
nam (conj.)	(to introduce a confirmation or explanation) for
namque (conj.)	(a strengthened *nam*) for indeed, for truly
nārrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to tell, relate, narrate, report, recount
nāscor, nascī, nātus	to be born, begin life, be produced
nāta, -ae, f. (nāscor)	daughter
natō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to swim, float
nātus, -ī, m. (nāscor)	son
nāuāle, -is, n. (pl. nāuālia, -ium)	dock, dockyard
nāuigō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to sail
nāuis, nāuis, f.	ship
nauta, -ae, m.	a sailor, seaman
-ne (enclitic interrogative particle)	(indicating a question)
nē (adv.) with imperative	no, not
nē (conj. + subjunctive)	that ... not, lest
nec	and not
nec... nec...	neither... nor...
necdum (conj./ adv.)	and not yet
necesse (adv.)	unavoidable, inevitable, necessary
nectō, nectere, nexuī/nexī, nexum	to join, bind, or fasten (together), connect
nefandus, -a, -um (adj.)	unmentionable, impious, heinous, abominable
nefās, n.	something contrary to divine law; wicked deed
negō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to say no, deny, refuse
nemus, -oris, n.	a tract of woodland, meadow with shade, grove
nepōs, -ōtis, m. and f.	grandchild
neque	and not, neither, nor
nēquīquam (adv.)	in vain, to no purpose, fruitlessly
nesciō, -īre, -īuī/-iī, -ītum	not to know, to be ignorant

nescius, -a, -um (adj.)	unknowing, ignorant, unaware
niger, -gra, -grum (adj.)	black, dark
nigrēscō, -grēscere, -gruī	to become black, grow dark
nigrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make dark, to darken
- nigrāns, nigrantis (adj.)	black
nihil, n.	nothing; (adv.) in no respect, not at all
nimbus, -ī, m.	a rain-storm, pouring rain, thick shower
nimium (adv.)	too much, too
nītor, nītī, nīsus and nixus	to bear upon, press upon, lean, support oneself
niueus, -a, -um (adj.)	of snow, snowy, snow-
nix, niuis, f.	snow
nocturnus, -a, -um (adj.)	of night, by night, nocturnal
nōdō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to furnish with knots, tie in a knot
Nomas, -adis (Νομάς)	a herdsman, nomad; hence, a Numidian
nōmen, -inis, n.	name
nōn	not
nōndum (adv.)	not yet
nōs, gen. nostrī and nostrum	we
nōscō, nōscere, nōuī, nōtum	come to know, learn, discern
noster, -stra, -strum	our, our own, ours, of us
nōtus, -a, -um (adj.)	known, familiar
nouō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make new, renew, renovate; change, alter
nouus, -a, -um (adj.)	new, not old, young, fresh, recent
- nouissimus, -a, -um	the latest, last, hindermost, extreme
nox, noctis, f.	night
nūbēs, -is, f.	cloud
nūbilum, -ī, n.	the clouds
nūllus, -a, -um (adj.)	not any, none, no
num	(interrog. particle, implying a negative answer)
nūmen, -inis, n.	nod, (divine) will, godhead, divinity

Numida, -ae, m. (Νομάς)	Numidian, nomad
numquam (adv.)	at no time, never
nunc (adv.)	now, at present, at this time
nūntia, -ae, f.	bearer of news, messenger
nūntius, -ī, m.	bearer of news, messenger
nusquam (adv.)	nowhere, in no place
nūtrīx, -īcis, f.	nurse
nympha, -ae, f.	nymph
ō (interj.)	o!
obiciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum	to throw before, throw to, cast, offer, present
	to put *x* (acc.) in the way of *y* (dat.)
obitus, -ūs, m.	a going down, setting
	downfall, ruin, destruction, death
oblīuīscor, oblīuīscī, oblītus	to forget
obmūtēscō, obmūtēscere, obmūtuī	to become dumb, lose one's speech,
	to be/remain silent
obnītor, obnītī, obnixus	to bear upon, press against, struggle with
oborior, oborīrī, obortus	to arise, appear, spring up
obscēnus, -a, -um (adj.)	of adverse omen; ill-boding, inauspicious;
	ominous; repulsive, offensive, abominable
obscūrus, -a, -um (adj.)	dark, darksome, dusky, shady, obscure
obstō, -stāre, -stitī, -ātum	to stand before, be opposite; thwart, oppose
obstruō, -struere, -strūxī, -strūctum	to block, stop; hinder
occupō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to take into possession, seize, occupy, win
Ōceanus, -ī, m. (Ὠκεανός)	the great sea, Ocean
ōcior, ōcius	swifter, fleeter
oculus, -ī, m.	eye
ōdi, ōdisse	to hate

odium, -iī, n.	hatred, grudge, animosity, enmity, aversion
odōrus, -a, -um (adj.)	scented, fragrant; keen-scented
offerō, offerre, obtulī, oblātum	to bring before, present, offer, show, exhibit
ōlim (adv.)	once upon a time, once, formerly, of old
	(of the future) one day, at a future time
ollus, -a, -um	old form of *ille*
Olympus, -ī, m. (= Ὄλυμπος)	Olympus
ōmen, -inis, n.	foreboding, sign, token, omen
omnīnō (adv.)	altogether, wholly, entirely, utterly, at all
omnipotēns, -ntis (adj.)	all-powerful, almighty, omnipotent
omnis, -e	all, every
onerō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to load, burden, fill, freight
opācus, -a, -um (adj.)	in the shade, shaded, shady
ops, opis, f.	power, might, strength, ability
	property, substance, wealth, riches
optimus/optumus, -a, -um (adj.)	(superlative of *bonus*)
optō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to choose, select; to wish (for), desire
opus, -eris, n.	work, labor, toil
ōra, -ae, f.	shore
orbis, -is, m.	ring, circle, orbit, world
Orcus, -ī, m.	the Lower World, the abode of the dead, Orcus
Orestēs, -is and -ae, m. (Ὀρέστης)	Orestes
orgia, -ōrum, n. (Ὄργια)	a nocturnal festival in honour of Bacchus
Ōrīon/Ŏrīōn, -ōnis and -ŏnis, m. (Ὠρίων)	Orion
orior, orīrī, ortus	to arise, rise, stir, get up
ornus, -ī, f.	the wild mountain-ash
ōrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to pray (for), beg, beseech, entreat
ortus, -ūs, m.	birth, sunrise, rising

ōs, ōris, n.	mouth, face, countenance, expression
os, ossis, n.	bone
ostendō, -dere, -dī, -sum/-tum	to stretch out, spread before; expose to view, show, exhibit, display
ostentō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to present to view, show, exhibit
ostrum, -ī, n. (ὄστρεον)	the blood of the sea-snail, purple purple-dyed cloth
ōtium, -iī, n.	leisure, vacant time, freedom from business
ouō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to exult, rejoice, celebrate
paciscor, pacīscī, pactus	to covenant, agree, stipulate, bargain
pactus, -a, -um (adj.)	agreed, settled
palleō, pallēre, palluī	to be pale, turn pale, blanch
pallidus, -a, -um	pale, pallid, colourless
pallor, -ōris, m.	pale colour, paleness, pallor
papāuer, -eris, n.	poppy, poppy-seed
pār, paris (adj.)	equal
parātus, -a, -um (adj.)	ready, prepared
parēns, -entis, m. and f.	a procreator, father, mother, parent
pāreō, pārēre, pāruī, pāritum	to come forth, appear; to obey, submit to
Paris, -idis, m. (Πάρις)	Paris
pariter (adv.)	equally, in an equal degree, as well, alike
parō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make/get ready, prepare, furnish, provide; to order, contrive, design
pars, partis, f.	a part, piece, portion, share, division, section
paruulus, -a, -um (adj.)	very small, little, petty, slight; young
paruus, -a, -um (adj.)	little, small, petty, puny, inconsiderable
passim (adv.)	scattered about far and wide
pastor, -ōris, m.	a herdsman, shepherd
pateō, patēre, patuī	to stand open, lie open, be open

pater, -tris, m.	father; in plur. also: senators
patera, -ae, f.	a libation-saucer or bowl
patior, patī, passus	to bear, support, undergo, suffer, endure;
	to allow, permit
patria, -ae, f.	a fatherland, native land, own country
patrius, -a, -um (adj.)	of or belonging to a father, fatherly, paternal
	old-established, old, ancient
paucus, -a, -um (adj.)	few, little
paulum (adv.)	a little, somewhat
pāx, pācis, f.	peace, treaty of peace, amity
pectus, pectoris, n.	breast, breast-bone
pecus, pecoris, n.	cattle (as a collective), herd, flock (esp. sheep)
pecus, pecudis, f.	a single head of cattle
pelagus, -ī, n. (πέλαγος)	sea
Penātēs, -ium, m.	household deities
pendeō, pendēre, pependī	to hang, hang down, be suspended
penetrālis, -e (adj.)	piercing, inner, internal, interior, innermost
penna, -ae, f.	feather; in pl.: wing(s)
Pentheus, -eī and -eos, m. (Πενθεύς)	Pentheus
per (prep. + acc.)	through, through the midst of; (in prayer) by
peragō, -agere, -ēgī, -actum	to pierce through, pass through, traverse
	to go through with, execute, finish, complete
peragrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to wander/ pass through, travel, traverse
percutiō, -cutere, -cussī, -cussum	to strike/ thrust through, pierce, transfix
perdō, perdere, perdidī, perditum	to destroy, ruin, dissipate, throw away
- perditus, -a, -um (adj.)	lost, desperate, ruined
pereō, -īre, -iī/-īuī, -itum	to pass away, be destroyed, perish

pererrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to wander through, to roam or ramble over
perferō, -tulī, -lātum, -ferre	to bear through, bring home; carry out; endure
perficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum	to achieve, execute, carry out, accomplish
	perform, despatch, bring about
	bring to an end, finish, complete
perfidus, -a, -um (adj.)	promise-breaking, faithless, dishonest
Pergama, -ōrum, or Pergamum, -ī, n.	Πέργαμα/Πέργαμον, Pergamon = citadel of Troy
pergō, pergere, perrēxī, perrectum	to go on, proceed, press on, hasten, go forward
perhibeō, -hibēre, -hibuī, -hibitum	to bring forward, adduce; to say, assert
perīculum (contr. perīclum), -ī, n.	trial, attempt; risk, hazard, danger, peril
periūrium, -iī, n.	false oath, perjury, treachery
permittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to let pass, let go, let loose; suffer, grant, permit
pernīx, -īcis (adj.)	nimble, brisk, active, agile, quick, swift, fleet
perpetuus, -a, -um (adj.)	continuous, unbroken, constant, entire
persentiō, -sentīre, -sensī, -sensum	to perceive plainly (90); to feel deeply (448)
pertaedet, -taesum est (impersonal)	it wearies, disgusts, makes sick
pēs, pedis, m.	foot
pestis, -is, f.	plague, pest, pestilence; death, ruin
petō, -ere, -īuī/-iī, -ītum	to rush at, attack, assault, assail
	to demand, ask, request, desire, entreat
	to endeavour to obtain, seek, strive after
pharetra, -ae, f. (φαρέτρα)	quiver
Phoebēus, -a, -um (adj.)	Phoebean
Phoebus, -ī, m. (Φοῖβος)	Apollo (the radiant)

Phoenīssa, -ae f. (Φοίνισσα)	a Phoenician woman (= Dido)
Phrygius, -a, -um (adj.) (Φρύγιος)	Phrygian
piāculum, -ī, n.	means of appeasing a deity, propitiatory sacrifice
pictus, -a, -um (adj.) (pingō)	painted, embroidered, tattooed
piget, pigēre, piguit/pigitum est	it irks, troubles, displeases, afflicts (with acc. of the person and gen. of the thing)
pinguis, -e (adj.)	fat
pīnifer, -fera, -ferum (adj.)	pine-bearing
pingō, pingere, pinxī, pictum	to paint, embroider; colour, embellish
piscōsus, -a, -um (adj.)	full of fish
pius, -a, -um (adj.)	dutiful, loyal, devout, conscientious, religious
placeō, -cuī, -citum, 2	to please, be approved, be pleasing
- placitus, -a, -um (adj.) (placeō)	pleasing, agreeable, acceptable
placidus, -a, -um (adj.)	gentle, quiet, still, calm, mild, peaceful
plaga, -ae, f.	hunting-net, snare
plangor, -ōris, m.	a (noisy) striking/ beating a beating of the breast/face; loud mourning
planta, -ae, f.	sprout, twig; sole (of the foot)
plūma, -ae, f.	a soft feather, feather, plume
plūrimus, -a, -um (adj.) superl. of multus	most, very much, many
poena, -ae, f.	recompense, retribution, punishment, penalty
Poenī, -ōrum, m.	the Carthaginians
polus, -ī, m. (πόλος)	an end of an axis, pole; the heavens
pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum	to put/set down, put, place, set, fix, lay, deposit
populō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to lay waste, ravage, plunder, pillage, spoil
populus, -ī, m.	(a/the) people
porta, -ae, f.	(city-)gate

portō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to bear, carry, convey, take
portus, -ūs, m.	a harbour, haven, port
poscō, poscere, poposcī	to ask urgently, beg, demand, request, desire
possum, posse, potuī,	to be able, have power, can
post (adv. and prep. + acc.)	behind, back; after, since
posterus/poster, -a, -um (adj.)	coming after, following, next, ensuing, future
postquam (conj.)	after that, after, as soon as, when
potestās, -ātis, f.	ability, power, capacity, force
potior, -us (adj.)	preferred; better, preferable
potior, potīrī, potītus	to become master/take possession of, obtain
potius (adv.)	rather, preferably
praeceps, -cipitis (adj.)	headforemost, headlong
praecipitō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to throw or cast down headlong, to precipitate
	to hasten, hurry
praeclārus, -a, -um (adj.)	very bright, brilliant; excellent, famous
praeda, -ae, f.	booty, war-prize, prey
praedīcō, -dīcere, dīxī, -dictum	to say before; to predict, warn, advise
praedictum, -ī, n.	foretelling, prediction
praemium, -iī, n.	advantage, prerogative, privilege; reward
praeripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptum	to snatch away, carry off
praesentiō, -sentīre, -sensī, -sensum	to feel/perceive beforehand,
	to have a presentiment of, to divine
praetendō, -ere, -tetendī, -tentum/-tēnsum	to stretch forth; allege, pretend, simulate
praetereā (adv.)	in addition, beyond this, further, besides
praetereō, -īre, -īuī/-iī, -itum	to go by, go past, pass by, pass
praetexō, -texere, -texuī, -textum	to weave before or in front; to edge, border
	to allege as an excuse, to pretend; conceal

prāuus, -a, -um (adj.)	crooked, distorted, misshapen, deformed
precor, -ārī, -ātus	to ask, beg, entreat, pray, request, call upon
premō, premere, pressī, pressum	to press; to repress, hide, conceal
pretium, -iī, n.	worth, value, price
prex, precis, f.	a prayer, request, entreaty
Priamus, -ī, m. (Πρίαμος)	Priamus
prīmum (adv.)	at first, first, in the first place, in the beginning
prīmus, -a, -um	first, first of all
prīncipiō (adv.)	to begin with
prīncipium, -iī, n.	beginning, origin
prior, prius (adj.)	former, previous, prior, first
prius (adv.)	sooner
prō (interjection)	O! Ah! Alas! (590)
prō (prep. + abl.)	before, in front of; on behalf of; in proportion to
probō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to approve, esteem, commend
prōcēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum	to go forward, advance, proceed, go forth
procul (adv.)	at a distance, a great way off, far, from afar.
procus, -ī, m.	wooer, suitor
prōdō, prōdere, prōdidī, prōditum	to put forth, exhibit, reveal; to hand down; betray
proficīscor, proficīscī, profectus	to set forward, set out, start, go, march, depart
profor, -fārī, -fātus	to speak out, say, speak
profundus, -a, -um (adj.)	deep, profound, vast; thick
prōgignō, -gignere, -genuī, -genitum	to beget, bear, bring forth
prōgredior, -gredī, -gressus	to come forth, go forward, go on, advance
prōlēs, -is, f.	offshoot, offspring, progeny
prōmereō, -merēre, -meruī, -meritum	to deserve, be deserving of, merit to acquire, gain, earn, get, win

prōmereor, -merērī, -itus	to perform a service
prōmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to promise, give hope or promise of, assure
prōnuba, -ae, f.	she who prepares the bride
properō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make haste, hasten, be quick, go quickly
proprius, -a, -um (adj.)	one's own, special, particular, proper
propter (adv. and prep. + acc.)	near, hard by, at hand; on account/ because of
prōpugnāculum, -ī, n.	a bulwark, tower, rampart, fortress, defence
Prōserpina, -ae, f. (= Περσεφόνη)	Proserpina (= Persephone)
prōspiciō, -ere, -ēxī, -ectum	to look out/ forward, have a view, watch
prōtinus (adv.)	immediately, directly, instantly
pūbēns, -entis (adj.)	mature, flourishing, exuberant
P/pudor, -ōris, m.	shame, a sense of shame, shyness; modesty
puer, -erī, m.	boy, child
pugna, -ae, f.	fight at close quarters, battle, combat
pugnō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to fight, combat, give battle, engage, contend
pugnus, -ī, m.	fist
pulcher, -chra, -chrum (adj.)	beautiful, fair, handsome
pulsō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to push against, strike upon, beat, hammer
puluerulentus, -a, -um (adj.)	full of dust, dusty
Pūnicus, -a, -um	Punic, Carthaginian
puppis, -is, f.	the hinder part of a ship, stern, poop
purpureus, -a, -um (adj.)	purple-coloured, purple, dark-red
Pygmaliōn, -ōnis, m. (Πυγμαλίων)	son of Belus, brother of Dido
pyra, -ae, f.	a funeral pile, pyre
quaerō, -ere, -sīuī/-siī, sītum	to seek, look for; ask, enquire
quālis, -e (pron. adj.)	of what sort, kind, or nature; such as
quam (adv.)	as, how; (after comparative:) than

- quam prīmum	as quickly as possible
quamquam (conj.)	though, although, albeit
quandō (adv.)	when, since
quantum (adv.)	as much as
quantus, -a, -um (adj.)	as much as, so much as; however great
quassō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to shake or toss violently
quater (adv.)	four times
-que (conj.; enclitic)	and
-que ... -que	both ... and
quercus, -ūs, f.	an oak, oak-tree, Italian oak
querēla, ae, f.	complaining, complaint
queror, querī, questus	to complain, lament, bewail
questus, -ūs, m.	a complaining, complaint
quī, quae, quod (relative pron.)	who, which, what, that
quī, quae, quod (interrog. pron./adj.)	who, what? who, what!
quia (conj.)	because
quīcumque, quaecumque, quodcumque	whoever, whatever, whosoever, whatsoever
quid?	why? in what way?
quiēs, -ētis, f.	rest, repose, inaction, freedom from exertion
quiēscō, quiēscere, quiēuī, quiētum	to rest, repose, keep quiet
quiētus, -a, -um (P. a.)	at rest, calm, quiet
- quiētī, -ōrum, m.	the gods
quīn (adv. and conj.)	why not?
quīn etiam	yes and indeed
quippe (adv.)	of course, as you see, as one might expect
quis, quid (interrog. pron.)	who? which? what?
quis, qua, quid (pron.)	any one, anything
quisquam, quaequam, quicquam (pron.)	any, any one, anything at all
quisquis, quicquid (pron.)	whoever, whosoever, whatever, whatsoever
quō (adv.)	for which reason, wherefore, whence

quō (conj.)	in order to (106)
quondam (adv.)	at one time, once, heretofore, formerly
quoniam (adv./conj.)	since now, since then, since, seeing that
quot (adj. plur. indecl.)	how many, as many, as
quotiēns/ quotiēs (adv.)	how often, how many times, as often as
radius, -iī, m.	staff, rod; beam, ray
rādīx, -īcis, f.	root
rāmus, -ī, m.	branch, bough, twig
rapidus, -a, -um (adj.)	swift
rapiō, rapere, rapuī, raptum	to seize and carry off, hurry away
rārus, -a, -um (adj.)	of loose texture, thin, rare, not thick
ratiō, -ōnis, f.	reckoning, account; method, manner, plan
ratis, -is, f.	raft; boat, vessel
recēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum	to go back, give ground, withdraw, recede
recidīuus, -a, -um (adj.)	falling back, returning; restored, rebuilt
recingō, -cingere, -cinxī, -cinctum	to ungird, loosen, undo
recipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum	to take/get/bring back, regain, recover, receive
reclūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsum	to open, throw or lay open; to disclose, reveal
recursō, -āre, -āuī	to run or hasten back; to come back, return
reddō, reddere, reddidī, redditum	to give back, return, restore
redeō, -īre, -iī, -itum	to go back, turn back, return, turn around
redūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum	to lead/bring back, conduct back, escort back
refellō, -fellere, -fellī	disprove, rebut, confute, refute, repel, expose

referō, -ferre, rettulī, relātum,	to bear/bring back, deliver; rejoin, answer
rēgīna, -ae, f.	queen
regiō, -ōnis, f.	direction, line; a tract, territory, region
rēgius, -a, -um (adj.)	of or belonging to a king, kingly, royal, regal
rēgnātor, -ōris, m.	a ruler, sovereign
rēgnum, -ī, n.	kingly government, royal authority; kingdom
regō, regere, rēxī, rēctum	to keep straight, guide, conduct, direct, control
relinquō, -linquere, -līquī, -lictum	to leave (behind), move away from; abandon
reliquiae, -ārum, f.	remains, relics, remnant, rest
rēmex, -igis, m.	rower, oarsman
remittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to let go back, send back; relax, release
rēmus, -ī, m.	oar
reor, rērī, ratus	to reckon, think, suppose, imagine, judge, deem
repellō, repellere, reppulī, repulsum	to drive back, drive away, reject, repulse, repel
reperiō, reperīre, repperī, repertum	to find again, find, meet with, find out, discover
repleō, plēre, -plēuī, -plētum	to fill again, refill, fill up
repōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum	to put back, set back, replace, restore
requiēs, -ētis, f.	rest after toil, rest, repose, relaxation, respite
rēs, reī, f.	a thing, matter, affair, event, fact, circumstance
	pl. fortune (49)
reseruō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to keep back, save up, reserve
resignō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to unseal, open
resistō, resistere, restitī	to remain standing, stand still, halt, stop, stay
resoluō, -soluere, -soluī, -solūtum	to untie, unbind; to loose, loosen, release, open

resonō, -āre, -āuī	to sound again, resound, ring, re-echo
respiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum	to look back, have regard for, be mindful of
restō, -āre, -stitī	to withstand, resist, oppose, stand firm
	to be left, remain
resurgō, -surgere, -surrexī, -surrectum	to rise again, appear again, lift oneself
rēte, -is, n.	net
retegō, -tegere, -tēxī, -tēctum	to uncover, bare, open; disclose
retināculum, -ī, n.	a holdfast, band, tether, halter, rope, cable
retrō (adv.)	backwards, back; on the back side, behind
reuellō, -uellere, -uellī, -uulsum/ uolsum	to pluck/pull away, tear out/off
reuinciō, -uincīre, -uīnxī, -uīnctum	to bind back/backwards; to bind around, fasten
reuīsō, -ere	to look back, look back to see
reuoluō, -uoluere, -uoluī, -uolūtum	to roll back; to unroll, unwind; to revolve, return
rēx, rēgis, m.	king
rīdeō, rīdēre, rīsī, rīsum	to laugh, smile
rigeō, -ēre	to be stiff, be numb, stiffen
rīte (adv.)	according to religious usage, with due
	observances, ceremonially, solemnly, duly
rōbur, -oris, n.	hard-wood, oak-wood, oak
rogus, -ī, m.	funeral pyre
Rōmānus, -a, -um (adj.)	Roman
rōscidus, -a, -um (adj.)	full of dew, wet with dew, dewy
rūmor, -ōris, m.	common talk, unauthenticated report, hearsay
rumpō, rumpere, rūpī, ruptum	to break, burst, tear, burst forth, destroy

ruō, ruere, ruī, rutum	to fall with violence, rush down, go to ruin
rursus/rursum (adv.)	turned back, back, backwards
rūs, rūris, n.	the country, lands, fields, farm, estate
sacer, sacra, sacrum (adj.)	dedicated or consecrated to a divinity, sacred
sacrum, -ī, n.	a sanctuary, a temple; a religious act, sacrifice
	(in pl.) sacred rites, religious worship, religion
sacerdōs, -ōtis, m./f.	priest/priestess
sacrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	consecrate, dedicate, devote
saepe (adv.)	often, oft, oftentimes, many times, frequently
saeuiō, saeuīre, saeuiī, -saeuītum	to be fierce, be furious, rage, rave
saeuus, -a, -um (adj.)	raging, furious, fierce, savage, ferocious
sagitta, -ae, f.	arrow, shaft, bolt
saltem (adv.)	at least, at the least, at all events, anyhow
saltus, -ūs, m.	a forest, woodland, untilled mountain land
sanciō, sancīre, sanxī, sanctum	to make sacred, render inviolable, establish
- sanctus, -a, -um (adj.)	consecrated, established as inviolable, sacred
	venerable, august, divine, sacred, pure, holy
sanguineus, -a, -um (adj.)	of blood, consisting of blood, bloody
sanguis, -inis, m.	blood
sānus, -a, -um (adj.)	sound, whole, healthy, well
Sāturnius, -a, -um (adj.)	of Saturn, Saturnian
saucius, -a, -um (adj.)	hurt, wounded
saxum, -ī, n.	stone, rock, bowlder
scaena, -ae, f. (σκηνή)	stage
scēptrum, -ī, n. (σκῆπτρον)	a royal staff, sceptre

scīlicet (adv.)	it is evident, clear, plain, or manifest; of course, naturally, certainly, undoubtedly
scopulus, -ī, m.	a projecting point of rock; a rock, cliff, crag
sē (sēsē), suī, sibi, sē (reflex. pron.)	himself, herself, itself; themselves
sēcernō, -cernere, -crēuī, -crētum	to put apart, sever, part, divide, separate
- sēcrētus, -a, -um (adj.)	severed, separated; separate, apart
secō, -āre, -cuī, -ctum	to cut (off)
secundus, -a, -um (adj.)	following; secondary; favourable, propitious
secus (adv.)	otherwise, differently, not so, the contrary
sed or set (conj.)	but
sedeō, sedēre, sēdī, sessum	to sit
sēdēs, -is, f.	a seat, bench, chair, throne
sēdūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum	to lead aside, take apart, lead away, carry off
sēgnis, -e (adj.)	slow, tardy, lingering, sluggish, inactive, lazy
sēmianimis, -e (adj.)	half-alive, half-dead
sēmita, -ae, f.	a narrow way, a path, foot-path, lane
sēmiuir, -uirī (adj.)	half-man; unmanly, womanish, effeminate
semper (adv.)	ever, always, continually, forever
senex, senis, m.	old person, old man
sēnsus, -ūs, m.	perception, feeling, sensation; understanding frame of mind, sentiment
sententia, -ae, f.	opinion, judgment; determination, decision, will
sentiō, sentīre, sēnsī, sēnsum	to discern by sense, feel, hear, see, perceive
sepeliō, -pelīuī/-iī, -pultum	to bury, inter
sepulcrum, -ī, n.	a burial-place, grave, tomb
sequor, sequī, secūtus	to follow, come/follow after, attend

serēnō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make clear, clear up, make serene
Serestus, -ī, m.	Serestus
Sergestus, -ī, m.	Sergestus
sermō, -ōnis, m.	continued speech, talk, conversation, discourse
serō[1], serere, sēuī, satum	to sow, plant; to beget, bring forth, produce
serō[2], serere, seruī, sertum	to bind together, interweave, entwine
serpēns, -entis, m.	snake, serpent
serta, -ōrum, n. (from serō[2])	wreaths of flowers, garlands
seruiō, -īre, -īuī/ -iī, -ītum	to be a servant, be enslaved, serve, be in service
seruō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make safe, save, preserve, protect, deliver
sēsē	= sē
seu	= sīue
Sīdonius, -ī, m.	a Sidonian (= inhabitant of Sidon)
Sīdonius, -a, -um (adj.)	Sidonian
sī	if, whether; when, inasmuch as, since
sīc (adv.)	so, thus, in this/that manner, in such a manner
siccō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make dry, dry, dry up
sīdus, -eris, n.	a group of stars, constellation, heavenly body
signum, -ī, n.	a mark, token, sign, indication, proof
sileo, -ēre, -uī	to be noiseless, still, or silent, to keep silence
silua, -ae, f.	a wood, forest, woodland
similis, -e (adj.)	like, resembling, similar
simul (adv.)	at the same time, together, at once
simul ac (conj.)	as soon as
simulō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make like, imitate, copy, represent
sine (prep. + abl.)	without
sinō, sinere, sīuī, situm	to let down, set, fix; to let, suffer, allow, permit
sinus, -ūs, m.	bent surface, curve, fold, hollow, coil

sistō, sistere, stitī, statum	to cause to stand, place, set (up), fix, plant
sitis, -is, f.	thirst
sīue (conj.)	or if
sīue ... sīue/seu	whether ... or
sociō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to join together, combine, unite, share
socius, -ī, m.	fellow, partner, comrade, companion
sōl, sōlis, m.	sun
sollicitō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to disturb, stir, agitate, move, shake
sōlor, sōlārī, solātus	to comfort, console, solace; soothe, ease
solum, solī, n.	bottom, ground, base, foundation, bed
	soil, i.e. land, country, region, place
sōlus, -a, -um (adj.)	alone, only, single, sole
soluō, soluere, soluī, solūtum	to free, set free, release
somnus, -ī, m.	sleep
sonipēs, -pedis, m.	horse, prancer, steed
sonō, -āre, -uī, -itum	to make a noise, sound, resound
sopor, -ōris, m.	deep sleep
sopōrifer, -fera, -ferum (adj.)	inducing sleep, sleepy, drowsy
soror, -ōris, f.	sister
sors, sortis, f.	casting or drawing of lots, decision by lot, lot
	oracular response, destiny, chance
spargō, spargere, sparsī, sparsum	to strew, throw about, scatter, sprinkle
spatior, spatiārī, spatiātus	to walk about or along, to go, proceed
spatium, -iī, n.	space, room, extent
speciēs, -ēī, f.	sight, look, view, appearance, aspect
	outward appearance: reputation, honour
specula, -ae, f.	look-out, watchtower
spēlunca, -ae, f. (σπήλυγξ)	cave, cavern, den
spernō, spernere, sprēuī, sprētum	to despise

spērō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to hope, to look for, trust, expect
spēs, speī, f.	hope
spīritus, -ūs, m.	breathing, breath
spīrō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to breathe, draw breath, respire
spolium, -iī, n.	skin, hide; booty, spoil
(spons), -ntis, f.	will, volition
- sponte meā, suā, etc.	of my (one's, etc.) own accord, voluntarily
spūma, -ae, f.	foam, froth, scum, spume
spūmō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to foam, froth
stabilis, -e (adj.)	firm, steadfast, steady, stable; immutable
statuō, -uere, -uī, -ūtum	to cause to stand, set up, fix upright, erect
	(of cities) to establish, found, build
stella, -ae, f.	star
stellātus, -a, -um (adj.) (from stellō)	set with star, starry
sternō, sternere, strāuī, strātum	to spread out; to stretch out, extend
stimulō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to goad, rouse, set in motion, stir, spur, incite
stīpes, -itis, m.	a log, stock, post, trunk, stake
stīpō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to crowd or press together; surround, attend
stirps, stirpis, f.	lower part of the trunk, stock, root
	stem, stock, race, lineage, offspring, progeny
stō, stāre, stetī, statum	to stand, stand still, remain standing, be upright
strātum, -ī, n. (from sternō)	bed, couch, coverlet
strīdeō, stridēre and strīdō, -ĕre	to make a shrill noise, creak, hiss, grate, whiz
strīdor, -ōris, m.	harsh/shrill/hissing/grating/ creaking sound
stringō, stringere, strīnxī, strictum	to draw/ bind tight, compress; unsheathe
struō, struere, strūxī, strūctum	to arrange, build, construct, make, form; devise

studium, -iī, n.	zeal, eagerness, desire, exertion, study
Stygius, -a, -um (adj.)	of the Styx, Stygian, of the lower world, infernal
suādeō, suadēre, suāsī, suāsum	to advise, recommend, exhort, urge, persuade
sub (prep. + abl.)	under, below, beneath, deep in
sub (prep. + acc.)	down to, up towards
subeō, -īre, -iī, -itum	to come under, go under, enter
subitō (adv.)	suddenly, immediately, unexpectedly
subitus, -a, -um (adj.)	sudden, unexpected
sublīmis, -e (adj.)	uplifted, high, lofty, exalted, elevated
submittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to set, put, or place under or below; to lower, submit, surrender
subnectō, -nectere -nexuī, -nexum,	to bind below, tie under, fasten beneath
subnixus, -a, -um (adj.)	resting on
subolēs, -is, f.	offspring, progeny, posterity, race, lineage
subrigō, -rigere, -rēxī, -rēctum	to lift up
subter (adv. and prep.)	below, beneath, underneath
succēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum	to enter, go under, come under; follow after
succumbō, -cumbere, -cubuī, -cubitum	to fall/lie down, to yield; to submit, surrender
suī (gen.) sibī (dat.) sē/sēsē (acc. and abl.)	herself, himself, itself, themselves
sum, esse, fuī	to be
summus, -a, -um (adj.)	uppermost, highest, topmost; the top of, highest part of
sūmō, sūmere, sumpsī, sumptum	to take, take up; choose; enter upon
super (adv. and prep.)	above, on top, thereupon, upon
superbus, -a, -um (adj.)	haughty, proud, vain, arrogant, insolent
superimpōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum	to put upon, place over, set above
superus, -a, -um (adj.)	upper, above

superī, -ōrum, m.	the gods
supīnus, -a, -um (adj.)	bent/thrown backwards; with palms upwards
supplex, -icis	kneeling in entreaty, begging, submissive
	suppliant, supplicant
supplicium, -iī, n.	supplication; punishment, penalty
suprā (adv. and prep.)	above, on top
surgō/ surrigō, -gere, surrexī, surrectum	to rise, arise, get up, stand up
suscipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum	to take, catch, take up, lift up, receive
suspendō, -pendere, -pendī, -pēnsum	to hang up, hang, suspend
- suspēnsus, -a, -um (adj.)	anxious, in doubt
suspiciō, suspicere, suspexī, suspectum	to look up/askance at, mistrust, suspect
suus, -a, -um (reflex. poss. adj.)	of oneself, belonging to oneself
	his own, her own, his, her, its, their
Sychaeus, -ī, m. (Συκαεος)	Sychaeus (Dido's husband)
Sychaeus, -a, -um (adj.)	of Sychaeus
Syrtis, -is, f. (Σύρτις)	a sand-bank in the sea
taceō, tacēre, tacuī, tacitum	to be silent, not speak, say nothing
tacitus, -a, -um (adj.)	silent, secret, hidden, concealed; noiseless
taeda, -ae, f.	pitch-pine (tree); (nuptial) torch
taedet, taedēre, taeduit or taesum est (impers. + acc. and gen.)	it excites loathing, disgusts, offends, wearies
tālāria, -ium, n. pl.	the ankles, parts about the ankles
	winged shoes or sandals fastened to the ankles
tālis, -e (adj.)	such, of such a kind, such like, the like
tam (adv.)	in such a degree, as much, so, so much
tamen (adv.)	nevertheless, however, yet, still

tandem (adv.)	1. (used in conversation to express protest or impatience) really, I ask you, after all
	2. at length, at last, in the end, finally
tangō, tangere, tetigī, tactum	to touch
tantum (adv.)	only, alone, merely
tantus, -a, -um (adj.)	of such size, of such a measure, so great, such
Tartara, -ōrum, n. (Τάρταρος, plur. Τάρταρα)	infernal regions
tēctum, -ī, n.	covered structure, roofed enclosure, shelter
	house, dwelling, roof
tēcum	= cum tē
tegō, tegere, tēxī, tēctum	to cover (over)
tēla, -ae, f.	web, cloth on a loom
T/tellūs, ūris, f.	the earth, globe
telum, -ī, n.	missile, weapon
templum, -ī, n.	an open place for observation; sanctuary, shrine
temptō, -āre, -āui, -ātum	to handle, touch, feel; to try, put to the test
tempus[1], -oris, n.	a portion of time, time, period, season, interval
tempus[2], -oris, n.	side of the head near the eye, temple
tenāx, -ācis (adj.)	holding fast, griping, tenacious
tendo, tendere, tetendī, tensum/ tentum	to stretch, stretch/spread out, distend, extend
teneō, tenēre, tenuī, tentum	to hold, keep, have, grasp, hold fast
tenuis, -e (adj.)	fine, thin, drawn out
ter (adv.)	three times, thrice
tergeminus, -a, -um (adj.)	threefold, triple, triform
terminus, -ī, m.	a boundary-line, boundary, bound, limit
terō, terere, trīuī, trītum	to rub, rub away, wear away, bruise, grind

terra, -ae, f.	earth, land, ground, soil; region, territory
terreō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to frighten, cause to dread, alarm, terrify, scare
terribilis, -e (adj.)	frightful, dreadful, terrible
terrificō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to make afraid, frighten, alarm, scare
territo, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to put in terror, frighten, affright, alarm, terrify
testor, -ārī, -ātus	to cause to testify, call as a witness, invoke
Teucer, -crī, m. (Τεῦκρος)	Teucer
Teucrī, -ōrum, m. pl.	the Trojans
thalamus, -ī, m. (θάλαμος)	inner room, chamber; bridal-bed
Thēbae, ārum, f. pl. (Θῆβαι)	Thebes
Thȳias, -adis, f. (Θυιάς)	Bacchante
tigris, -is or -idis, f.	tigress
timeō, -ēre, -uī	to fear, be afraid, be fearful, be apprehensive
timor, -ōris, m.	fear, dread, apprehension, alarm, anxiety
Tītān, -nos, m. (Τιτάν)	Titan
Tīthōnus, -ī, m. (Τιθωνός)	Tithonus (the husband of Aurora)
tonitrus, -ūs, m.	thunder
tonō, -āre -uī, -itum	to make a loud noise, roar, resound, thunder
	to say or name with a thundering voice
torqueō, torquēre, torsī, tortum	to turn about/away, twist, bend, wind
- tortus, -a, -um (adj.)	twisted, crooked, contorted, distorted
torus, -ī, m.	knot, bulge; bolster, cushion; couch, bed
tot (num. adj. indecl.)	so many
totidem (num. adj. indecl.)	just so many, just as many, the same number of
totiēns (adv.)	so often, so many times, as often

tōtus, -a, -um (adj.)	all, the whole, entire, total
trabs, trabis, f.	a beam, timber; ship, vessel
tractābilis, -e (adj.)	workable, manageable, tractable, pliant
trādō, trādere, trādidī, trāditum	to give up, hand over, surrender, commit
trahō, trahere, trāxī, tractum	to draw, drag, haul
trānō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to swim over/across/through
trānsmittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum	to send across, carry over; go/pass through
trānstrum, -ī, n.	a cross-beam, crossbank, bank for rowers
tremō, -ere, -uī	to shake, quake, quiver, tremble
trepidō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to hurry with alarm, be in confusion, be agitated
trepidus, -a, -um (adj.)	restless, agitated, anxious, disturbed, alarmed
tres, tria (adj.)	three
trietēricus, -a, -um (adj.) (τριετηρικός)	recurring every three years, triennial
trīstis, -e (adj.)	sad, sorrowful, mournful, dejected
triuium, -ī, n.	a fork in the roads, cross-road
triumphus, -ī, m.	a triumphal procession, triumph
Trōia, -ae, f.	Troy
Trōiānus, -a, -um (adj.)	Trojan
trūdō, trūdere, trūsī, trūsum	to thrust, push, shove, press on, drive, impel
tū	you
tueor, tuērī, tuitus	to look at, gaze upon, behold, watch, view
tum (adv.)	then, at that time
tundō, tundere, tutudī, tūnsum	to beat, strike, thump, buffet
turbidus, -a, -um (adj.)	wild, confused, disordered
turbō, -āre, -āui, -ātum	to disturb, agitate, confuse; throw into disorder
tūricremus, -a, -um (adj.)	incense-burning, for burning incense

turpis, -e (adj.)	ugly, unsightly, unseemly, repulsive, foul, filthy
turris, -is, f. (τύρρις)	tower
tūtus, -a, -um (adj.) (from tueor)	safe, secure, out of danger
tuus, -a, -um	your, yours
tyrannus, -ī, m. (τύραννος)	ruler, sovereign, king
Tyrius, -ī, m.	an inhabitant of Tyre, Tyrian
Tyrius, -a, -um	from Tyre, Tyrian
Tyros, -ī, f. (Τύρος)	Tyre
uacca, -ae, f.	cow
uacuus, -a, -um (adj.)	empty, void, free, clear, devoid of, without
uādō, uādere, uāsī, uāsum	to go, walk, go hastily, proceed rapidly, rush
uāgīna, -ae, f.	sheath
uagor, -ārī, -ātus	to ramble, wander, roam, range, rove
ualeō, -ēre, -uī, -itum	to be strong, be vigorous, have strength, be able
ualidus, -a, -um (adj.)	strong, stout, able, powerful, robust, vigorous
uallis, uallis, f.	valley
uānus, -a, -um (adj.)	empty, void. vacant; false, deceptive, delusive
uarius, -a, -um (adj.)	diverse, different, manifold, varying, various
uātēs, -is, m.	seer, soothsayer, prophet, diviner
ūber, -eris, n.	teat, pap, dug, udder, breast
ubĭ (adv./conj.)	in which place, in what place, where; when
-ue (enclitic conj.)	or
uel	or
uel... uel...	either... or...
uellus, -eris, n.	wool shorn off, a fleece
uēlōx, -ōcis (adj.)	swift, quick, fleet, rapid, speedy
uēlum, -ī, n.	sail

uelut or ueluti (adv./conj.)	in a comparison, even as, just as, like, as if
uēna, -ae, f.	a blood-vessel, vein
uēnābulum, -ī, n.	hunting-spear
uenēnum, -ī, n.	a strong potion, juice, drug; poison
uenia, -ae, f.	indulgence, kindness, grace, favour
uenio, uenīre, uēni, uentum	to come
uēnor, -ārī, -ātus	to hunt, chase
uentus, -ī, m.	wind
Venus, -eris, f.	Venus
uerbum, -ī, n.	word
uereor, -ērī, -itus	to reverence, revere, respect, stand in awe
uērō (adv.)	in truth, in fact, truly, surely, assuredly
uerrō, uerrere, uerrī, uersum	to sweep, brush, scour
uerso, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to turn often, handle, whirl about, turn over
uertex, -icis, m.	a whirl, eddy, whirlpool; whirlwind
	(the top or crown of) the head
	the highest point, top, peak, summit
uertō, -ere, -tī, -sum	to turn (up/back), direct; overthrow, subvert
uērum (adv.)	truly, just so, certainly, doubtless, even so, yes
- as a corroborative adversative particle:	but (in truth)
uērus, -a, -um (adj.)	true, real, actual, genuine
uestīgium, -iī, n.	footstep, footprint, track; trace, mark, sign
uestis, -is, f.	a covering for the body, clothes, clothing, attire
uetus, -eris (adj.)	old, aged, advanced in years
uexō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to shake, jolt, toss; injure, damage, harass
uia, -ae, f.	road, path, way
uicissim (adv.)	on the contrary, again, in turn

uideō, uidēre, uīdi, uīsum	to see, discern, perceive
uideor, uidērī, uīsus	to seem
uigeō, -ēre	to be lively, be vigorous, thrive, be strong
uigil, uigilis (adj.)	awake, alert; with fires: always burning
uigilō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to watch, keep awake, not to sleep, be wakeful
uincō, uincere, uīci, uictum	to conquer, overcome, defeat, subdue, vanquish
uinculum (contr. uinclum), -ī, n.	band, bond, rope, cord, fetter, tie
uindicō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to claim, demand; free, deliver; revenge, punish
uīnum, -ī, n.	wine
uiolō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to treat with violence, injure, dishonour, violate
uir, uirī, m.	a male person, adult male, man
uirga, -ae, f.	branch, twig, sprout; rod, wand
uirgō, -inis, f.	maiden
uirtūs, -ūtis, f.	manliness, manhood; strength, bravery, courage excellence
uīs, uīs, f. (pl. uīrēs, -ium)	strength, force, vigour, power, energy
uīsus, -ūs, m.	seeing, looking; sight
uīta, -ae, f.	life
uitta, -ae, f.	a band, fillet, chaplet, headband
uīuō, uīuere, uīxī, uīctum	to live, be alive, have life
uix (adv.)	with difficulty, hardly, scarcely, merely
ulcīscor, ulcīscī, ultus	to avenge oneself/take vengeance on, punish
ūllus, -a, -um (adj.)	any, any one
ultimus, -a, -um (adj.)	the farthest, most distant, most remote; last
ultor, -ōris, m.	a punisher, avenger, revenger
ultrīx, -īcis (adj.)	avenging, vengeful

ultrō (adv.)	to the farther side, beyond; of one's own accord
	spontaneously
ululātus, -ūs, m.	a howling, wailing, shrieking, loud lamentation
ululō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to howl, yell, shriek, wail, lament loudly
umbra, ae, f.	shade, shadow
ūmeō, -ēre	to be moist, damp, wet
umerus, -i, m.	the upper arm, shoulder
ūmidus, -a, -um (adj.)	moist, humid, damp, dank, wet
umquam (adv.)	at any time, ever
ūnā (adv.)	at the same time, along with
ūnanimus, -a, -um (adj.)	of one mind; of one accord, concordant
unda, -ae, f.	wave
undique (adv.)	from all parts, from every quarter, on all sides
undōsus, -a, -um (adj.)	full of waves, surging, billowy
unguis, -is, m.	nail, claw, talon, hoof
unguō, unguere, unxī, unctum	to smear, besmear, anoint
ūnus, -a, -um (adj.)	one, single
uocō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to call; to call upon, summon, invoke
uolātilis, -e (adj.)	winged, flying; swift, rapid
uolō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to fly
uolō, uelle, uoluī	to want, wish, intend
uoltus (uult-), -ūs, m.	countenance, visage, expression
uolucris, -is, f.	bird
uoluntās, -ātis, f.	will, freewill, wish, choice, desire, inclination
uoluō, uoluere, uoluī, uolūtum	to cause to revolve, roll, turn about/round
uolūtō, -āre, -āuī, -ātum	to roll, turn, twist, tumble about
uōs, uestrum	you
uōtum, -ī, n.	a promise to a god, solemn pledge, vow

uox, uōcis, f.	voice, sound, tone, cry
urbs, urbis, f.	a walled town, city
ūrō, ūrere, ussī, ustum	to burn
ūsus, -ūs, m.	use, practice, employment, exercise, enjoyment
ut (conj.)	(with indicative) as, when
	(with subjunctive) that, in order that
- ut prīmum	when first, as soon as
uterque, utraque, utrumque	each (of two), either, both
uulnus (uoln-), -eris, n.	wound
uultus	see uoltus
uxōrius, -a, -um (adj.)	of a wife; excessively fond of one's wife
Xanthus, -ī, m. (Ξάνθος)	Xanthus
Zephyrus, -ī, m. (Ζέφυρος)	a gentle west wind, bre eze

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About the Team

John Henderson was the series adviser.

Alessandra Tosi was the managing editor for this book.

Annie Hine proof-read this manuscript.

Jeevanjot Kaur Nagpal designed the cover. The cover was produced in InDesign using the Fontin font.

Annie Hine typeset the book in InDesign. The main text font is Tex Gyre Pagella and the heading font is Californian FB.

Jeremy Bowman produced the PDF, paperback, and hardback editions and created the EPUB.

The conversion to the HTML edition was performed with epublius, an open-source software which is freely available on our GitHub page at https://github.com/OpenBookPublishers

Lucy Barnes was in charge of marketing.

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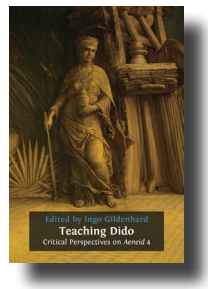

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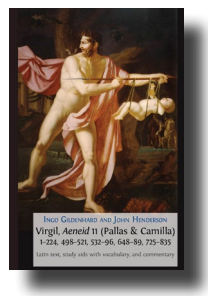

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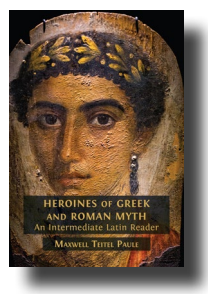

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